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MILWAUKEE COUNTY COURTHOUSE
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HISTORY

of

MILWAUKEE
WISCONSIN

By

JOHN G. GREGORY

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Profusely Illustrated

+ + +

VOLUME II

+ + +

CHICAGO—MILWAUKEE
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CHAPTER XXII

INDIANS AS NEIGHBORS

HOW WHITE MEN AND RED MEN GOT ALONG TOGETHER AT MILWAUKEE IN THE EARLY DAYS—FRICTION AT TIMES, BUT NO SERIOUS COLLISION—INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE—CHIEFS ONAUGESA AND WAUPEKA—RECOLLECTIONS OF WHITE BOYS WHO HAD INDIAN PLAYMATES—REMOVAL OF TRIBESMEN TO THE WEST—THE " INDIAN SCARE" OF 1862.

Shortly prior to the period of white settlement, the Indians at Milwaukee were chiefly Pottawatomies and Menominees. A few words reviewing the general history of these tribes will be appropriate as an introduction to a chapter on the relations between the pioneer settlers and the earlier occupants of the soil, most of whom had not fully relinquished possession when people from the East began pouring in.

The Menominees, when first encountered by Father Allouez, near the mouth of Green Bay, in December, 1669, were a feeble tribe, almost exterminated by war. In the following May, he left them to Father Andre, who laboured, under many discouragements, for their conversion to Christianity, and whose faithful efforts were not in vain, for in 1673 Father Marquette reported good Christians among them. Twice, in 1728 and in 1747, the Menominees came into serious clashes with the French, but amicable relations were the rule. They joined the French in wars against the Iroquois, and finally against the English, with whom, however, they became reconciled shortly after the British conquest of Canada in 1760. The Menominees befriended the English at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy, and were with them against the Americans in the Revolutionary war and the War of 1812. On the arrival of American soldiers at Green Bay in 1816,

however, these armed commissioners of civilization found the Menominees impressed by their prowess and peaceably inclined. On the request of the American commander for permission to build a fort, he was told to take any site he chose, with assurance that they would not object. In the following year the British withheld their customary distribution of supplies, whereupon the good feeling of the Menominees for the Americans became greater than before. In return for their friendship they asked but one favor—that their French brothers should not be disturbed. "French brothers" was a term they used in a literal sense, for, with no white women in the region, a number of Gallic boatmen and traders had taken Menominee wives. By treaty concluded on the 30th of March, 1817, the Menominees became "American Indians."

In the interval between 1761 and the signing of this treaty the strength of the tribe had greatly increased, and also its territorial claims, which as late as 1825 extended on the north to the Chippewa country and on the west to the Black River, though practically they were restricted to the western shore of Lake Michigan between the mouth of Green Bay on the north and the Milwaukee River on the south, with a western range not very clearly defined. In 1831 the Menominees ceded to the United States two and one-half million acres, bounded by the Milwaukee River, the shore of Lake Michigan, Green Bay, the Fox River and Lake Winnebago. The following year they sided with the Americans in the Black Hawk war. Solomon Juneau used to speak of the members of this tribe as "the good little Menums." Today, of all the original Wisconsin Indians, the Menominees are the only ones who, as a whole, have their local habitation within the borders of the State.

The Pottawatomies were neighbors of the Winnebagoes near Green Bay as early as 1639, but soon after the beginning of the Eighteenth century they occupied only two islands at the mouth of the Bay, most of the tribe having drifted southward. At that time there was one band at St. Joseph on the eastern side of Lake Michigan and another at Detroit. According to traditions common among the three tribes, the Pottawatomies, the Chippewas and the Ottawas were originally one people, who engaged in numerous wanderings, in the course of which they became separated. The name of the Pottawatomies meant "People of the

Place of the Fire," which also was said to have been a term applied to the Mascoutins. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Pottawatomies were in possession of the country around the head of Lake Michigan, from Milwaukee River in Wisconsin to Grand River in Michigan, and extending southwest over a large part of northern Illinois, east across Michigan to Lake Erie, and south in Indiana to the Wabash and as far down as Pine Creek. They sided actively with the French till the peace of 1763; they were prominent in the rising under Pontiac, and on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war most of them—the Milwaukee band not eagerly, however,—took arms against the United States, continuing hostilities till the treaty of Grenville in 1795. They again took arms in the British interest in 1812, making final treaties of peace with the United States in 1815. When the government at Washington took possession of the Western lands, the claims of the Pottawatomies made no little trouble, but as the settlements pressed upon them they sold their lands piecemeal, and most of them finally removed beyond the Mississippi. Indiana Pottawatomies in considerable numbers refused to leave till driven out by military force. Eventually some of these settled on Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair. The treaty entered into at Chicago in 1833 provided for the cession of lands along the western shore of Lake Michigan extending to the Rock River. Pottawatomies removing west from Milwaukee settled in western Iowa and Kansas. In 1868 many of them removed to a tract in Indian Territory [Oklahoma] where their descendants still remain. Some of the members of what was known as the Prairie band of Pottawatomies are still in Wisconsin. In contrast with harsh judgments which sometimes have been passed upon the Pottawatomies, it is worthy of remembrance that Father Allouez singled them out from other representatives of the red race in these parts as morally deserving of esteem.

The land upon which Milwaukee stands was ceded to the United States government by the Menominees and Pottawatomies in different parcels at different times between 1831 and 1833. By the treaty which was signed at Chicago in September of the latter year, the Pottawatomies were permitted to retain possession of the country north of the Illinois State line for the term of three years, "without molestation or interference, and under the

protection of the laws of the United States." For the reason that Congress proposed amendments which postponed the ratification of this instrument, the three years did not expire till the 21st of February, 1838.

A Scotsman, Patrick Shirreff, who, in the course of a study of agriculture as practiced in the United States, happened to be in Chicago while this treaty with the Pottawatomies was undergoing negotiation, made a record of his observations from which the following is extracted:

"Nearly eight thousand Indians, of all ages, belonging to different tribes, were assembled, a treaty being considered a kind of general merrymaking. It lasted for weeks. On the present occasion animal food was served out by the government. Forests and prairies in the neighborhood were studded with the tents of the Indians, and numerous herds of horses were browsing in all directions. Some of the tribes could be distinguished by their peculiarities. The Sacs and Foxes had their heads shaven, with the exception of a small tuft of hair on the crown. The garments of the Indians seemed to vary according to their circumstances, and not according to their tribes. The dress of the squaws was generally blue cloth, and sometimes printed cotton, with ornaments in the ears and occasionally in the nose. The men generally wore white blankets, with a piece of blue cloth round their loins, and the poorest of them had no other covering, their arms, legs and feet being exposed in nakedness. A few of them had cotton trousers, and jackets of rich patterns, loosely flowing, secured with a sash; boots and handkerchiefs or bands of cotton, with feathers in the headdress, their appearance reminding me of the costumes of Asiatics. The men are generally without beards, but in one or two instances I saw tufts of hair on the chin, which seemed to be kept with care, and this was conspicuously so among the well-dressed portion. The countenances of both sexes were frequently bedaubed with paint of different kinds, including red, white and blue. In the forenoon of my arrival, a council had been held, without transacting business, and a race took place in the afternoon. The riders had a piece of blue cloth around their loins, and in other respects were perfectly naked, the whole of their bodies painted of different hues. Intoxication prevailed to a great extent among both sexes. When under the influence of

liquor they did not seem unusually loquacious, and their chief delight consisted in venting low shouts, resembling something between the mewing of a cat and the barking of a dog."

The general experience of whites with the Indians at Milwaukee revealed the red race as honorable in the payment of just debts and reasonably safe neighbors when not crazed by whisky. Juneau and other traders trusted them for large amounts and prospered financially, receiving what was due when hunters returned from the chase or when tribal annuities were disbursed by the government. Naturally, however, the Pottawatomies resented violation of their treaty rights. This was the construction they put upon the action of surveyors who crossed the river in 1835 to complete a township survey begun on the West Side on land which had been relinquished by the Menominees, while lands on the South Side had not passed out of the possession of the Pottawatomies. Following this unauthorized intrusion there were threats of vengeance and rumors that the lives of white settlers were in danger; but in the absence of her husband, who was at Green Bay attending the land sale, Mrs. Juneau exerted her influence in the role of peacemaker, and prevented an uprising.

Later in the same year a body of Indians from the interior—possibly numbering as many as five hundred—formed an encampment in the outskirts of the village and reported themselves as starving. Settlers, fearful of danger, appealed to Juneau, who offered to contribute one-third of the cost of furnishing the campers with provisions. A collection was taken up and the proceeds used for this purpose. Laden with crackers and other food, the hungry Indians were delighted, and peacefully departed into the forest recesses whence they had emerged.

The killing of a white Milwaukeean by Indians occurred in 1835 and occasioned great excitement. It did not happen in the settlement, and there always was doubt as to the identity of the perpetrators of the deed. One of the men who arrived in the year referred to, with a view of locating claims for land was Col. James Clyman, a Kentuckian, who had been engaged in trapping and hunting at the headwaters of the Missouri. He was accompanied by Ellsworth Burnett, a young man of engaging personality, who made many friends. The two proceeded to the Rock

River country, engaging a voyageur to assist them in the transportation of their baggage. When the party reached its destination the voyageur seems to have returned. The tragedy occurred toward nightfall, while Clyman and Burnett were at an abandoned village. Rain was coming down, and Clyman set about gathering brushwood with which to build a fire in one of the deserted lodges. Two Indians, who said they were Pottawatomies, and who at first appeared to be friendly, had appeared upon the scene. While Clyman was approaching the shelter with his arms full of wood, a rifle shot rang out, followed by a cry of pain from Burnett, after which the Indians emerged from the lodge, one of them firing at Clyman and wounding him in the arm. He dropped his load and sought shelter in the woods, with the Indians in pursuit, eluding them in the dark, and finally making his escape, though weak from loss of blood.

Immediately upon his return to Milwaukee, word was dispatched to the military at Chicago, whence soldiers were sent to the scene of the assault, in charge of Captain Baxley, who found Burnett's body and arrested a dozen Indian suspects, two of whom he brought to Milwaukee. These were committed to the county jail, where they were kept in confinement awaiting the arrival of Judge Frazer, who had been appointed as judge of the newly established United States territorial court. The trial, which took place in the following year, resulted in their conviction. Judge Frazer sentenced the elder of the two to be hanged and the younger to suffer the penalty of imprisonment for life. Eventually they were pardoned by Governor Dodge and released. An Indian at Milwaukee had been slain by white men, which had tended to excite the Indians in general in much the same way that the killing of Burnett had excited the whites. Moreover it was asserted that there had been irregularities in connection with the trial of the accused Indians, and doubts were entertained regarding their responsibility for the crime.

Colonel Clyman took up a tract of land in what became the town of Wauwatosa, part of which afterward was known as the Clark Shepardson farm. In 1844 he was seized anew with the pioneering spirit and removed to Oregon, founding on the Willamette River a town to which he gave the name of Milwaukee, and which is now one of the suburbs of Portland.

The killing in which white men were the aggressors and an Indian the victim occurred at the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, in November, 1836. The name of the Indian was Manitou. His murderers were two white men, Scott and Bennett. So excited was the whole red population by the slaying, said to have been unprovoked, that only Solomon Juneau's utmost exertions prevented an Indian uprising. Scott and Bennett were arrested and confined first in Albert Fowler's office, close to the scene of their crime, and then in the county jail, as soon as that structure was completed, they being its first occupants. Probably with assistance from outside, they escaped from the jail, and never were retaken; but Scott was hanged at La Porte, Indiana, June 15, 1838, for the murder of his uncle.

In May, 1838, the Indian Fields, near what is now the junction of Lincoln and Forest Home avenues, swarmed with aborigines assembling for deportation. They were fed at government expense while arrangements were perfected for their transportation in a body to the region west of the Mississippi. Superintendence of the expedition had been entrusted to Jacques Vieau, Jr., who by means of extensive advertising enlisted the services of teamsters from every part of southeastern Wisconsin. Farmer settlers were in need of money and eager to earn it while at the same time enjoying an opportunity to inspect the country in the interior. So pleased were some of them with what they saw while away from home that after they had performed their task as carriers they took up fresh claims farther west, disposing of their original holdings, so that Milwaukee and its vicinity saw them no more. In 1853 there was another removal of Wisconsin Pottawatomies to "permanent homes" west of the Mississippi.

In 1848, when the Menomonees ceded the last of their Wisconsin lands to the general government, it was the understanding that they were to be removed to Minnesota. But the district assigned them being found unsuitable to their wants, they were, with the consent of the Wisconsin Legislature, allowed to remain upon a reservation of 276,480 acres on the Wolf River, to which they were removed in 1852, with the expectation that it would continue to be their home so long as they maintained organization as a tribe.

Nearly all the Pottawatomies and most of the Menominees

who had lived within the present limits of the city were swept up in these removals. However, it was not till well along in the '50s that blanketed Indians ceased to be a familiar spectacle in Milwaukee's streets. The Shawano band and hundreds of families intermarried with the French Canadians were at full liberty to remain in Wisconsin and had no desire to leave. In their judgment the familiar camp sites near Theresa, Horicon and other places along the Rock River were preferable to promised paradises at a distance. Many of their descendants are residents of Wisconsin today.

Long after the general exodus of its red inhabitants, hunting and fishing parties of Indians returned to the vicinity of Milwaukee every year. In the spring of 1839 a band of Oneidas, civilized, and under the guidance of their spiritual leaders, Buckwheat and Cranberry Marsh, encamped in the northern part of Wauwatosa township, remaining for several months and conducting services resembling those of a camp-meeting such as in many parts of the country in those days were common among the whites, the exercises including scripture readings, prayer, and sermons preached from authentic scripture texts. As late as 1846 Solomon Juneau's advertisement in the *Courier* set forth that he kept a full line of blankets, guns, powder, scalping-knives and other Indian "fixin's."

At the outset of white settlement there was a continuous succession of Indian dwellings from near Huron and East Water streets to the present site of St. Mary's Church, at the corner of Broadway and East Kilbourn Avenue. Indians in considerable numbers were encamped in the scrub oaks north of the old courthouse in 1842 and for an indefinite time thereafter. When the Juneau family lived at the corner of what is now East Juneau Avenue and Milwaukee Street, Mrs. Juneau used to keep outside her door a barrel of flour and a barrel of sugar from which needy squaws were at liberty to help themselves. David Ferguson said that when he went to live on Milwaukee Street at Juneau Avenue, in 1842, there were Indians tenting across the way, on what now is the site of the Carlton Hotel. William Hale, founder of the village of Hale's Corners, passed a great deal of his time in Milwaukee during the middle '40s, and spoke of Indian teepees on the ground now occupied by the Convent of Notre Dame.

On the west side of the Milwaukee River were several Indian villages, one of them in full view from Juneau's trading post, to which its inhabitants had easy access by canoes. It was peopled by Pottawatomies under the rule of a chief named Kenozhakum, or Lake Pickerel, and extended in a north and south direction across the present Wisconsin Avenue, midway between Fourth and Fifth streets toward the Menomonee marsh. The wigwams, constructed of wattle work, suggested permanency of abode to an extent that would not have been implied by tents. West of this village towered a bluff some sixty feet in height, from the base of which issued a spring furnishing excellent drinking water. On the east the village was bordered by a wild rice swamp, while to the north as far as Chestnut Street, grew tamaracks, tag alder and cedar, in boggy soil often covered with seven feet of water. The Rev. Johannes Bading informed Charles E. Brown that he remembered Indian wigwams on Fifth Street between what are now Wisconsin and Michigan avenues as late as 1854. There were Indian wigwams on top of the Fifth street bluff, and also an Indian cemetery.

Antoine le Clair, Jr., who was interviewed at Portage des Sioux, Mo., in 1868, by Dr. Lyman C. Draper of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was a son of the trader of that name who in 1800 established himself on what subsequently became Juneau's location, on the east side of the Milwaukee River, building a log cabin which Juneau used for a time and in which Albert Fowler and his companions found shelter on their arrival in Milwaukee. Young le Clair informed Dr. Draper that in his father's time the Indians at Milwaukee lived during the summer in bark lodges, some of which were quite long, with divisions, several families occupying one lodge. Wild plums were plenty in the vicinity, as also were blackberries, strawberries and grapes. The Indians manufactured large quantities of maple sugar, for their own consumption and for sale. They owned no cows nor hogs, not needing pork, as there was plenty of game, but fenced in their cultivated fields, with bushes, poles and brush, to keep out their horses. Hoes were their only agricultural implements, and they cultivated not more than five or six acres to a family, raising sweet corn, pumpkins, beans, melons and a few potatoes. They were improvident, and what they had was soon gone, periods of

feasting being followed by periods of famine. Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., who was a son of the elder Jacques Vieau, told Dr. Draper that the South Side Indians were principally Pottawatomies, were considerably intermixed with Sacs and Foxes, and as a rule were lazy fellows, preferring to hunt and fish all summer instead of cultivating corn. In the winter time they scattered through the woods, dividing into small hunting parties, and often Walker's Point was practically deserted. The Indians on the Spring Street flat, however, had their land under excellent cultivation, there being "scarcely a grub to be seen in the entire field." Some of the Indian families on the lime ridge, he added, were quite industrious, raising every season as much as 150 bushels of corn and "quite a store of potatoes."

As late as 1841 there was an Indian village on the then wooded bluffs along what became the westward extension of Clybourn Street, between Twentieth and Twenty-sixth streets. Peter J. Vieau, who was born in 1820 at his father's trading post on the opposite side of the Menomonee, said that in his boyhood this was the largest Indian village at Milwaukee. It was inhabited by Pottawatomies, whose chief was called Pohquaygeegun, meaning Bread. In 1835 and 1836 there were two hundred and fifty bark-covered wigwams on this site, then known by the name of "the Lime Ridge," and as late as 1841 they were said to have not fewer than one hundred inhabitants. The cabin of John Kinzie, when he was a trader for the American Fur Company, was located on the ridge, between the Kenozhakum and Pohquaygeegun villages.

Other Indian village sites on the West Side were near the intersection of Tenth and Cherry streets and between Third, Fourth, Chestnut and Poplar streets. Indications of a corn-field were visible in the latter place as late as 1836.

A well-remembered Pottawatomie village on the South Side was that of Chief Pauschkenana, near the present intersection of Sixth and National avenues. Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., described Pauschkenana as "a short, thick-set, ugly-looking fellow, with a vicious disposition and a broken nose, in which a piece of lead had been inserted to keep the cartilage in position." Pauschkenana pretended to be a sorcerer, and was much feared by his

subjects. He died about 1830, but not all the Indians who had known his sway departed from the village till after 1841.

At the junction of Muskego and Forest Home avenues there was an Indian village with extensive planting grounds, not abandoned till some time after the whites came. This was near what were known as the Indian Fields.

Indians in large numbers occupied the portion of what later became Bay View which lay south of the mouth of Deer Creek. Dr. Enoch Chase declared that "the aboriginal lakeside loiterers" numbered at times as many as two thousand, among them being Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Chippewas and Menominees.

The chief of the village near the harbor was Onaugesa, his residence when the whites began to arrive in force being a two-room bark wigwam in a clearing near what is now the intersection of Cass Street and East Kilbourn Avenue. Some accounts represent this chief as a full-blooded Pottawatomie, others as a Menominee who had married a Pottawatomie woman. D. W. Fowler, who wrote an interesting paper on Onaugesa, said he embraced civilization so far as to embellish his domestic establishment with a four-post bedstead and wooden chairs. Matchesipi, Onaugesa's brother, was his grand counselor, and had a wigwam at a short distance from the royal abode, one of his duties being to keep watch of Chief Onaugesa's cellars, in which were stores of pumpkins, wild rice, potatoes, corn and other eatables contributed by the chief's loyal subjects. Winnebagoes who ventured to pillage these reserves were captured by Matchesipi and his henchmen, tied hand and foot, and left lying on the ground for hours, the sport of younger members of the red population.

Onaugesa's residence in Milwaukee antedated that of anyone else, red or white, who was alive when the early white settlers arrived. The elder Jacques Vieau and Mirandeau were credited with having come in 1795, but Augustin Grignon, in his recollections, testified that he saw Onaugesa here ten or eleven years before that date. Apparently his rule began immediately after the departure of Siggenauk for the portion of Pottawatomie dominion lying farther toward the south and including Chicago and Peoria in Illinois and St. Joseph on the Michigan side of the lake. Fowler said that the meaning of Onaugesa's name was

"Silver Sand," but it is interesting to note that when Hennepin was at Pottawatomie Island with La Salle, in 1679, he met a chief named, according to his spelling, "O-an-ghis-si," the sound of which so nearly approaches that of the name of the Milwaukee chief of a later generation as to suggest identity. Hennepin gives the meaning of "O-an-ghis-si" as "Him-with-a-Medal." The Milwaukee Onaugesa was the possessor of a silver medal of which he was very proud, and which possibly is treasured by some of his descendants at the present day. He had received it from his father, upon whom it was bestowed by the government at Washington, after the Revolutionary war. The "O-an-ghis-si" of the Green Bay region, who may have been an ancestor of the Milwaukee Onaugesa, had visited Frontenac at Montreal and was very friendly to La Salle. It was by his advice that La Salle sent the *Griffin* back, to avoid the risk of stranding in the unknown waters of the far western lake. At peril to himself, the chief ventured forth in a canoe during a great storm to board the vessel of La Salle and advise him of specific dangers to navigation, in the expectation that he would be able to avoid them if forewarned of their nature and location.

Onaugesa was the brother of Mrs. Joseph Le Roy of Green Bay, and was accustomed to visit her at intervals during the time when whites were numerous in that place but rarely to be met in other parts of Wisconsin. He was related to the Vieaus, who called him "grandfather," and consequently to Mrs. Juneau, who was Jacques Vieau's daughter. On account of the kinship of his wife with Onaugesa, the influence of Juneau with the Indians was greater than he could have commanded as a total stranger. Conjoined with his ready tact and his physical prowess it enabled him to rely at all times on their almost unlimited obedience.

Many stories relating to Onaugesa were current among the early settlers, not all of them consistent. One of these stories was that from a trader whom he protected from the violence of some of his turbulent subjects he was accustomed to exact the daily tribute of a bottle of whisky for his personal consumption. Yet many of the whites who knew him well in his declining years attested that he was a model of sobriety and used his authority to dissuade other Indians from drinking. While Onaugesa's policy was peaceful, as the settlers knew him, and while there is

no authentic record of the neighborhood of Milwaukee being a field of battle either in white or in Indian times, there is a credible tradition of doughty braves from Milwaukee going forth in the early part of the nineteenth century to repel the Sioux who had crossed the Mississippi with the purpose of making war upon Wisconsin Indians. The invaders were repulsed, so the recital runs, and the Milwaukee contingent returned with seventy or eighty captured Dakotas and their ponies. Onaugesa is declared to have freed the prisoners, directing them to walk back to their own country and never show themselves again on this side of the Father of Waters. It is further related that he kept the ponies, explaining that he needed them for himself and his brother Matchesipi.

While there were those who asserted that Onaugesa, despite his wisdom and statesmanship, was devoid of reputation for oratory, another anecdote of his leadership pertains to the period of his declining years shortly precedent to the beginning of white immigration, when he made a telling address which delayed the cession of Indian lands to the government. On two occasions the story of this speech was related in detail to the members of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, once by D. W. Fowler and several years later—in 1891—by Peter J. Vieau. Mr. Vieau declared that he had listened to the address. At the time assigned to its delivery he was a lad of eight. Shorn of redundancies, the story is as follows:

The government at Washington was beginning negotiations for the extinction of the Indian title to lands then a part of Michigan Territory but now the most populous portion of the State of Wisconsin. Some five or six hundred Indians were gathered at the council place, near Onaugesa's lodge in the old Seventh Ward. Beside the Indian agent, there were present twelve Menominee and Pottawatomie chiefs, together with Solomon Juneau, Jacques Vieau, and Charles Vieau, the latter acting as interpreter. The council had continued for three days, and the agent had induced eleven of the twelve chiefs to say they would sign a stipulation ceding their tribal domain to the government. Onaugesa refused to join them. Angry and disappointed, the agent started to walk out of the council, when Onaugesa called him back. In attempting to resume his seat on a stump from

which he had arisen, the agent lost his balance and fell to the ground, whereupon the assembled Indians raised a mighty yell. The mishap was unfortunate for the agent's prestige, as red men attach importance to dignity of bearing on all occasions of ceremony. After order had been restored, Onaugesa arose and, addressing the agent, said:

"Father, listen. Three days before this grand council assembled, I had a dream. In my dream, his Satanic Majesty appeared and said: 'King of the Pottawatomies, you are doomed to the eternal fires. Look beyond, and see the opening in the ground. You must descend.' I replied, 'As you command, so shall I do,' and, with my tomahawk in my hand, I advanced into the abyss, in which I beheld kitchi-menan-quet mash-ki-ki [bad medicine, or burning brimstone.] For two hours I walked toward a magnificent mansion towering in the distance. No kitch-i-mo-kon kom-on-ag [big knife people] in this country could build such a house, so large and beautiful. At last I came to it and stood at the door, and noticed smoke coming from the windows. I took my tomahawk and struck on the door three times. Then, from the inside, the voice of his majesty called out, 'Who goes there?'

" 'Open the door!' I cried.

" 'I cannot,' said his majesty, 'until you give me your name.'

" 'My name is Onaugesa, King of the Pottawatomies.'

'What do you want here, Onaugesa, King of the Pottawatomies?'

" 'I was sen down here, and I want to come in.'

" 'No,' was the answer, 'there is no place here for the king of the Pottawatomies.'

"Then I said, 'Open the door and let me see.' At last he unlocked and opened the door.

" 'Now,' said he, 'O, king of the Pottawatomies, you doubted my word, and you have the privilege of seeing for yourself.'

"I stooped down, looked in, and beheld myriads of people, all sitting in chairs and suffering, and moaning, and burning. I strained my eyes to see as far as I could through the smoke and flames. In the distance I beheld a golden chair. It was mounted on a platform and was adorned with velvet and silk. Then I said, 'Why did your majesty not tell me the truth. There is a vacant chair, and it is suitable for me.' At this, his majesty replied:

'You are too worthy to sit in that chair. It is reserved for one less worthy than yourself. It is for the agent, a particular friend of mine, and he is entitled to it. Go, Onaugesa, King of the Pottawatomies; go at once!' and he slammed the door in my face.

"I have hastened here to tell you that he is waiting patiently for you to go there and take the seat, and hopes that you will not disappoint him any longer."

While he pronounced the concluding words of his speech, Onaugesa had turned to the agent, looking him squarely in the face. He continued his gaze for a moment after he had ceased speaking. Then, with dignified deliberation, he sat down, amid great uproar on the part of the Indians, while the agent, making no attempt at formal response, which he realized would be useless with the Indians in the mood into which they had been thrown by Onaugesa's oratory, took Juneau's arm and walked away. That night he saddled his horse and set out for Green Bay.

Matthias Stein, the gunsmith, who built his small frame house on the east side of Market Square in the winter of 1837, is said to have struck up a friendship with Onaugesa, and entertained him with warm meals in that place.

When the old chief left Milwaukee he was loath to go; but, eighty-eight years of age, and so feeble that he could not walk without support, no course was open to him except to accompany his people. He did not survive for long in his new home. Matchesipi died of a paralytic stroke in 1835. Onaugesa had daughters who died young, and a son, Missinonisse, or Powerful Man, who became dissipated and was disinherited by his father.

Another Pottawatomie chief well known to many of the whites was Waupeka, who lived on the South Side, which was the favorite camping ground of his tribesmen. Waupeka possessed a reputation for eloquence. On one occasion when he and a number of his followers were encamped on the South Side, Col. George H. Walker paid him a visit and asked him to make a speech. Waupeka demurred at first, on the ground that he lacked a subject. It happened, however, that within view of the camp a group of white workmen was engaged in digging out the side of a hill. Pointing in their direction, the Colonel exclaimed, "There is a subject—the white man taking possession of your hunting grounds."

Ready to oblige his visitor, for the Indians and Colonel Walker always were on friendly terms, the Chief accepted the suggestion, and began a discourse, warming up as he proceeded, and depicting the red man's wrongs with a wealth of illustration and a fervor of language that would have done credit to Red Jacket. The effect upon his followers was electrical. They gathered about him, deeply stirred by his impassioned words. As he went on, their agitation increased, and so did the torrent of Waupeka's eloquence, the Indians becoming more and more excited, brandishing clubs and knives, dancing in savage frenzy, uttering fiendish yells, and finally exhibiting such eagerness to fight that the Colonel, used as he was to Indian ways, became alarmed, admonishing the orator that he feared they might take immediate measures to avenge the grievances of their race.

At this, Waupeka changed his tone. Without for an instant losing command over the sympathies of his hearers, he informed them that the circumstance of their being strangers in a beautiful region where once they had been possessors of the soil was due to themselves. True it was that the white man was clearing the forests and planting farms and building cities where formerly the red man roamed at will, yet equally true that the red man had sold the white man his lands.

After Waupeka's eloquence had stilled the tempest of its own creation, and his savage followers had resumed the aspect of stolidity from which they had been aroused, Colonel Walker assured the chief he was satisfied there had been no exaggeration in the report of his ability as an orator.

The home of Waupeka after removing from Milwaukee was in Dodge County. He entered the employ of the Federal Government, and made himself useful to the army as a guide during early wars with the Sioux. In 1859, crediting a rumor that Congress had voted him a grant of land in recognition of his faithful service, he undertook a journey to Washington to make inquiries. What had been awarded him was not a grant of land, but a land-warrant. Much was made of him at the capital, and he was taken to the White House for introduction to President Buchanan. The President made him a gift of a hundred dollars to defray the expenses of his return to Wisconsin. On his way back to Dodge County, he stopped over for a visit to his old friend Colonel

Walker, and this seems to have been the occasion of his last appearance in Milwaukee.

Speaking of the Indians in Milwaukee at the time of his arrival here in June, 1835, Nelson Olin said it seemed to him there were twenty for every white man. Reverting to the topic subsequently, he placed the proportion at fifty to one. In both instances evidently he was using figures with conversational freedom, his object being merely to convey the impression that Milwaukee was preponderantly Indian at the stage of its development to which he referred—a very early stage, when the number of whites probably did not exceed fifty. Charles Cleveland, who as a boy assisted Olin in the construction of the first frame buildings on East Water Street, related in after years that crowds of Indians were attracted by the spectacle—children, squaws with their papooses, and innumerable able-bodied bucks. All would stand gaping at the industry which was in progress before their eyes; but when the bucks were invited to lend a hand, with the promise of reward for their labor, all they did in response was to shrug their shoulders and say, "Ugh!" which led young Cleveland to regard them as "the most good-for-nothing louts" he had ever seen.

Referring to Uriel B. Smith, Milwaukee's first tailor, whose home and shop were in a little building on the east side of East Water Street a short distance north of Michigan Street, Charles Milwaukee Sivyer said: "His advent greatly interested the young Indian bucks, who often gathered at the window or crowded about the open door and grunted their contempt for a white man who sat cross-legged and drudged like a squaw. 'Indian no work—Indian gentleman. Squaw work. White man fool. Him like squaw.' These taunts did not disconcert the busy tailor."

Mr. Sivyer observed that the crowd of Indians whose favorite lounging place was East Water Street were not all residents near by, but included numbers with ponies who daily rode in and out from camps in the neighboring timber, their wigwams usually being in groves on the banks of the Milwaukee and Menomonee rivers. He added that when he was a baby, Indian callers at his home frequently expressed a wish to borrow him, and that more than once his mother, fearful to part with him, but dreading what

might happen if she offended her red visitors, would entrust him to be taken into the woods, displayed as a curiosity to squaws, who regarded a white pappoose with tender interest, and finally restored safe and sound to his much-relieved loving parent. As long as Indians continued to inhabit the vicinity of Milwaukee, Mr. Sivyer was accustomed to play with Indian boys.

Elisha W. Keyes, prominent in later life as judge and postmaster at Madison and chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, passed a portion of his boyhood in Milwaukee while the settlement was in its infant stage. Here is what he remembered about Milwaukee Indians:

"My father's family arrived in Milwaukee on the 17th day of June, 1837. We came by the overland route from Detroit, via Chicago, in covered wagons, and in the afternoon of that day we came out of the heavy timber upon the south bank of the river, at a place called Walker's Point. My father, Joseph Keyes, who had come to Milwaukee the year before, had built a house for the reception of his family, on the corner of Oneida and Main [East Wells and Broadway], until recently the site of the Central Police Station. The material for this house had been mostly prepared by my father at a place called Navarino, on Green Bay, and shipped to Milwaukee. Its location was really in the woods. There were no buildings in front of it on the river, and but one between it and Wisconsin Street. This was a hotel, high up on the ground where the Miller block now stands. A very high bluff on which was an Indian burying ground occupied space toward the lake a little south of Wisconsin Street. When I last visited it, it was full of new-made Indian graves, with many Indian relics placed around them, including kettles, pipes and tobacco and arrows, and occasionally could be seen a knife or tomahawk peering out of the ground. Human bones and numberless skulls were scattered indiscriminately around in all directions. There were ruined wigwams, and poles with some sort of flags flying at their tops. It was evident that this burying ground had been in use for many years, perhaps for centuries. This bold bluff was swept into the marsh as time rolled on.

"After our family had become settled, I was sent to a school in the old courthouse, taught by Eli Bates, a one-legged schoolmaster. Afterwards he was keeper of the lighthouse for many

years. In going from my father's house to the school in the courthouse building, the woods were so thick that I frequently became lost, until I thoroughly learned the way. During the summer of my attendance at Mr. Bates' school there were confined in the log jail on the premises an old Indian chief and his son, of the Winnebago tribe, who were charged with the murder of a white man near Johnson Creek in Jefferson County. They had been in confinement for some time, and had learned to speak English tolerably well. The old Indian was sullen and uncommunicative, but John, as the son was called, had become well acquainted with the school children, and was a great favorite with them. Many hours have I spent at the grated window in conversation with him, and almost daily he shared my luncheon. When the time came for our departure to the site of Lake Mills, John was affected to tears, and in his broken English he managed to say, 'I so sorry you go; you so good to me. I never see you more.' Afterwards Governor Dodge concluded there was too much doubt about their guilt to hold them longer, and he ordered their release. The old chief and his son returned to their wigwams and their kindred, somewhere in the interior of the Territory, and were heard of no more.

"There were many Indians at that time in the village and in its surroundings, but they were well-disposed and made no disturbances unless they were maddened by too much 'firewater.' The young Indians seemed to fraternize most readily with the white boys, and to participate with them in all manner of boyish sports. They were keenly alert to every turn in the games, and were not slow to take every possible advantage of them.

"About midsummer the schooner *Solomon Juneau*, which had been built up the river on the eastern shore, at a place called the shipyard, was launched. It was a great event, and attracted nearly the entire population. While preparations were being made for the launching, I was engaged in a game of mumble-de-peg, with an Indian boy, upon a knoll near by, overlooking the scene. I was more interested in the proceedings than I was in the game, but my opponent was devoting his talents to 'playing his hand.' The result was that I was beaten badly, and the victor, under the rules and practices of the game in case of defeat, had driven the wooden peg into and even with the top of the ground.

I made a desperate effort to escape paying the penalty of drawing it out with my teeth, but I was seized by my strong competitor, and with his hand upon the nape of my neck he forced my head down and compelled me to pay the forfeiture, to my great disgust. That game was the last one I played during my boyhood days with an untutored son of the forest."

Amherst W. Kellogg, a well-known Milwaukeean, who came here with his parents on the 1st of January, 1837, earned the respect and esteem of the community by a long and active and upright life, and passed away at the great age of ninety-three in 1923, wrote reminiscences, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, in the course of which he said:

"It was some time in these years [between 1837 and 1842] that father moved to the bank of the Kinnickinnic, where he bought ten acres with a modest house, located where the Thomas Furnace now stands. [Recently this furnace was taken down.] The half-breed Porthier (or Perky, as we called him) was our nearest neighbor on the north, and Horace Chase just beyond, while a pioneer farmer, named Stewart, with his two big boys, lived at the top of the hill just across the Kinnickinnic bridge on the south. On this point of land stretching to the bridge there was room for a large woodyard with a dock at which the scows could lie and be loaded, a considerable garden beyond the house, and at its end a log stable with stalls for six horses and a cow, and a loft for hay, while on either side were wide marshes along the river. These marshes were fine feeding ground for all kinds of ducks, and fine hunting places with canoes for both whites and Indians. One incident I recall remindful of the Leatherstocking Tales. A half-breed who lived just beyond Perky stood on the bank over which the ducks were flying. He had a common single-barrel old Indian shotgun, with a big sight at its end and no back-sight and only a flat barrel, a smoothbore of course. As he took from his pocket three balls nearly as big as marbles to fit his old gun, he said to me, 'Three ducks!' and I laughed out, 'you don't expect to kill flying ducks with that outfit.' But he nodded, and said, 'Wait and see.' I waited and saw him load with one ball. Pretty soon three white-breasted ducks came flying high, and he took aim and fired, and the ducks went sailing on. I said, 'There's one of your balls gone, and no duck.' He said, 'Look,' and lo, one

of them suddenly keeled over and came tumbling to the ground, shot through the breast, as we found on running to pick it up. Again he loaded his old smoothbore with a big bullet, and soon a single blue-winged teal came flying over the bridge, almost on a level with us. He fired, and the teal fell into the river, whence he recovered it with his canoe. And once more he loaded, and waited till some mallards came flying past at about a three-quarter angle, a difficult shot; but he fired and brought one down, and with only this word to me, 'Three bullets, three ducks,' gathered up his game and went over the hill to his house."

Not all the people who found their way to early Milwaukee were settlers or speculators in land. A studious visitor at that time was William Henry Cuyler Hosmer, of Avon, in Western New York. His father, a distinguished lawyer, descended from a New England family which had furnished eminent names to the bench and bar, emigrated at an early period from Connecticut, and his maternal ancestors were of the first settlers among the Senecas, whose language he had learned in infancy from his gifted mother, herself familiar with more than one of the native tongues and a student of Indian lore and character. Young Hosmer, then in his twenty-second year, had received a classical education at an academy in Geneseo of which the learned Professor Felton, afterward of Harvard University, was the principal, and at Geneva College. He had already made a reputation as an industrious and prolific author, with a genius for poetry. While reading law in his father's office, he still found time for original researches into the habits and traditions of the Indians, and it was this pursuit which engaged him when in the summer of 1836 he came to Wisconsin. Probably he was a guest at the Milwaukee House, where it was natural that he should form the acquaintance of Dr. Lucius I. Barber, who was living at that hotel. In his reminiscences, written in 1882, Doctor Barber says: "During the summer of 1836, Milwaukee was still the abode of numerous Indians. In company with W. H. C. Hosmer, the poet, I witnessed the ceremony of an Indian funeral. It was on the brow of the bluff east of where the Newhall House afterward stood, above the spring. There was a large gathering of sons and daughters of the forest. It was the funeral of a child, and

while the ceremonies proceeded, the body, wrapped in swaddling clothes, lay on the ground."

The Indians were well supplied with whisky. Some of them disgusted Doctor Barber by drinking it to excess; but Hosmer, engrossed with the solemnities of the occasion, and occupied with pencil and paper, sat upon a mound and wrote what without doubt was the first excellent English verse composed within the confines of Milwaukee. He gave a draft of the production to Doctor Barber. It is here reproduced as it appears in Mr. Hosmer's published works:

MENOMINEE DIRGE

We bear the dead, we bear the dead,
In robes of otter habited,
From the quiet depths of the woodland shade
To her lonely couch on the hilltop made.
There, there the sun, when dies the day,
Flings mournfully his parting ray.
In vain the winds lift her tresses black.
Ke-ton-ee-mi-coo, wa-was-te-nac!

On the wafting wings of yesternight
The soul of our peerless one took flight.
She heard a voice from the Clime of Souls,
Sweeter than lays of orioles,
Say: "Come to that bright and blissful land
Where Death waves not his skeleton hand,
Where never the sky with storm is black."
Ke-ton-ee-mi-coo, wa-was-te-nac!

Another race is building fires
Above the bones of our buried sires.
Soon, soon will the homes of our people be
Afar from the bright Menomonee;
But yearly to this burial-place
A mourning band of our luckless race
To smooth the turf will wander back.
Ke-ton-ee-mi-coo, wa-was-te-nac!

The English of "Ke-ton-ee-mi-coo, wa-was-te-nac," as translated by Solomon Juneau for Mr. Hosmer, is "Flower, farewell." Its use as a refrain is not less effective than Byron's employment of a Greek phrase for a similar purpose in his "Maid of Athens."

Where did the Indians who offended Doctor Barber by bibulosity procure their liquor? Certainly not always by purchase. Thoughtless individuals among the whites, who had been making merry themselves, sometimes put it within the power of thirsty Indians to make merry too. Nor was it always from reckless irresponsibles that Indians obtained the coveted "firewater." To the householder who had purchased a barrel of flour or pork at a store on East Water Street and desired to transfer it to his home on the hill, a dray was not always available. He might feel unequal to the task of rolling it all the way without help. Of course he was aware that bucks who disdained working for money would jump at a chance of engaging in manual labor with something to drink as a reward. The temptation to secure Indian assistance by promising a bottle of whisky at the end of the route was not always sternly withstood, especially when the hour was late and the otherwise prudent householder could carry on the transaction under cover of darkness. Sometimes suspicion was misdirected. Sometimes mischief-makers bandied charges that could not be proved. In June, 1839, the first grand jury presided over by Andrew G. Miller as judge of the territorial district court brought in indictments against Solomon Juneau, Harrison Ludington and Harvey Birchard, charged with selling liquor to Indians. In the following November the cases were tried, with the exception of the one against Ludington, in which matter the United States district attorney, who was Jonathan E. Arnold, entered a nolle prosequi. Juneau and Birchard were found not guilty, the county being obliged to pay the costs, which were $7.83 in the Juneau case and $6.50 in the other. A man named William Henry, charged with selling liquor without a license, was tried at the same term, and found guilty. He was fined 6 cents and costs, the whole amounting to $13.

Indians and liquor furnished a standard topic of comment in the newspapers. The *Courier* of September 22, 1841, copied from the *Journal* an article objecting to the spectacle of drunken Indians presented on the streets and criticizing the practice of

selling them liquor. The following is from the *Courier* of May 1, 1844: "An Indian murdered a squaw last Sunday in the suburbs of our town, by splitting her head open with his tomahawk. Whisky was the instigator. It is said the whisky dealer made a shilling clear profit on the poison that maddened the untutored savage."

White women generally were nervous on the subject of Indians, and while disposed to deal kindly with the squaws and to exhibit interest in the pappooses, were instinctively distrustful of the bucks. Few were the emergencies that would induce a settler's wife to leave her home unguarded even for the purpose of a hurried visit to a neighbor, such was her dread of marauding prowlers, who would make off with whatever they could find. The whole feminine population of the settlement breathed more freely after the wholesale deportation of Indians in 1838.

Mary Spielman Roller came in 1835 with her husband, who took up land not far from where Forest Home Cemetery is now and engaged in farming, and afterward was keeper of the toll-house on the Janesville Plank Road. She lived till 1898. To the end of her life she was accustomed to give a spirited account of an encounter with an Indian which occurred not long after her arrival from the East. The Indians used to steal her turkeys. While she was alone in the cabin, except for her children, she heard a noise in the direction of the turkey coop, and, looking out, saw a prowling red man whom she tried to scare away. Instead of making off, he came to the door and demanded entrance, to which she responded by slamming the door in his face. This made him angry. He threw a stone through the window. Then he gathered brushwood and piled it against the door. Thinking that he meant to destroy the house, she took her husband's rifle and fired, whereupon the savage retreated, wounded, shaking his fist in anger as he moved away. The following day while she was getting water at the spring several Indians entered the cabin, where she had been making pies, and were there on her return. One of them asked, "Why did you kill him?" to which she responded by explaining what the prowler had done. Instead of expressing anger, her interrogator exclaimed, "Bad Indian. Glad he dead! Give us some pie." She handed out the pie, and was relieved by the prospect of escape from further trouble when

her visitors departed quietly. Mrs. Roller firmly believed that the Indian she shot at was mortally hurt, and formed the theory that he belonged to another tribe than that of her callers who took his demise with unconcern. The matter seems to have escaped attention from contemporaneous recorders. Possibly the savages who made her suppose her shot had proved fatal indulged in sly foolery at her expense, for Indians, it has been confidently asserted by those familiar with their ways, were more addicted to joking than was generally realized by people who did not know them well.

Mrs. Louise H. Bright, who died in 1910 at the age of ninety-three in the house at 193 South Water Street which had been her home since 1842, was quoted as remarking: "I remember when Indians used to come to my back door to ask for bread. Often the squaws, with their cunning pappooses, would come in and sit with me in my kitchen. They would stay for an hour, sewing on their moccasins, while the pappooses played on the floor."

Often groups of Indians entertained crowds in Market Square with the Tobacco Dance, after which they would "pass the hat." Sometimes Indians gave public performances in halls, for the entertainment of all who would pay the price of admission. The following advertisement appeared in the *Sentinel* of February 6, 1845:

"Grand War Dance.—A portion of the band of the Oneidas will amuse the people of Milwaukee by giving a Grand War Dance at the Empire, this evening, at half-past 7 o'clock. Four men and four women will engage in the performance, giving a true and faithful delineation of Indian character both in war and in the pursuits of social life. Nothing will occur during the performance repugnant to the sense of the most delicate. Admittance, 25 cents."

Under date of March 31, 1837, a former resident of New York State, who had lived in Wisconsin for nearly a year, wrote to the *Maysville* (N. Y.) *Sentinel* a letter which was published in that paper and subsequently reprinted in the *Sentinel* at Milwaukee. The object evidently uppermost in the writer's mind was to remove the fear of his former neighbors in the East that immigrants to Wisconsin would be exposed to peril from hostile aborigines. On this subject he said:

"One asks, 'Are not the Indians going to war with the whites? Will they not by and by massacre all the settlers?' They wouldn't if they could, and they couldn't if they would. They are already beginning to retire westward to a country more in harmony with their nature than Wisconsin is becoming. The savage wonders at the enterprise of the white man, marvels at his improvements, views with a despairing heart his own former hunting grounds and cornfields, now occupied by the Che-mo-ka-man, casts a last lingering look at the graves of his fathers, and departs to his promised land west of the Mississippi. Rumors of Indian wars in Wisconsin often go the rounds of Eastern papers, spreading terror among those who have friends here, and preventing those who else would come; but as yet these rumors have no foundation but idle stories spread by individuals ignorant of the situation and of the character of the Indians. It is to be regretted that the white man often treats the Indians as little better than brutes, which gives them just cause for revenge. It should be remembered that the savage is grateful as well as revengeful, but he who wantonly injures him may expect vengeance. At present, to my knowledge, no serious difficulty exists between whites and Indians in Wisconsin. Not long since, an Indian chief assured me of his intention to remain friendly with the whites. He showed me a paper in which he pledged himself to act as the friend and brother of the white man, tendering him the right hand of fellowship and the pipe of peace, and promising to restrain his young men from going to war with the Americans. In return, he requested that the whites should treat the Indians as their friends and brothers."

Perhaps it was because the *Sentinel* was Whig and the national administration was Democratic, that the *Sentinel* affected to apprehend danger from roving Indians to settlers in Wisconsin when the authorities at Washington concentrated troops on the southwestern border during the troubles in that quarter preceding the war with Mexico. In its issue of September 29, 1845, the *Sentinel* said:

"The threatened war in Texas has afforded the Government a pretext, we cannot call it a reason, for withdrawing nearly all of the troops which were scattered along our northwestern frontier. We believe there is not a single company of United

States troops left within the limits of Wisconsin. All have been packed off post-haste to Texas to repel the invasion of the ten thousand 'men in buckram' whom General Gaines saw in his dreams. Meanwhile our northwestern frontier is to be left unguarded. To be sure, no enemy threatens us in this quarter now; but it is well known that there are large numbers of Indians hovering about the outskirts of the Territory who would require but small inducements to make a raid. Doubtless there are stout hearts and strong arms enough in our Territory to repel any such incursion, nor indeed do we really apprehend that any will be made. But the knowledge that there are no United States troops in the Territory might tempt some of the more desperate or destitute among the Indians to try their hands at plunder if not at bloodshed. We submit, therefore, whether, as a mere measure of precaution, our Government should not detach a few companies from the 'Army of Occupation' in Texas (already twice as large as the force with which Cortez conquered Mexico) in order to occupy the vacant posts along the northwest frontier."

On the 14th of November, 1845, the *Sentinel* had the following:

"We hear there are a good many Indians of the Sac and Pottawatomie tribes loafing about in Jefferson County. They are thievish and troublesome, and ought to be sent back to where they belong. But there are no U. S. troops in the Territory to attend to the matter, and it seems to be nobody else's business."

Year after year went by, with steady growth of white population in Wisconsin, while Indians, diminished by deportation, ceased to be seen in numbers except on their reservations, and made no serious trouble for the whites.

What is remembered as "the Indian scare of 1862" was a nightmare phenomenon attributable in large part to abnormal psychological conditions growing out of the Civil war. From many a farm and city home in Wisconsin stalwart young men had gone forth at President Lincoln's call for troops to suppress rebellion in the South. This was accounted an easy task at first, but it dragged along till gloomy forebodings succeeded cheerful hopes, and depression of spirit furnished fertile soil for sudden spread of dreadful apprehensions. Wisconsin families had supplied many settlers for Minnesota. When, side by side with unsatisfactory advices from the South, newspapers presented re-

ports of the Sioux uprising in that State, signalized by the massacre at New Ulm, familiar names of former neighbors appearing in the list of those who had fallen by the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, overtaxed imaginations in Eastern Wisconsin pictured horrors of savage aggression as near at hand.

Somebody somewhere in the region north of Milwaukee set on foot a report that Indian raiders were on the war-path. The story spread like wildfire through all the country along the lake shore from Racine to Manitowoc. On the night of the 4th of September frightened people seeking safety began arriving in Milwaukee from the north and west. On the morning of the 5th the chairman of the Town of Richfield dispatched the following telegram to Governor Salomon:

"Please send us troops and arms by the first train. The Indians are within five miles of here, and are murdering and burning everything they come across. They burned Cedarburg last night."

Governor Salomon was at Milwaukee at the time. On receipt of the dispatch, which had been promptly forwarded from the executive office, he telegraphed to the adjutant-general, ordering ammunition to be sent from Madison to Washington County without delay, and 8,000 cartridges were hurried off by the first train. Nor did he stop at this. He called upon Captain Lehmann of Milwaukee to go at once with his company of well-drilled militiamen and protect the people of Washington County. As was his duty, Captain Lehmann obeyed the executive order.

Meanwhile crowds of people continued pouring into the city, their emotional anxiety spreading a contagion of terror through the community at large which later was recalled with glee by many of its victims. The excitement of the most timorous Milwaukeeans was calmness personified compared with the terror of people from the interior. Trains arriving from the north and west brought frightened passengers who had left their homes at a moment's notice, many without means to pay their fare, and all feverishly intent on safety. In vehicles and on foot fearful fugitives crowded all approaches from the country. Invalids had been dragged from their beds and hurried into lumber wagons or clumsy farmers' carts in which they were jolted to town at the highest attainable speed. Such was the confusion of depar-

ture that many mistakes were made, like that of a frenzied farmer, anxious for the safety of his two motherless children, who hitched up his horses, lifted a brace of screamingly protesting tots into the wagon-box and brought them half-way to town before he discovered that they were a neighbor's little ones and he had left his own behind.

The citizens of Merton stampeded in a body, leaving a deserted village in their wake. Plymouth, Two Rivers, Chilton and Sheboygan were affrighted. So were many of the communities farther to the south and west. The number of wagons headed for Milwaukee that passed through Wauwatosa on the Lisbon plank road during the day and night of the 5th was declared to be not fewer than four hundred. When inhabitants of isolated farms witnessed the spectacle of ordinarily unfrequented highways near their dwellings cluttered with vehicles of all descriptions carrying terrified fugitives and household goods, and were tremblingly assured that four thousand bloodthirsty, rampageous Indians were not far behind, they gave way impulsively to unreasoning panic and joined in the rush for safety. Farmers without muskets or pistols snatched up scythes, sickles, corn-cutters, carving knives and crowbars to serve as implements of defence. Dismay was heightened in many instances when people provided with firearms discovered that powder was not to be procured.

Shortly before his death, the late Judge Timlin, of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, wrote a vivid account of the "scare." He was a boy at the time, living at Mequon, and participated in the stampede to Milwaukee.

Milwaukeeans having relatives at Waukesha, who had been wrought into a frenzy of apprehension by reports that the place was sacked, were reassured by the arrival of a company of volunteers with arms and ammunition who had hurried in from Waukesha County to aid in repelling savages said to be attacking Milwaukee. When the real state of affairs became manifest the generous would-be rescuers were overjoyed and readily accepted invitations to refresh themselves with copious draughts of Milwaukee beer. Hotels and boarding houses throughout the city were overcrowded; many private houses were opened to afford hospitality to refugees; scores of tired and timorous strangers, arriving late at night, slept on the sidewalks or in the wagons that had brought them from their homes.

There was no Indian uprising in Eastern Wisconsin in 1862. The single authenticated incident giving rise to apprehension in Washington County was that a dozen Indians fishing in the vicinity of Cedarburg a few days before the rumors started had become befuddled with drink, and in this condition set fire to an old mill. The minds of white people in the surrounding country, filled as they were with dread of Indians in general, and excited, by the tales of horror from Minnesota, were functioning abnormally and open to alarm. A natural phenomenon, usual to the season, contributed to give color to reports of incendiary fires. This was the autumn haze, which looks like smoke, and sometimes smells like smoke, laden as it frequently is by actual smoke from burning forests at a distance.

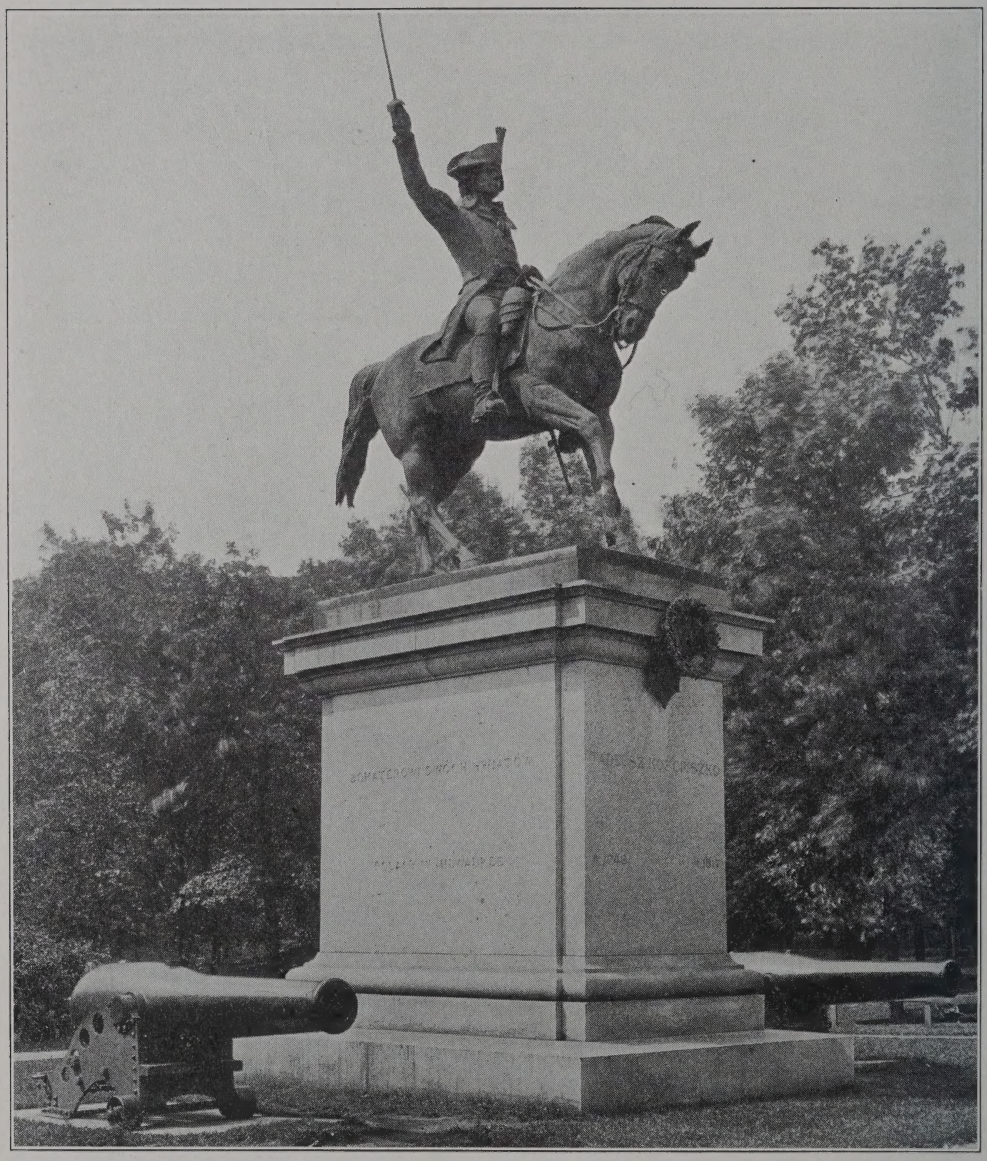
When scouts who had made extended observations returned with assurance that all was peaceful, Milwaukeeans were quickly convinced of the truth; but the panic in the rural regions lasted for several days. The investigators encountered in all the countryside no signs of Indians excepting two squaws carrying pappooses, and a half-breed with a fish-pole. Desperate householders who had purchased firearms with the determination to defend their homes at any cost now felt free to joke. Graceless wretches who themselves had been as scared as any of their neighbors began inventing "good stories" at other people's expense which they circulated with gusto for years, in certain instances disquieting worthy souls who in sober verity were much more sensitive to ridicule than to fear. Of a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce it was declared that he had urged the chartering of all the vessels which lined the docks along the river, placing the women and children of the city on board, and taking them out on the lake, to insure their safety from the murderous foe.

Captain Lehmann's expedition to the interior—made in good faith, under orders, and, seriously considered, reflecting nothing but credit upon all concerned—presented humorous aspects to the lively city editor of the *Sentinel*, A. C. Wheeler, who regaled his readers with sprightly references to "the resolute company and its heroic leader." Civilians who themselves had experienced the smart of Wheeler's lampooning smothered what indignation they might have felt at military menace of the freedom of the

press when they learned that Captain Lehmann had marched his men to the *Sentinel* office, bringing them to a stand in the street, while he proceeded unattended upstairs to Wheeler's sanctum and belabored that jocular gentleman with the flat of his sword.

The flurry of 1862 was the greatest and the last of Indian scares in the vicinity of Milwaukee. Straggling red men made occasional appearances on the streets long after the Civil war. Groups of them encamped on the grounds of James Kneeland, between Tenth and Eleventh streets, south of Wisconsin Avenue, as late as 1876. An Indian scare within the limits of Wisconsin toward the end of June, 1878, was reported by the *Madison State Journal.* The Indians in Burnett County at that time had become infatuated with a new dance taught by a woman of the Chippewas. They meant no harm, but created consternation among the whites, who sent appeals for military aid to Governor Smith.

LAYTON BOULEVARD, LOOKING SOUTH FROM NATIONAL AVENUE



KOSCIUSZKO MONUMENT AT KOSCIUSZKO PARK

CHAPTER XXIII

MILWAUKEEANS FROM OVERSEAS

IMMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND IN NUMERICAL ASCENDANCY FOR A TIME, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY FAR OUTNUMBERED BY ARRIVALS FROM GERMANY—WHY SOME OF THE GERMANS LEFT THEIR NATIVE LAND—OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF MILWAUKEE.

It was fortunate for Milwaukee's growth that many of the immigrants crossing the Atlantic refrained from repeating the mistake of Columbus, "who stopped at the first place he came to and thought he had discovered America."

In early years, the arrival of new settlers by lake from the East was a recurrent topic of comment in the newspapers. "The swarms of immigrants that overflow the public houses and block up the streets on their way to the interior," observed the *Courier* of September 27, 1843, "would appear incredible to anyone not an eye-witness." Said the *Sentinel* of July 16, 1845: "Yesterday morning we found ourselves at the pier just as one of the large propellers had arrived from the lower lakes laden with immigrants and their goods. They were busily engaged in conducting their families and effects to conveyances preparatory to removing into the interior of the country. The calm surface of the bay, mirroring the rising sun which was tinging surrounding objects with a golden hue, the roar of escaping steam, the bustle of the heterogeneous mass of humanity, combined to form a scene of excitement and novelty." In its issue of October 2, 1845, the *Sentinel* observed: "The official record of arrivals at the New York Quarantine for this year shows an increase. From the 1st of April to the 1st of November, 1843, it was 50,436; for the same period in 1844 it was 52,691, and up to the 21st of September of the present year it had reached 60,384. The remaining six weeks of the season will add five thousand and perhaps ten thousand to

this number, swelling the aggregate for 1845 to 70,000. A large majority, probably two-thirds, of these new-comers, are seeking homes in our free and fertile West. We bid them welcome to our land, welcome to the protection of our laws; welcome to participation in the rights and privileges of our republican government. Fleeing from oppression, tyranny and misrule in their own lands, they will appreciate the blessings of equal rights, good government, liberty and law in this. Their habits of industry acquired under circumstances where the most unremitting toil was necessary to earn a scanty subsistence will insure them rich returns here, while at the same time they will help to swell the aggregate wealth and prosperity of our Territory. But it is not from the Old World only that Wisconsin derives an annual influx of population. A very large proportion of the immigration for the last two years has come from the green hills of Vermont and the vallies of western, southern and central New York. Of this class the majority are young men just commencing life, with hopes and habits suited to our Western country, and possessed of every qualification to make good and useful citizens. These too will meet, as they merit, a cordial welcome to their new homes, and will help to raise Wisconsin to that proud position in the galaxy of States she is destined soon to occupy. By 1847 our population will have surpassed 200,000. By that time Wisconsin will be ready to claim admission as a sovereign State."

The record of a census taken in August, 1855, is interesting not only for the evidence of rapid increase in the number of inhabitants which it affords, but also for the light it sheds on the composition of the population in respect to national origins, and their distribution in the different wards:

	Males	Females	Native	Foreign
First Ward	4,231	4,312	3,907	4,654
Second Ward	4,877	4,359	2,217	7,019
Third Ward	2,862	2,257	1,985	3,145
Fourth Ward	1,954	1,649	1,838	1,786
Fifth Ward	2,082	1,761	826	3,017
	16,006	14,338	10,773	19,621

This shows that the immigrant inhabitants of Milwaukee in 1855 outnumbered those born on American soil in the proportion

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of nearly two to one. It indicates a tendency on the part of some of the immigrants to cluster. It contains no clue as to the different foreign countries from which the immigrants came. Broadly speaking, the Third Ward of that day was preponderantly Irish, and the Second Ward preponderantly German. Scandinavians as well as Germans were numerous in the Fifth Ward. In the First Ward, which soon afterward was divided into the old Seventh Ward and the old First, including all the East Side north of Division Street, now East Juneau Avenue, the Germans for the most part were domiciled in the regions nearest the river, and the American-born on the higher ground between the river and the lake. Much of the lake front was only sparsely built upon at that time.

That the Irish were represented in Milwaukee earlier than the Germans is by no means clear, but for some years at the start they outnumbered the Germans and figured more prominently in public affairs. Hans Crocker, upon whom D. H. Richards relied at the start for editorial management of Milwaukee's first newspaper, was a native of Dublin, coming here, however, from Utica, N. Y., where he had passed his youth and where he received an academic education. A lawyer by profession, he formed a partnership with H. N. Wells and Asahel Finch, from which he withdrew in 1839 to enter into association with John H. Tweedy, under the firm name of Tweedy & Crocker. The first editor and publisher of the *Sentinel* was John O'Rourke. William H. Sullivan was publisher of the *Courier* from May, 1845, till its sale to William E. Cramer in June, 1847. An Irishman, Julius P. Bolivar McCabe, who had visited Milwaukee in 1840, compiled and published the pioneer City Directory. Mr. Crocker retired from the formal practice of the law in 1845, thenceforward devoting himself to real estate development and the procurement of railroad facilities for Milwaukee. In 1851 he was elected to the mayoralty. John Furlong, who came in 1835, was active from the first. He and Richard Hackett were prominent in street construction work till as late as 1857. For many years, beginning in 1848, he was also in the wholesale grocery business. Later he became an extensive dealer in fish, admitting his sons Morgan and John M. to partnership, and purchasing Washington Harbor on Washington Island, together with a part of St. Mar-

tin's Island off Northern Michigan, which he used for a fishing station. Mr. Furlong was one of the first to promote the building of St. John's Cathedral, making liberal contribution to defray its cost. With John Dahlman and Edward O'Neill he coöperated with Bishop Henni in the founding of St. Rose's Orphan Asylum. A member of the council in the early days, he always took a good citizen's part in politics, but throughout his later life abstained from candidacy for office.

Among Irish arrivals during 1837 and the five years immediately succeeding were Thomas Shaughnessy, Andrew McCormick, Richard Hackett, Michael Dunner, John Mitchell, Thomas Delaney, John Horan, Timothy Carney, Timothy O'Brien, John White and Garrett M. Fitzgerald. Matthew Keenan, destined to rise to a conspicuous place in business and affairs, was only a boy at the time of his coming, and attended school at the old courthouse before procuring employment as custodian and operator of the ferry at the foot of Wisconsin Street. Dr. James Johnson, Wilson W. Graham, Gen. John McManman, Edward Maloney, Edward McGarry, Paul Foley and Edward Mahoney were other early arrivals. The Rev. Patrick Kelly, who came from Detroit in 1837, and was the first Catholic pastor in Milwaukee, enlisted the aid of Solomon Juneau in the erection of the first religious edifice in the city, St. Peter's Church, which was the nucleus of the congregation that now worships at St. John's Cathedral. In a moral and social aspect, he was a man in advance of his time. Long before the liquor, question was thought of as a factor in politics, he earnestly advocated—not prohibition—but prudent and systematic moderation in the use of intoxicating drink. In 1842 he went back to Detroit, the Rev. Father Kundig being sent to Milwaukee as his successor.

Andrew Mullen and Owen Goss were here in 1844. At dates prior to 1850 came John L. Doran, William Henry Wright and Thomas Knox, attorneys; Thomas Keogh, schoolmaster; Timothy Dore, for many years a wholesale grocer and later interested in real estate; James Bryan, grain merchant; Dennis Culligan, noted for sound counsel in time of crisis and excitement, and Patrick Cudahy, with a group of sons who rose to conspicuous positions in business at Milwaukee, Chicago and elsewhere. John Gregory, civil engineer and author of "The Industrial Resources

of Wisconsin," came in 1849. Mr. Doran was an able lawyer and a forceful public speaker. He was elected to the Legislature, and took a prominent part in defeating the land limitation movement of 1850. He went to the front as colonel of Wisconsin's "Irish Regiment," the Seventeenth Infantry, in the Civil war. Edward G. Ryan spent several years at Chicago, and then became a resident of Racine, from which place he was elected to membership in the second Constitutional Convention. It was shortly afterward that he fixed his home in Milwaukee, where he became at once a leader at the bar, remaining till his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court in 1873 necessitated his removal to Madison. Patrick Drew came in 1855, as did Jeremiah Quin.

John White was sheriff and collector of customs; Garrett Fitzgerald county treasurer; W. W. Graham was a member of the first Constitutional Convention, as was Garrett Fitzgerald, the latter being also a member of the second Constitutional Convention. James Magone, who was elected to the first Constitutional Convention, besides holding several other representative offices, was of Irish antecedents but a native of the State of New York. Edward McGarry was State Prison Commissioner. Thomas Shaughnessy was captain of police. His son, Thomas G. Shaughnessy, was president of the Common Council and a trusted employe of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, after which he went to Canada, where he rose to the presidency of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and was honored with a baronetcy by King George V. Matthew Keenan was clerk of the Circuit Court, tax commissioner, and vice president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company; Timothy O'Brien was city marshal; Dr. James Johnson was the first health commissioner, and a good one; Edward Mahoney was city clerk, as was his son, George, at a later time. Edward O'Neill began as a tailor and afterward was a bank president; he served in the Assembly, and was three times elected to the mayoralty. Edward Keogh, son of Thomas, had a long career in politics, in the course of which he rendered excellent service to the people. He was the author of the measure that provided for polling booths at elections, and had much to do with the introduction of the Australian ballot. Patrick Drew was a contractor for public works and a useful member of the Legislature. George K. Gregory, who came in the

early '50s, was elected to the Assembly in 1862 and later served for many years as a justice of the peace. One of his sons is Judge John J. Gregory of the Circuit Court. One of the sons of Patrick Drew, John Drew, has served as city treasurer for many years. Patrick Donnelly was a teacher. Born in Tyrone County, Ireland, in 1836, and receiving his education in the Irish National schools, he came to the United States in 1853, settling in Milwaukee in 1864 and holding a position in St. Gall's Academy till 1869, when he was made principal of the Pomeroy public school in the Third Ward, later being principal of the old Third Ward public school for more than thirty years. He was the author of the history of "The Milwaukee Public Schools" written for "The Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin," which was published in 1893. He died, "full of years and honors," in 1914. Peter Bradley, Thomas H. and John W. Eviston, Thomas Shea, James Hannan, and a long list of other upstanding Irishmen who cast their lot with the city in the early days are remembered with respect by Milwaukeeans in general. Thomas H. Eviston was chief of the Fire Department when, with his wife, he went down with the *Lady Elgin*. Mr. and Mrs. John W. Eviston were passengers on the ill-fated vessel, but escaped from the wreck, and Mr. Eviston attained more than local celebrity as a manufacturer of boilers. He served on the School Board and in the Council. He was elected to the Assembly in 1863 and 1864.

What Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society, wrote in 1927 on the subject of the Irish in Wisconsin will be read with interest:

"A striking example of the ease with which that element participated in the public affairs of the commonwealth is their presence as delegates and their activity at both constitutional conventions. Probably no man was more fundamental in the making of Wisconsin's constitution than Edward G. Ryan, an Irish lawyer, who a quarter century later distinguished himself and his State as chief justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court. The first convention had seven delegates who were natives of the Emerald Isle, while only three represented the English element and an equal number the German. These Irish were vigorous, convinced Democrats, whose influence upon the fundamental law was affirmatively liberal. Such a provision as that guaranteeing

public schools against the evil of sectarianism may not improbably owe its adoption most largely to the Irish contingent in the convention. The extreme Democratic policies respecting banks, and the control of corporations, were also manfully upheld by them.

"From that day to the present, citizens of Irish birth or derivation have always been prominent in national, state, and local affairs. Being Democrats and Catholics, as were a large proportion of the Germans, but unlike the latter, gifted politically, their success was often aided by German votes, and it was usually out of proportion to the numbers of the Irish population.

"The Irish in early Wisconsin had two important advantages over the Germans and Scandanavians. The first was in their command of the English language which the other nationalities had to learn. The second was in the fact that the original Wisconsin Irish were not freshly arrived immigrants but seasoned inhabitants of the country. They came to our territory with the great Yankee drift from New York and New England. Many had been residents of eastern states for as much as twenty years before coming to Wisconsin. They had learned American ways and institutions. They needed no period of apprenticeship, and, when new arrivals from Ireland entered the State, these pioneers stood ready to teach them as well as to use them politically.

"The Irish not only showed a genius for politics but also for professional service in the field of law. At the other extreme, the newly arrived immigrants from Ireland made up a large fraction of the common labor which constructed our railways and other large works; they furnished a considerable proportion of the mechanical skill required for building our cities; and thousands of Irish families settled on Wisconsin farms. They have been less potent agriculturists, however, than Germans or Scandanavians, being like the Yankees always ready to 'sell out,' to move farther west, or to go to the cities. The Irish, like the Germans, have had much influence in teaching tolerance to the American-born."

Who was the first immigrant German to settle in Milwaukee? The question is one concerning which there has been controversy. Wheeler and Doctor Koss pronounced in favor of Henry Bleyer. Doctor Chase declared that the first German settler of Milwaukee was William Strothman. Edward Weisner claimed the distinc-

tion. Henry W. Bleyer made the problem the subject of a paper which he read before the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County in June, 1899. Mr. Bleyer said:

"As the son of the settler named in the earliest of our histories, it better becomes me than another of the descendants of our German pioneers to correct the statements of Wheeler and Doctor Koss. My father, though he often entertained his children with reminiscences of his first years in Milwaukee, never said he was the first (German) settler. When the advantages of Milwaukee were advertised in Detroit, he worked his passage from that city in the spring of 1836, as a fireman on the steamer *Michigan*. After a brief sojourn here he chose the site of his future home, and returned to Detroit. In the following summer he brought his family, arriving here on the 5th of June. He did not deem himself a settler, except in the true sense of the word, and consequently never claimed that his temporary stay during the previous year entitled him to rank as a '36er.

"I have not too confidently relied upon records for the information I have upon this subject. Several visits to the children of Mr. Strothman have yielded me material for a more extended sketch of their father than the one I have written for this evening.

"Mr. Strothman was born in Westphalia, Prussia, on the 8th of April, 1808. On attaining his majority he resolved to settle in America. Having by thrift acquired the means to cross the sea, he set out alone and arrived at Baltimore in 1832. There he found employment for a time, which yielded him the means to travel to Kentucky. Thence he worked his way to Cincinnati, where he was busied a year or more in the packeries of that city, which was then known as the Porkopolis of the West. Leaving Cincinnati, he came to Chicago, then a low, muddy flat, without promise that it would ever become a commercial center. As neither the town nor the surrounding country were inviting to the newcomer, Strothman shouldered his bundle and walked all the way to Milwaukee, arriving here on the morning of October 1, 1835. He knocked at the door of Dr. Enoch Chase's house, was heartily welcomed, and more than all, invited to share the breakfast which had just been prepared. The Doctor employed him, assisted him in locating a claim, and otherwise befriended him. Strothman was also favored by Horace Chase, Captain James

Sanderson and Alanson Sweet, for each of whom he worked in turn, even after he had settled upon his claim, which comprised the northeast quarter of section 14, in the town of Greenfield. As the land was not in the market, Captain Sanderson persuaded Mr. Strothman that ready money would be safer with him than in a squatter shack until such time as the government sale would take place. Unfortunately the Captain became insolvent, and Mr. Strothman was obliged to borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest in order to bid in the tract he had chosen for a homestead. All that he ever realized from the Sanderson estate was a yoke of oxen and several lots on the South Side, the oxen then being accounted far more valuable than the city property. With these oxen he set out to break the land for the pioneer farmers who had staked tracts within a few miles of the town. As a plow was not to be obtained, he engaged Augustus Harmeyer, the pioneer blacksmith on the South Side, to shape one to the best of his knowledge. With this plow Strothman very soon found lucrative employment among his neighbors and countrymen in towns 9 and 10.

"During the winter months he chopped wood on his farm, and for others, who paid him at the rate of 25 cents a cord. At times he hauled maple firewood from his place to the Chase steamboat supply dock, for which he was paid $1 a cord. To meet the needs of the new country he set up and operated a lime-kiln, which proved unremunerative, whereupon he engaged in manufacturing charcoal, for which he found a ready sale. In 1841 he married Miss Anna Christian, then in the employ of Charles Hart, the pioneer miller of the town of Wauwatosa, who proved to be a clever and industrious helpmeet. By unremitting toil he gradually threw off the burden of debt that the Sanderson bankruptcy had entailed, so that in later years he and his worthy spouse were free to enjoy the fruits of their long and ofttimes discouraging struggle against adverse circumstances. In speaking of his early experiences, Strothman would say he had no cow the first year, half a cow the second year, a whole cow the third year, and so on, until he had established a dairy herd as the result of his first purchase, in company with a Mr. Spillmore.

"But little more is left me to add to this plain recital of Mr. Strothman's career. He continued to live upon his homestead up

to the time of his death, March 16, 1881. He was twice married, and reared a large family, all of whom are comfortably situated. The eldest of his children is the wife of Colonel Albert Bleuel of the Wisconsin National Guard. Another daughter is the wife of Supervisor Achtenhagen. Of his sons, Charles is an engineer, well known on the South Side; Philip, a retired farmer, lives in the old Layton residence at Layton Park; Edward resides at West Superior, and William, the youngest, on the old homestead in the town of Greenfield." Settling, as he did in the outskirts, Mr. Strothman remained in comparative obscurity, while Henry Bleyer, Louis Trayser, Edward Weisner, Matthias Stein, and other early German immigrants, who made their homes in the downtown district, became well known to their American fellow pioneers.

Edward Weisner was born in Leipzig, July 8, 1800, learning the shoemaker's trade in his native country and coming to the United States in 1830. He stopped at Baltimore, Lancaster and Detroit. Coming to Milwaukee, he built a small log hut near the southeast corner of Wisconsin and East Water streets, bringing his family on from Chicago when it was completed, and opening a shoe store. The shoe store proved unprofitable and he embarked in the grocery business. Then he dealt in land, and was elected a justice of the peace. It was said he was the first man of German birth elected to an office in Wisconsin. He was concerned in the establishment of the *Banner*, Milwaukee's first German newspaper. This was in 1844. Subsequently he opened a German theater, bringing performers here from Cincinnati. Then he moved to Waukegan. Mr. Weisner lived to the advanced age of ninety-seven, dying on April 7, 1897.

Matthias Stein was born in Germany in 1808, learning the trade of an instrument-maker, and coming to this country in 1831. Arriving at Baltimore in August of that year, he proceeded to Norfolk, Virginia, in search of work. A year later he made his way to Washington, and obtained employment at his trade in which he remained engaged for three years, while he devoted his leisure to improving himself in the English language and becoming acquainted with American ways.

One of his habits was to take a stroll about the city in the morning before going to work. On his walks he often met an old

gentleman similarly engaged, with whom he struck up an informal acquaintance, the elder man questioning the young German as to life and conditions in the fatherland, and exhibiting a friendly interest in Stein himself. One day after Stein's acquaintance had left him at the entrance of the White House, the young mechanic accosted a servant who happened to come forth at about the same time, with an inquiry as to the old gentleman's identity, and learned to his amazement that he had been engaging in familiar intercourse with Andrew Jackson, the President of the United States. On the occasion of their next meeting, Stein felt embarrassment, but the kindly manner of the President reassured him to an extent which emboldened him to ask how the ruler of a great nation could condescend to walk with a humble mechanic. Relating the experience in his old age, Stein observed that he never forgot Old Hickory's reply, which was in words like these: "Young man, you don't understand this country. I am placed in my position by the confidence and trust of the people of the United States. My duty is to uphold the Constitution and carry out the law—to do right by everybody. When my term expires I shall return to my farm in Tennessee, and while I am here I am no more and no less than any other man. The United States is a democracy." The President then invited young Stein to call upon him at the White House. Stein availed himself of the invitation on the occasion of a public reception. When he approached the President, he was given a kindly greeting, his host then drawing him to one side of the passing throng and introducing him to General Scott, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun and ex-President John Quincy Adams. As he was passing out, a white-haired gentleman addressed him with the remark that the President had shown him a degree of cordiality which must have been due to long acquaintance. The white-haired gentleman was Roger B. Taney, chief justice of the United States.

There was much talk in Washington at this time that Chicago would become a great city, and offered golden futures to young men, which decided him to try his luck in the West. In 1834 he made his way to St. Louis, and from that place set out by team for Chicago, with four fellow travelers. The journey was over wet prairies, which made an uncomfortable bed at night,

and six days were consumed in getting to the destination, which proved very disappointing when it was reached. Stein's impression of the Chicago of 1835 was that it was a collection of shanties, the abiding-place of thieves and swindlers, with no law to keep them in check. From Chicago he went to Detroit, where he secured employment as a gunsmith and remained two years. In 1837 he decided to go south, and with that intention took passage on the steamship *Michigan*, but her engines broke down and she put into Milwaukee for repairs, which brought him ashore at this place, with no expectation of remaining, on the 5th of June, 1837. Here he met Solomon Juneau, who introduced him to another German, Louis Trayser, and the two induced him to remain. Of all the Western towns he had seen, Milwaukee made the most favorable impression.

Primitive conditions prevailed. The hill north and east of Mason Street was being graded down to fill up boggy places in what afterward came to be known as Market Square. On what remained of this acclivity, fronting the square, Stein built the little frame structure in which he lived and carried on business as a gunsmith for many years. It was ready for occupancy on the 24th of February, 1838, and for some time after he moved in he kept "bachelor's hall." The place was surrounded by wigwams, and Onaugesa, the noted chief, was one of Stein's neighbors. The two became friendly. "He was an Indian, but a gentleman," was Stein's description of his red acquaintance. From him Stein learned to converse with other Indians in their own language. He often invited the chief and his squaw to partake of the hospitality of his little home, and taught the squaw, he boasted, to eat with a knife and fork. She never found fault with his bachelor housekeeping, though it was some time before Pixley, who kept the general store on East Water Street, could supply him with a mill in which to grind his coffee, and in the interim he was reduced to the necessity of tying the roasted beans in the arm of a shirt and pounding them with a stone.

Mr. Stein married, reared a family, and became identified with the growth of the rising community, which elected him successively to the offices of village trustee, treasurer and weighmaster. During the early '50s he kept a hotel, the Deutsche Haus, at which Governor Barstow was a guest on his visits to

Milwaukee. He was one of the organizers of the Freie Gemeinde and assisted in the establishment of the German-English Academy. Among his influential well-wishers were Gen. Rufus King and Alexander Mitchell. On the brink of nonagenarianism, Mr. Stein left Milwaukee to reside with a daughter whose home was in Sheboygan, and there, amid cheerful surroundings, he passed away at the age of eighty-eight, on the 16th of October, 1896.

Henry Bleyer was a cabinetmaker and a turner of wood, skilled in his business, which he carried on for many years. Not a few of the homes of well-to-do early settlers possessed specimens of his handiwork. To the end of his life he lived in the home at the corner of Jackson and Huron streets in which he had established himself on his arrival in the city. He was the father of a numerous family, all of whom became respected members of the community. Henry W., the eldest of the brothers, was long a member of the editorial staff of the *Sentinel*, where Louis, Albert J. and Benjamin Franklin Bleyer were also actively employed for many years. George Bleyer was one of the brothers. He lost his life in the army of the Union during the Civil war. George was a war correspondent of no mediocre ability. He was a writer of beautiful verse. Louis earned distinction as a marine reporter and editor for different newspapers in Milwaukee and Chicago, becoming celebrated in that capacity all the way from his home town to Buffalo. Julius was editorial writer for the *Evening Wisconsin* for a period beginning in the early 'eighties and ending only with the sale of that newspaper to its present owners. For many years he was a member of the Milwaukee School Board, of which he served as president, and in which he performed important service in connection with the introduction of manual training as a branch of the curriculum in the public schools. Herman and Julius were twins. Together they entered the *Evening Wisconsin* office in 1864, where Herman rose to the post of managing editor, which he held for many years, retiring from newspaper work to become secretary of the Harbor Commission, of which office he was incumbent at the time of his death in August, 1924. In partnership with others of the family he was interested in sailing vessels when those craft were the grain carriers of the lakes, and was associated in the building of the

Typo and the *Myosotis*, both well-remembered ships. Adolph Bleyer devoted his life to the service of the *Evening Wisconsin*. Clarence, the youngest of the sons, entered the employ of the *Wisconsin* after leaving school, and is still with the *Wisconsin News*, where Julius is still engaged as a writer. Louise, the only daughter of the family, became the wife of Capt. James E. Callaway, commander of several well-remembered vessels on the lakes, whom she survived for many years, dying in June, 1929. Of representatives of the Bleyer family of the third generation one is Dr. Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, son of Albert J. Doctor Bleyer is director of the Course in Journalism at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of numerous works on different phases of the art of writing.

In 1837 Louis Trayser and his family were comfortably housed on the east bank of the Milwaukee River, surrounded by the natural beauty which afterward gained patronage for Ludwig's Garden. Subsequently, not far from the southwest corner of Market and Martin streets, he opened the first German hostelry in the city, the Little Tavern. At that time part of the present site of the City Hall was a bog and part was an island, approached by means of a footbridge. Mr. Trayser died after a sudden illness in the spring of 1845, his widow retaining the property on Market Street. In the '50s she married again, becoming Mrs. Leonard Weibrecht. Children of the second marriage were the twin brothers, Leonard and Louis Weibrecht, who, like their half-brothers, George, Frederick and Henry Trayser, entered English newspaper offices and became expert followers of the craft of Franklin. After serving many years as foreman of the *Sentinel's* job printing department, George Treyser (he preferred that spelling of the name) went to Chicago, acquiring a comfortable estate as a member of a bill-posting firm known to showmen throughout the country. Frederick, in company with Henry, conducted a job printing establishment in Milwaukee and established the *Northwestern Trade Bulletin*, a weekly trade publication which at one time commanded an extensive circulation and performed a useful part in attracting business to this city.

A native of Germany was Milwaukee's first city clerk, A. Henry Bielfeld, born, 1818, at Bremen, came to America in 1836. After some years in a commercial position in New York, and a

short business venture in Mexico, he made his way to Chicago, where he met Postmaster Noonan, who persuaded him to come to Milwaukee and fill a clerical position in the post office, where some one was needed with a good command of German. This was in 1844. At the first election under the city charter Solomon Juneau was chosen for mayor, by a majority of 345 votes. In 1846 Mr. Bielfeld was made city clerk without opposition. He entered with spirit into the campaign which resulted in the rejection of the proposed State Constitution, in that year, addressing himself mainly to the German voters, and sometimes putting political arguments into the form of verse. At the city election following this constitutional campaign, H. N. Wells, the anti-constitutionalist, was elected mayor over George H. Walker, and Bielfeld, who was persona non grata with the new administration on account of his activities on the stump, failed to retain his office of city clerk. Mr. Bielfeld established himself independently at the corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets as a notary public, conveyancer and abstractor, and never again was a candidate for political favor, though taking an active interest in public affairs. He was especially active during the Presidental campaign of 1848, when, without asking or accepting pecuniary emolument, he made many speeches for the Free Soil party, whose members were stigmatized as "Barnburners." In 1854 he was prominent in the rescue of Joshua Glover, the runaway slave. He was one of the speakers at the meeting of citizens in Courthouse Square presided over by Doctor Wolcott. He also was chosen secretary of that meeting. Late in the afternoon, in fact, just as the sun was setting, he climbed to the roof of the one-story building in which Glover was confined, and, speaking in their mother language, called upon his fellow citizens of German birth not to permit the Southern slaveowner to carry the prisoner back to servitude. In impassioned tones, evincing depth of feeling and conviction, he told his hearers that after having fled from the tyranny of European despots they would not be fit to breathe the free air of America if they stood quietly by and suffered human liberty to be outraged. Then he urged them to smash their way into the jail, free the victim of an unjust and inhuman law, and enable him to escape across the border into Canada, out of reach of his pursuers. Referring to this as the boldest, most impas-

sioned and most eloquent address which had been made at the meeting, one of the newspapers of the time pointed to the inconsistency of officials who had arrested Booth and Rycraft for their respective parts at the jail-delivery, while making no move to call Bielfeld to account for his inciting speech. It said: "We want them to lay hands on a German. Why don't they arrest Mr. Bielfeld? He will remove the disability they claim on account of the circumstance that his speech was made in the German language with which they are not conversant, by acknowledging before his God the correctness of the text of his address. Come on, then, ye bloodthirsty hirelings of the slaveholders, and arrest if you dare the man who made the boldest and most impassioned speech of that day!" Mr. Bielfeld died November 16, 1882. He was married in 1845 to Louise Fischer, who was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1818. Mr. and Mrs. Bielfeld were the parents of eight children, all born in Milwaukee: William, Louise, Henry, Emma, Mathilda, Emil, Minna and August, of whom three—Emil, Mathilda, and Minna (now Mrs. Mueller) are living. Mr. Bielfeld was a man of literary tastes and talent, writing much for the newspapers and other publications. At the celebration of the centennial of American independence held in Market Square, Milwaukee, on the Fourth of July, 1876, he read the Declaration of Independence and delivered in effective style a poem in German which he had written for the occasion.

Addressing the Old Settlers' Club in 1873, Judge Andrew G. Miller said: "The first German colony, about 800 men, women and children, landed at Milwaukee late in the summer of 1839. They brought the necessary housekeeping utensils, and encamped on the lake shore, south of Huron Street. They immediately commenced in a businesslike way to carry out their object in coming to this new country. They examined the government plats in the land office, and having ascertained where tracts well timbered and watered were to be purchased, they entered lands bounding on the Milwaukee River and on the division line between Milwaukee and Washington counties. A small number of that colony remained in the village, but most of them employed themselves without delay in clearing and cultivating their lands. Those pioneers formed the nucleus of the very extensive, influential and wealthy German element of the population of this county and

State. The German portion of our population are the proprietors and occupants of one-half the territory of Milwaukee city and county. They are prompt taxpayers. They perform the duties of good citizens, and they are faithful in the discharge of the duties of offices of public trust. The male members of the first colony without delay declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States, and in due time they were naturalized in the territorial court in Milwaukee, every man, to the number of seventy, in one day, signing his name to his petition. The first German paper in this county was published in 1844 by Moritz Schoeffler, who continues the publication of the *Banner und Volksfreund.*"

The colonists described by Judge Miller left an indelible impression, for they brought real money with them, and some of it found its way into the tills of Milwaukee merchants whose business since the collapse of the boom had been conducted on a basis of barter, which was bad, or credit, which was worse. Customers paying in silver were a godsend. Joyful reception was accorded to the intelligence that more of them were to be expected. The Keeseville (N. Y.) *Republican*, of October 24, 1839, contained the following account of another party of German immigrants which was on its way to the West: "They are from Prussian Silesia, and number about 700. They expect in a few days to be joined by 300 more, and next spring by 1,200, and during the following summer by 1,000 to 2,000, all their countrymen, making altogether not fewer than 3,000. They are Protestants of the Lutheran Church. A new organization of the religious establishment of Prussia having been effected, the king ordered all his subjects to join it. This being repugnant to the feelings of many, the firm and thoughtful refused obedience to the royal command. Imprisonment, confiscation of property and persecution in various other forms were the consequence. Numbers of the old school, including those now here, petitioned his majesty for permission to quit the country. After more than a year of exertion they were allowed to depart. We learn that W. A. Thompson, hardware merchant of this city, who acts as their agent, has been put in possession of a sum of money sufficient to place them on lands in Wisconsin and feed them for eight months, if necessary,

independent of the original purchase of the soil. The greater part of them will leave this month for Milwaukee."

Dr. W. F. Whyte contributed to the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1915 an interesting paper on the subject of German immigration. As one of the leaders of the movement he mentions Captain von Rohr, who for political reasons had been committed to prison in Magdeburg, and after his release joined with a man named Krueger in a contract to transport 1,000 emigrants to the United States. Doctor Whyte observes that the major portion of this group, which journeyed across the Atlantic in 1839, penetrated the country no further than Buffalo, where they organized a church. He goes on to say that afterward people living on the Oderbruch got the emigration fever, leaving on May 28, 1843. They passed through Berlin at night, being joined by Pastor Hoeckendorf and a number of their co-religionists. At Hamburg, Herman Grube joined the party. He was afterward a member of the Wisconsin Legislature from Dodge County. They sailed from Hamburg June 19, and landed in New York August 5, after a voyage of nearly seven weeks, six children dying on the passage. From New York they proceeded by way of the Hudson River and Erie Canal and the Lakes to Milwaukee, arriving September 6. The contingent from Pomerania had arrived three weeks before. These Lutheran immigrants founded Kirchhayn, Freistadt and Cedarburg, all three settlements being only a short distance from Milwaukee. Among those who remained in Milwaukee was Dr. Francis Huebschmann, remembered as a member of the first Wisconsin Constitutional Convention, originator of the provision giving citizenship to foreigners after a year's residence in the State.

While Lutherans seeking freedom of worship were an interesting element in the early contribution from Germany to the populating of eastern Wisconsin, they constituted only a part of the influx from the Fatherland. Germans of the Catholic faith were numerous in early Milwaukee. Still others of the early arrivals were Liberals, and this element gained large accessions after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848. James Seville, who came to Milwaukee in 1846 and was contributory to the city's industrial development during the decade beginning at that time, met disaster and discouragement in the financial collapse of 1857,

and sought opportunities in other fields, but never lost his enthusiasm for Milwaukee. Mr. Seville's religious affiliations were with the Methodists. Returning to the city as a visitor, late in life, he made the following observations at a meeting of the Old Settlers' Club: "I presume it will be a matter of interest to nearly all of you, if not to all, that Bishop Henni was the only German Catholic bishop in the United States in 1846; and that gives you the key to the fact that the population of your city and north of you is so largely German. The German, before leaving his native land, if a Catholic, would feel more comfortable and at ease in the new country if he could be near his bishop, speaking his own language, and the presence of Germans would naturally bring others of their friends, who might be non-Catholics, to this locality. Whether it was an act of Providence that placed this bishop in your midst, I do not know; but a more sincere, gentlemanly and pleasant good Christian I never had the pleasure of meeting. And I think you will agree with me that Milwaukee has within its limits, as well as in the country north of it, as good a representative lot of German citizens as can be found in any part of the United States, who have been about as successful in business, and who have shown as lively a disposition to build up and sustain the city in all its interests, as any of its residents."

Franz Neukirch, an early arrival from Germany, took up land on the Kilbourn Road about eight miles out of the city, and soon was in possession of well-tilled acres and a comfortable home. Mr. Neukirch possessed means at the start, and added to them rapidly as he capitalized his knowledge of tillage. Within a year after his arrival he sent for his family in Germany, four daughters and one son. Later he came into the proprietorship of the first Milwaukee lager beer brewery, located on the South Side, and in this he took an active interest till his death. His only son, Charles W. Neukirch, died in 1863, having enlisted in the Union Army as a member of Company E, Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, in which he rose to captain, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville. During his pioneer days Franz Neukirch wrote to friends in Germany many interesting letters describing Wisconsin and his experiences as a settler. The burgomeister of Darmstadt was authority for the statement

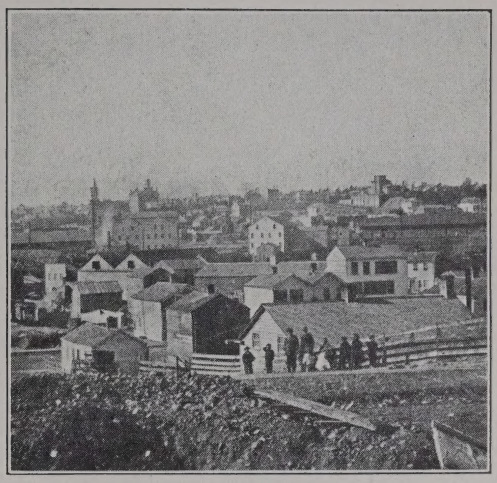
that these letters were the means of inducing as many as 2,000 Germans to emigrate to Wisconsin.

Two of the daughters of Franz Neukirch became respectively Mrs. Charles Theodor Melms and Mrs. John B. Meyer. Here is an extract from one of her father's letters to Germany which was preserved by Mrs. Melms. It will be recognized as a faithful and attractive picture: "Most fruits grown here are indigenous. Wild apples, cherries and plums are found in abundance. There is plenty of hunting and fishing. The Indians are peaceful, and the character of the white settlers is above reproach. Nothing is ever stolen, though everything is left wide open. Envy is unknown. Work alone commands respect. The inhabitants are all hard-working people, and help one another as much as they can. There are no beggars. Every male inhabitant is obliged to work two days a year on the streets, which are in a bad condition. Canals and railroads are projected to form a direct communication with New Orleans. I think Wisconsin some day will become one of the wealthiest and best States in the Union."

Recounting her own recollections of Milwaukee, Mrs. Melms said: "When my three sisters and I came here in 1840 Milwaukee was but a straggling village. Our father's farm was on the Kilbourn Road. Whenever we went to church on Sundays we had to cross the river on a scow. All work in those days was done by oxen, horses being almost unknown, except those used by doctors in visiting their patients. We attended the oldest Catholic Church in Milwaukee [this was St. Peter's, on Martin Street, now East State Street, between Jefferson and Jackson streets.] Myself and sisters and the three Juneau girls sang together in the church. In this church I remember the first rendering in Milwaukee of Haydn's Mass. Mr. Engelhardt, who later perished in the *Lady Elgin* disaster, played on the organ. When we came from the Atlantic seaboard to Milwaukee the journey consumed three weeks, two weeks being spent on a canal boat between Albany and Buffalo. The trip from New York to Albany had been made on a steamboat, and a sidewheel steamboat conveyed us from Buffalo to Milwaukee in eight days. Milwaukee had no harbor then. We were taken ashore in a small boat, and, proceeding to the heart of the village, noticed about half a dozen houses on Wisconsin Street and as many on East Water Street. The

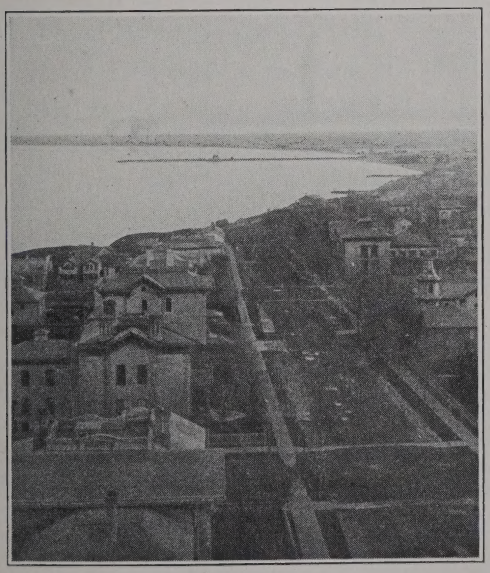
FIFTH WARD, 1866

The Allis Reliance Iron Works, Marsh and Lake in background.

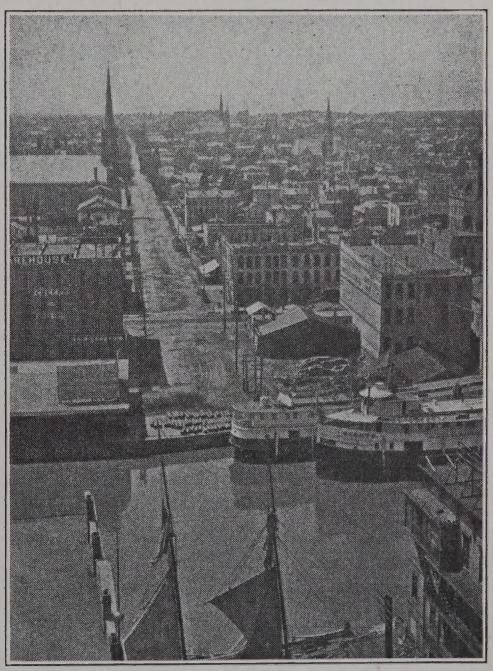


LOOKING NORTHWEST TO THE SIXTH AND NINTH WARDS, 1866

Milwaukee Street at Ogden in foreground. Cherry Street Mills, Old Sixth Ward School, Comstock Castle, etc., across the river.



LOOKING DOWN ASTOR STREET TOWARD THE HARBOR, JUNE, 1875



LOOKING WEST FROM MITCHELL BLOCK, 1880

TIME ALTERS ASPECTS

Familiar Localities as They Appeared in Earlier Days.

other structures were scattered. Money was almost unknown, and all commerce was effected by barter. An air of equality pervaded everything. Not only was there no luxury, but some of the settlers lacked necessities. One winter the only flouring mill in the place was frozen up, and we had to grind cereals in our coffee mill. Juneau's house at that time was the only one containing a piano and carpets." Mrs. Melms added that the first German band in Milwaukee was composed of amateurs under the direction of Valentine Hess.

Mrs. Melms and Mrs. Meyer remembered the arrival in Milwaukee of the first contingent of "Acht-und-viersigers"—exiles from the Fatherland on account of having participated in the uprising of 1848. These people, the sisters observed, introduced new fashions here. Previous to their advent men went clean-shaven in Milwaukee. The German revolutionists wore long beards and large slouch hats, called "Hecker hats" after a German revolutionary leader. Mrs. Melms and Mrs. Meyer were among the auditors of Carl Schurz, on the occasion of his first public address in Milwaukee, when he praised the Free Soilers and Sherman M. Booth at Melms' Garden, a noted place of resort on the South Side in the early '50s. They also remembered addresses by A. Henry Bielfeld and Mr. Booth delivered in Court House Park in protest against the imprisonment of the fugitive slave Joshua Glover.

In her paper on the "Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin," published in the Collections of the State Historical Society, Dr. Kate Everest Levi describes the colony of 1839 which came from Pomerania, praising their thrift and reliability. The larger proportion of the German settlers of Milwaukee, Mrs. Levi says, came from Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Luxemburg, Baden and Saxony, arriving in greatest numbers between 1848 and 1854, between which dates there was also a considerable influx of Hessians, Wurtemburgers and Swiss, together with numerous Germans from Austria. The main reason for their departure from their European homes seems to have been a desire to improve their economic condition. Observing that a majority of the South Germans are Catholics, and expressing the opinion that "the large German Catholic immigration to the State is probably due in some measure to the fact that a German priest

and bishop were early sent to Milwaukee, both of them well known and of marked ability," she says: "When Bishop Henni went to Milwaukee in 1844, there were, according to Schem, (Deutsch-Amerik, Conversations-Lexicon), but 8,000 Catholics in Wisconsin; but in 1867 there were 250,000, the increase being largely due to Bishop Henni's direction and unceasing activity. Thus the Milwaukee diocese became one of the most important in the United States, and Bishop Henni was made Archbishop, being the first German in the United States to attain that office."

Several families of Rhenish Prussians from the vicinity of Cologne settled at Oak Creek, near Milwaukee, in 1841. In 1842 Christian Peil settled in the same locality, writing home to his friends such favorable accounts of his new home that within a few years some fifty other families—all Catholics—decided to cast their lot in the beautiful country near the shore of Lake Michigan.

Mrs. Levi attributes to the influence of Theodore Wettstein the choice of homes in Milwaukee and eastern Wisconsin by some three hundred generally well-to-do natives of the valley of the Wupper, in Rhenish Prussia, who had planned to emigrate in the fall of 1847. Mr. Wettstein himself settled in Milwaukee, and after several years' residence wrote a little book on the advantages of Wisconsin which doubtless attracted many later arrivals from Germany to Milwaukee or the region near by. The settlers who came out with him were mostly handicraftsmen and traders.

Luxemburgers began coming to Milwaukee in 1845, and there was a notable influx of their countrymen after the bad harvest in that country in 1854. They continued coming for thirty years, and are numerous among the prosperous farmers of Milwaukee, Washington, Sheboygan and Outagamie counties. Bavarians began coming early, and are a large and valuble element, the same remark applying to representatives of Baden and Saxony.

Christian Preusser, who was one of the most widely acquainted and highly respected representatives of his nationality in the city, wrote a paper on German settlers in Milwaukee, published in the '90s, in which he began by observing: "The accession of Germans to Milwaukee was very slow during the first few years, but matters soon changed." Enumerating the early

arrivals, he mentioned Henry Bleyer as the first, and continued: "A party of German carpenters came to Milwaukee in the spring of 1836, at the solicitation of Juneau and Dousman, who needed workmen to put up their warehouse and other pioneer buildings. The party came from Chicago, and of those who remained here afterward the name of J. J. Meyer may be mentioned. He subsequently became a baker and a brewer. In 1836 there also came Louis Trayser, Edward Weisner, Matthias Stein, J. B. Liginger, George Abert and a few more. Trayser, immediately after his arrival, opened his famous Little Tavern, at the corner of Martin and Market streets." He died in 1845. Mr. Preusser recalled that Byron Kilbourn offered inducements to German settlers which resulted in the growth of a compact German settlement on the West Side. To one of these, named Krueger, he gave a lot on the north side of Chestnut Street between Third and Fourth streets, Krueger building thereon a substantial house, in which German Lutheran worship was held. Pastor Krause came in from Freiestadt at intervals to look after his Milwaukee flock, in immediate charge of which was a German school teacher named Luck. Following are condensed statements, the authority for which is Mr. Preusser's paper:

The immigration of Germans became very considerable during 1840-1. F. W. Horn was one of those who came to Milwaukee at that time. He was engaged as a clerk in the store of J. L. Bean & Co. In 1840 a Hungarian count named Auguston Haraszthy appeared. After farming and townsite exploiting in Sauk County, he went to California, where he introduced the first Hungarian grapevines.

The first German beer brewery in Milwaukee was established in 1841 by a man named Reutlichberger, at the corner of Virginia and Hanover streets, on Walker's Point. He fell deeply into debt, and in 1841 the property passed into the possession of John Meyer, whom Juneau had brought as a carpenter from Chicago. Meyer associated himself with his father-in-law Franz Neukirch, and after some years Meyer and Neukirch were succeeded by Mr. Neukirch's other son-in-law, C. T. Melms, the establishment developing under his management, but eventually being purchased by the Philipp Best Company, when Captain Pabst and Emil Schandein had come into the management of the latter. As

a branch of the Best Brewery, afterward the Pabst Brewery, it was operated for many years.

Speaking of the arrival of Doctor Huebschmann, in the winter of 1841-2, Mr. Preusser notes it as "an event of importance for the whole German colony." "The Doctor," he says, "at once became the recognized leader of the German settlement, and he left his mark on the pages of the history of the Germans of Milwaukee and Wisconsin." Mr. Preusser goes on: "At this time we find in Milwaukee the names of Henry Niedermann, John H. Tesch, John Pritzlaff, Frederick Preusser, Trautwein, Eggert, and Lieber. In the summer of 1842, the German element had become so important that business houses advertised in the English papers in the German language. In the *Sentinel* appeared an advertisement in the German language by P. C. Hale offering for sale a book for the study of English by Germans."

In 1844 there arrived in Milwaukee a large party of well-to-do German families from Charleston, South Carolina, who did not like life in the South, and could not get along either with the negro slaves or the slaves' masters. In this party were Claus Heide, the father-in-law of John E. Hansen. "Mr. Heide," notes Mr. Preusser, "purchased the site of the so-called Heide Block on the very day of my arrival in Milwaukee." This building, erected only a little later than the structure reared by John Hustis at the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, was an ornament to East Water Street and the second brick store building in Milwaukee. It stood on the west side of the street, a few doors north of Michigan Street, and later was occupied by John E. Hansen. The party from Charleston included Henry Werdenoff, a prominent merchant for many years; F. Hilgen and his partner, Schroeder; Boerner and others. All were men of means, and all immediately engaged in business. From Jefferson City, Mo., came also at about the same time Moritz Schoeffler, whose arrival marked an epoch in the history of the Germans in Milwaukee. He was the founder of the first German newspaper in the Northwest, the *Wisconsin Banner*, and was public-spirited and active in a noteworthy degree.

The following is the concluding portion of Mr. Preusser's interesting and valuable review of the history of the Germans in Milwaukee:

"During the years 1845-46-47 the entire physiognomy of the German population changed. Men of enterprise began to arrive, among them being Max Gerlach, G. Brosius, Ferdinand Kuehn, the Best brothers, Doctor Kalckhoff, Doctor Wunderly and others. It would take long to state exactly the date of their arrival, but I will say that the Best brothers came over on the same steamer with me in 1844. Chas. and Jacob Best had been in Milwaukee since 1842, having established a vinegar factory, but during the year 1844 Charles made a trip to Europe and brought the entire family, among the arrivals at the time being even his grandfather, Schmidt, and his father, Jacob Best, Jr. At the same time came Philipp and Lawrence Best; I may also mention A. H. Bielfeld who was already a Milwaukeean in 1845; Lieut. Charles Geisberg, a leader in the German Washington Guard company, and an ex-lieutenant of the German army, who was a fine man in all respects; August Greulich, very active in organizing the fire department in 1845, and many others. Many of the Germans while affiliating mainly with the Democratic party, were abolitionists at heart.

"In the fall of 1844, during the Polk-Clay campaign, most of the Germans were members of various Polk clubs, and F. W. Horn and John Pritzlaff were the only German Whigs and members of the Clay club in Milwaukee. John Pritzlaff was still a young man in those days and was working as a clerk in a hardware store. The year 1845 was rich in events of an especially German interest. It was the year of the organization of the first German volunteer fire company, of which August Greulich was the first foreman, Daniel Schultz assistant foreman and myself secretary. I must mention also another man to whom I shall always feel indebted as having vouched for my first debt in Milwaukee, and that is John Winter, who guaranteed my payment for a stove which I bought of James Kneeland when I opened my store in November, 1844. It would take a volume to describe all the happenings among the Germans during the early days of the city. Even as far back as 1846, at the outbreak of the Mexican war, the Germans of Milwaukee sent volunteers, and Lieut. D. Upmann gave his life in Mexico. Another man who went to that war was Doctor Kunze, a man of brilliant attainments whom I still remember. The most important epoch in the history of Mil-

waukee's German population was the revolution in Europe in 1848. In the summer of that year there was a large demonstration inaugurated by the local Germans to express sympathy with the revolutionists, who sought to establish a republic in Germany. When the revolution was suppressed a flood of immigration from all parts of the German empire, from Austria and other German countries began, and quite a number of highly cultivated men drifted to Milwaukee. The organization of the Milwaukee Musical Society was one of the effects of this immigration, and many old settlers will recall the enthusiasm with which Hans Balatka was greeted here early in the 'fifties and how the first German operas were produced here.

"The Germans have made music so popular and so general an object of study in Milwaukee, and it would not be claiming too much to say that the influence exerted in this direction by the Germans of Milwaukee since 1849 has not remained without effect upon the remainder of the population in this and other cities. The five or six years following 1849 were among the most eventful years in Milwaukee. To that time dates back the foundation of the German-English academy, which has educated the children of the leading German-American families ever since, of the Turner societies, and of all other liberal German societies. Bishop Henni who arrived in Milwaukee in 1844 was the man in the right place. He was most enterprising, and he had a large share in building up the city." German by heredity, Bishop (afterward Archbishop) Henni was a native of Switzerland.

Dr. Ferdinand Kalckhoff, who came from Duisdorf in 1839, opened one of the first drug stores in Milwaukee. His son, Dr. Alphonse F. Kalckhoff, who served in the Civil war, and for many years was engaged in medical practice in Milwaukee, used to take pleasure in exhibiting to autograph enthusiasts the signature of Daniel Webster as Secretary of State affixed to a passport which was issued to the elder Kalckhoff on the occasion of a visit to Germany in 1852. Political reasons induced Dr. Frederick August Luening to come from Germany to Milwaukee in 1841. Two of his grandsons served in the American Army during the World war.

Henry Notbohm, who came from Brunswick, Germany in 1848, built the second steam sawmill in Wisconsin and later was

one of the earliest flour millers in America to introduce the Hungarian roller process, which supplanted the old French burr millstones. He brought with him, to enable them to escape the compulsory military service then in vogue in Germany, his five sons, one of whom is R. C. Notbohm, long a well-known business man in Milwaukee.

The extent to which Milwaukee was profiting by the influx from Germany was indicated by an article on "Our German Population," in the *Daily Wisconsin*, of December 15, 1849. It computed the number of German residents of the city at between seven and eight thousand, and went on to list some of the well-known organizations and business establishments which were essentially German: The German Union for Mutual Support in Case of Illness, with about 130 members; the Milwaukee Lodge of Sons of Hermann, 140 members; the German Union for the Support of European Republican Refugees; the German Chorus and Glee Club (the German Musical Society was launched a few weeks later); A German Society for the Support of the Poor, reorganized every winter; three military companies—the Washington Guard, the Milwaukee Riflemen and the City Dragoons; two German newspapers, the *Wisconsin Banner* and the *Volksfreund;* ten German breweries; several liquor and vinegar manufactories; innumerable taverns, groceries, etc., two tanneries; three soap manufactories; one iron foundry—the City Foundry, owned by Mr. Rosche; one copper-plate printing establishment, owned by Mr. G. Rademacher; one German bookstore and two binderies; one daguerreotype establishment (Stamm & Co.); one oil mill, owned by Doctor Luening; four apothecaries; twenty-five or thirty general stores; one wholesale drug store; six churches; five tobacco and cigar manufacturers; one volunteer fire company, and miscellaneous establishments of all kinds. In conclusion the article stated that only large manufacturing establishments had been mentioned. "A large portion of the German population," it added, "consists of mechanics and artisans of various kinds, and attached to many residences are workshops in which one or more members of a family pursue their business independently. There are in our city a surprising number of German craftsmen of superior skill."

The Turnverein Milwaukee, which was the pioneer organiza-

tion of the order in this city, was founded in 1853 and incorporated on the 14th of February, 1855, its purpose, as stated in the articles of incorporation, being "teaching gymnastics and cultivating the mind." Its hall on Fourth Street, erected in 1882, was for many years one of the most commodious and popular places of assembly in the city. The membership of the society at that time approximated 500. The young people receiving physical instruction in its classes numbered 295 boys and 127 girls, while no fewer than seventy-five of the older members were formally enrolled for the regular practice of athletic exercises, in which some of them became famous for expertness. Members of the Turnverein Milwaukee carried off the prizes of the National Bund at the Philadelphia fest of 1875, and returned with first honors from the international prize contest held at Frankfort, Germany, in 1880. There were other German Turner societies in Milwaukee—the South Side Turnverein, with 194 members and a hall on National Avenue; the North Side Turnverein, with 151 members, whose hall was on Walnut Street; the East Side Turnverein, and the Turnverein Vorwaerts. There was also a Bohemian Turnverein Sokol, affiliated with the Czech Turnerbund, whose headquarters were in New York. Many Swiss and not a few American youths were glad to avail themselves of the opportunities for acquiring physical culture offered in the classes conducted by the Turners.

By 1870 Wisconsin had a contingent of persons of foreign parentage aggregating 68 per cent. of her population. In 1890 33 per cent. of the people of foreign parentage in the United States were of German blood, while in Wisconsin the proportion of Germans to others of foreign parentage was 50 per cent. Thousands born on American soil were children of parents born in Germany. Of the 204,468 inhabitants whom the census of 1890 credited to Milwaukee, it was calculated that one-half were either of German nativity or of directly German descent, both parents having been born in Germany. In 1890 Milwaukee was the most German city in the United States, its inhabitants who were natives of Germany numbering 54,776, and constituting 27½ per cent. of the entire population. Distinctively German institutions were able to maintain themselves in Milwaukee, while in other cities similar institutions failed. Milwaukee at

that time was the only city in the United States except New York supporting a German theater of the first class. It was outstanding in educational circles throughout the country as the home of the German-American Teachers' Seminary, in which teachers of the German language were trained for service in the public schools. Here also was located the chief institution in America for training teachers for Turner societies and physical culture instruction in general. The number of German social and musical societies in Milwaukee was legion. The Deutscher Club had attained outstanding importance as a feature of the city's social life.

Switzerland was one of the European countries represented by immigrants making their way to early Milwaukee, voluntary exiles from a republic of their own, and not refugees from political or religious persecution, but frankly seeking to better their economic position. The bulk of Swiss migrants established themselves on farms in the interior of the State, notably at New Glarus and Monroe. The father and mother of Governor Philipp cast their lot in Sauk County. One of the earliest Swiss in Milwaukee was George Wild, a carpenter, who arrived in 1837. Jacob and Henry Nunnemacher came in 1844, the latter becoming proprietor of a tavern, while the latter laid the foundation of future prosperity at first as a butcher and later in other business pursuits, rearing a family conspicuously identified with the material development of the city. Gallus Isenring was a native of Switzerland who arrived in 1844. The Most Reverend John Martin Henni, D. D., a native of Switzerland who came to Milwaukee in 1844, was not an immigrant, for he had lived in this country since 1827, which was before the beginning of the rush of settlers to the region west of the Great Lakes. His arrival was an event of major significance and importance to the village, soon to become a city, for he came to found a see, conferring metropolitan prestige on the name of Milwaukee. He was the only German-speaking Catholic bishop in the United States, which gave Milwaukee distinction at the time among Germans in general coming to the United States and with minds not fully made up as to where they would "pitch their tents." Many Protestants and many men of anti-ecclesiastical commitments were among the Swiss contingent in Milwaukee, among the number being C.

Hermann Boppe, who was speaker of the Turners and editor of their official organ; John G. Liver, for sixteen years a justice of the peace; Jacob Wellauer, very successful as a wholesale grocer, and many others of more than average note in the community, outstanding among all, however, being Dr. Nicholas Senn, a physician and surgeon whose fame in his profession became international. It was not till after he attained a great measure of his fame that Doctor Senn removed to Chicago, of which city he was a resident at the time of his death. Other well remembered early Swiss residents of Milwaukee were Theodore Habegger, George Egger, Doctor Sentland, Fred Bachmann, R. Fuellemann, C. Ulrich, A. Grienninger, Otto Pupikifer and Alfred Bickel. A musical society, Frohsinn, was formed by the Swiss of Milwaukee in 1849, its walk to Watertown being one of the events of 1852. Frohsinn continued to flourish till the time of the Civil war, when its ranks were thinned by enlistments to an extent that led to disbandment. The Helvetian Shooting Club was organized in 1854. These were succeeded by the Helvetia Society and the Swiss Maennerchor, which latter was associated with the North American Gruetli-Bund, embracing forty branches in different parts of the United States. Every year it was the custom of the Swiss of Milwaukee to assemble for the celebration of the 13th of November, that being the anniversary of the historic oath taken by Swiss patriots on the Gruetli Mountain in the year 1307, which resulted in the achievement of Swiss political freedom.

One of the earliest Norwegian settlers in Milwaukee was a man named Nordbo, who kept a boarding house which was a favorite stopping-place for farmers of his own nationality who came in from Muskego, Yorkville, Pine Lake and Rock River to do business on the South Side. A Swede named Lange conducted a small hotel on the West Side as early as 1843, which was about the time of John Thorsen's arrival in the future city. Other Scandinavian old-timers were James D. Reimert, R. Reinertson, Samuel Gabrielson, A. and C. Sorenson and L. Baever. Mr. Reinertson's boarding house on the east side of Clinton Street between Oregon and Lake streets was much patronized by Norwegian sailors and farmers. Well-known sailing-masters of the nationality of Leif Ericson who made Milwaukee their home

port during the '40s and '50s of the last century included Capt. Z. Saveland, Capts. George and William Lund, and Captains Oleson, Larson, Christianson and Berenson. James Langland, who was a popular newspaper man of the '80s and president of the Milwaukee Press Club, himself of Scandinavian descent, and interested in the subject of Scandinavians in Milwaukee, came to the conclusion that the reason why many Scandinavians came to this place in the early days was that they regarded it as the most promising of all the ports on the Great Lakes. Writing of Milwaukee's Scandinavian contingent in 1895, Mr. Langland observed: "The immigration of Scandinavians to Milwaukee never was very rapid, but was steady, and the colony on the South Side continued to grow without interruption, spreading over the greater portion of the Fifth and Eighth wards and parts of the districts adjoining. It was not because they were clannish that the Scandinavians made their homes for the most part in one division of the city, for few foreigners are as ready to adapt themselves to the customs of their adopted country as are the Norwegians, the Danes and the Swedes." Regarding the occupations of the Scandinavians in Milwaukee and their political activities, Mr. Langland observed: "Few trades or professions in Milwaukee are without representatives of Scandinavian origin or descent. The lake marine, the machine shops and the factories claim the largest number, but there are also many engaged in other lines of industry. Of school teachers there are quite a number, while the medical and legal professions are fairly well represented. In politics the Scandinavians have not as a rule displayed much activity, though they have cast their votes faithfully at every election."

After the Austrian revolution of 1848 large numbers of Bohemians made their way to America, not a few of them coming to Milwaukee. Two of them, men of extraordinary energy, and also of liberal education, were Vojta Naprstek and Carl Jonas. Mr. Jonas settled in Racine, but Mr. Naprstek made his home in Milwaukee, establishing a bookstore and a circulating library of books in the German language. He also published a German newspaper, the *Flugblaetter*, which for a time enjoyed an extensive circulation among Bohemian and German readers who had broken away from traditions in religion and politics and

were looking forward eagerly to the social and political reorganization of the world. Mr. Jonas also established a newspaper, the *Slavic*. During the political convulsion precipitated by the passage of the Bennett law at the end of the '80s he was elected on the Democratic ticket to the lieutenant-governorship of Wisconsin. By no means all of the Bohemians were converts to what was denominated liberalism in religion, a considerable number continuing devoted adherence to the Catholic faith in which they had been reared. There were also Bohemian Protestants. While many of the Bohemians settled at other points along the lake shore, including the vicinity of Kewaunee, Manitowoc and Racine, others went into business in Milwaukee, a due proportion of them attaining positions of wealth and influence in the community. Among those who lived to participate in the celebration of the semi-centennial of the city were J. Zina, Sr., J. Satran, Sr., C. Link, Sr., F. Kriz, Sr., the Romadka brothers, William Toepfer, J. Janecek, J. Fisher, and F. Braun or Brown. In 1895 the Bohemian contingent of Milwaukee's population was calculated at 11,000, and maintained two Bohemian weekly papers, the *Domacnost*, published by A. Novak, and the *Rovnost*, published by Edward A. Krall. The Slovanska Lipa, a Bohemian social organization, was organized in Milwaukee in 1862, followed shortly afterward by the Czechoslovian Benevolent Society. The Sokol, founded in 1864, composed of Bohemian Turners, consolidated later with the Rad Wisconsin. This sold its hall in 1892, consolidating with other Bohemian organizations of the city. In 1892 it was estimated that three-fourths of the children of Bohemian parentage in Milwaukee were attending the public schools, while the remainder were pupils in parochial schools. Bohemians generally are distinguished for the ease with which they acquire languages, and few of them had lived long in this country before obtaining a working knowledge of English.

The Hollanders of Milwaukee formed an interesting group, by virtue of their qualities rather than their numbers, for probably there were not more than 3,000 of them in the city. Of these the majority for many years were residents of the Ninth and Tenth wards. Some of them came in 1845, and others during the following ten years. Among them were the Terhorsts, the Reukemas, the LeGrands, the Te Brakes, the Jansens, the Men-

tinks, the Doorninks, the Anvelinks, the Zettelers, the Guequierres, the Manschotts and the Geerlings. Some of them were Catholics and others Protestants. In politics, however, nearly all aligned themselves with the Republican party. The third and fourth generations have become so closely identified with the institutions of the country of their adoption that, as is the case with descendants of the other early groups, little is left by which to identify them with immigrant antecedents except their names.

The English, the Welsh and the Scotch were well represented among the early immigrants to Milwaukee, and all for a long time maintained organizations reminding them of their places of origin while participating in the duties of citizenship in the land of their adoption.

Jewish interests in Milwaukee began before the period of white settlement, for as early as 1804 Jacob Franks, who was an English Jew, established as a fur-trader at Green Bay, sent his agents to Milwaukee. Jewish settlers of 1836 were Emanuel Shoyer and his brothers, who opened a clothing store on East Water Street, another Jewish settler of that year being Henry Newhouse. Between 1845 and 1850 came Solomon and David Adler, William Baer, Henry Bonns, Aaron Blade, Herman Bellak, Henry Meyer and Elias Friend, Max Mack, J. Neustadt, J. B. Schram, Jacob Mahler, Nathan Pereles, Loeble Rindskopf, Jacob Steinhart, J. Stranski, Benjamin Zellner, Isaac Levy, E. Heller, Gottlieb Patek, J. M. Hirschberg, Bernard Altschul, Moses Kahn, Theodore Hirsch and many others.

Marcus Markwell, L. Rindskopf, B. Cohen, A. F. Leopold, M. Sonlander, Emanuel Silverman, Jacob Frisch are well remembered names of worthy early settlers who were of the race of Israel. So are those of Henry M. Mendel, Louis Shakman, Moses Abrahams, Henry Katz, and scores who came early but somewhat later than those named and are indissolubly identified with the development of Milwaukee. A. W. Rich came in 1865.

Victims of anti-Jewish persecutions in southwestern Russia began to find their way to this country in considerable numbers during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. Bernard Gross wrote an account of the reception which was accorded to the unfortunate exiles on their arrival in this city, deriving part of his material from a record book which had been kept by A. W.

Rich as treasurer of the local auxiliary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle of Wisconsin, the volume having come into his possession when he succeeded Mr. Rich as incumbent of that office. Mr. Gross said: "I find that the very first refugees who came to America assisted by European committees arrived in Milwaukee October 13, 1881. They came here footsore, clad in rags, soiled and hungry. Of these first-comers only a few are still living in this city. One who went to Chicago is now a wealthy man, and the others are all in good circumstances. During the following winter and spring about one hundred more arrived. Not more than one-fourth of these needed assistance, the others coming at their own expense and being able to shift for themselves. About the end of June, 1882, a dispatch was received in New York from Doctor Yates, a member of a London aid committee of the time, informing the Russian Aid Society of Wisconsin that 350 Russian refugees had left Hamburg en route to Milwaukee, and asking us to be prepared for them when they came, which would be in a few days. This came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and every officer and member of the society felt as if all the 350 were to be his exclusive guests. A meeting was called, and it was resolved to invite our fellow citizens of all creeds and nationalities to be present at the grand reception. Mayor Stowell was the first to accept the invitation. A mass meeting was called and held at the Academy of Music, at which the Mayor presided. Words of cheer were spoken. Promises and provisions came from all sides, and to climax the good work a Milwaukee Citizens' Aid Committee was formed, young women and matrons as well as men enlisting in the work. Carts full of eatables and clothing were unloaded at the temporary headquarters, their contents disappearing as if by magic. After three days the trainload of dilapidated human beings had so much improved in appearance as to resemble a group of American citizens in caucus assembled, and within the short space of two months there was not one able-bodied man or woman of the lot unprovided with employment either in the city or somewhere in the State. With the munificent assistance extended by Baron Hirsch and the New York committee, all immigrant refugees from Russia were taken care of on their arrival in this country up to 1891, but in that year, the May laws being enforced with Muscovite brutality and hatred, hun-

dreds of thousands of men and women at one time became homeless wanderers. Fearful was the scale on which they crowded into New York. They had to be scattered, and Milwaukee received her share. Thanks to past experiences, the fifteen hundred souls arriving in Milwaukee with scanty means listened to counsel which helped them to become self-supporting. No fewer than 2,500 of these refugees are now (1895) living in this city, engaged in professional, mercantile and other pursuits. They include five physicians, 250 tailors, many shoemakers, blacksmiths, tanners, bricklayers, cabinet-makers, tinkers, bookbinders, milkmen, butchers, bookkeepers, agents, wholesale merchants, and followers of other gainful pursuits. The schools of the city contain their quota. In the Second and Sixth wards about 15 per cent of the pupils are Jewish Russian children."

Natives of Poland began arriving in Milwaukee soon after the unsuccessful effort in that country in 1863 to regain its ancient independence. From that time there was a growing influx of Poles, which reached its climax in the '90s. Milwaukee's pioneer Polander was said to be Anthony Kochanek, others among the early arrivals being August Rudzinski, John Wyrobek, Stephen Worzalla, Martin Krueger and Joseph Wilczewski. In 1870 the number of Polish families in the city was estimated at thirty. About this time whole villages in the portion of Poland under German rule were seized with the desire to emigrate to America, and within two years the Polish contingent had become an outstanding portion of Milwaukee's population. In 1928 natives of Poland residing in the city were estimated to number 25,000, and, with residents of Polish descent, constituted a group of not fewer than 100,000. Next to the Germans, the Poles are the largest element from overseas in the composite population of Milwaukee.

The Poles became home-owners at the outset of their settlement in the city. They have distinguished themselves for industry and thrift. There are numerous Polish societies devoted to recreation, study and mutual benefit, and Poles have taken a lively interest in the National Guard. With Milwaukeeans in general they rendered loyal support to the Government during the World war. Many of them, especially representatives of the younger generation, have earned creditable recognition in the pro-

fessions. Frank Niezerawski gained wealth by his success as a builder and contractor. Ignatz Czerwinski flourished as a merchant, innumerable others doing likewise. Michael Kruszka, editor and publisher, made the *Kuryer Pulski* a creditable addition to the daily newspaper press of the city, also serving with distinction in the office of State senator. Well-known Milwaukeeans of Polish antecedents are Postmaster Peter Piaseki, Judge Michael Blenski, August Gawin, Casimir Gonski, Comptroller Louis M. Kotecki, Assistant District Attorney John Filut, Assistant City Attorney Joseph Bednarek, State Senator Walter Polakowski—and the list might be extended indefinitely. In 1918 the Fourth District sent John C. Kleczka to Congress; in 1930 Governor Kohler selected him to fill the vacancy left on the circuit bench by the appointment of Judge Fairchild to the Supreme Court.

An article on Italians in Milwaukee published in the spring of 1886 estimated their number at that time at between three and four hundred, of whom fifty or thereabouts were earning their living as makers of plaster images. Twenty engaged in work of this description were employed by Caspar Hennecke, who had provided for their accommodation a house on the south side of National Avenue between Reed and Hanover streets, where they lived and worked. He described them as "the nicest people to get along with you ever saw."

Not long thereafter, immigration from the dominions of the King of Italy underwent a noticeable increase, including large numbers of Sicilians. They branched out industrially, not a few of them prospering as fruit merchants, and others securing positions as laborers on public works. After the great fire of 1892 Italians flocked into the Third Ward, which from that time became as distinctly Italian as it had been Irish in the earlier days. There are other sections of the East Side and a part of the South Side in which they are numerically strong. Naturally they were attracted at the outset to localities where they could make themselves understood in their own language. Italian children attending the public schools show remarkable aptitude for learning. They pick up English quickly, and express themselves fluently in well-chosen words, without a trace of alienism in their pronunciation.

Michael Biagi, who was a Tuscan by birth, came to America in 1859, and moved about the country before selecting a spot in which to settle, finally choosing Milwaukee, in 1861. For many years he was the proprietor of the St. Paul Hotel, on Reed Street, retiring in 1885. Long before there was a large Italian contingent in the city, several representatives of the nationality had established themselves as musicians. Andrew De Bona came in 1874, and De Bona's String Orchestra furnished music for dances and select social gatherings for many years. R. L. De Lorenzo and Urbana Stello also are remembered among Milwaukee musicians. Frank Spicuzza, one of Milwaukee's pioneer Italians, began as a peddler of bananas, thus securing means to set up a little store in which he worked toward the acquisition of a modest competence, meanwhile rearing a bright family. Francisco Spicuzza, his son, whose paintings began to command attention long before he had reached the age of manhood, has attained high rank among Milwaukee artists. A family of Italians which was among the first to work its way to outstanding commercial success in Milwaukee was the Catalonas, consisting of five brothers, headed by Mariano, who came in 1884. They began to handle fruits in a small way on Milwaukee Street, gradually expanding their business until it was large enough to warrant them at the opening of the new century in moving to quarters in "Commission Row" on Broadway. Another Italian commission firm which early attained success was that of Pastorino & Schiappacasse. Peter Guardalabene became prominent in the Italian colony. Antonio Scarpaggi's native place was Messina, where he was born in 1866. Coming to Milwaukee in the first flush of manhood, and quickly attaining facility in the use of the English language, he secured a position as foreman in the employ of the street car company, and demonstrated executive ability. Tony Bellanti, who died in 1927, had gained repute as a banker and philanthropist, making friends among the population at large as well as among his fellow Italians. Dr. Samuel Megna, and Angelo Cerminara, the latter a lawyer by profession and present incumbent of the Italian consulate, are popular gentlemen who are Italians. Several years ago the number of Italians in Milwaukee was estimated at 20,000. At the present time representatives of that nationality are accounted third in numerical

order among the immigrant elements in the population of Milwaukee.

A pamphlet issued under the auspices of people interested in the Ninth Annual Convention of the Catholic Slovak Students' Fraternity of America, held at the Milwaukee Auditorium, August 19-21, 1930, is authority for the statement that there are more than 15,000 Slovaks living within the corporate limits of this city, and more than 23,000 within the metropolitan district of Milwaukee. The Slovak colony has its doctor, lawyer, druggist, dentist, artist, and other representatives in practically all walks of life. The first Slovak to come to Milwaukee was Imrich Kusik, a wandering tradesman, who sold metal pots and performed repair work. He arrived in 1881, rented a cottage on Clinton Street near National Avenue, and decided to remain. Not long thereafter the Guzo family settled on the north bank of the Milwaukee River, near the cement mills. The Catholic faith predominates among the Milwaukee Slovaks. St. Stephens' parish, organized in 1907, is said to contain the largest Slovak congregation in the United States. In February, 1930, Slovaks living on the West Side purchased twenty lots at Fifty-sixth and Congress streets, where they will build a new church and school. The Slovaks have a number of church societies and other organizations, military, athletic, social, benevolent, dramatic and musical. All the Slovak children receive at least a common school education and some of them are sent to the high schools.

The Y. W. C. A. International Institute, whose headquarters, in charge of Miss Edna Merrell, are on Eleventh Street, has made a recent survey of the foreign groups in Milwaukee. What is contained in the following paragraphs is summarized from its reports:

Hungarians have been coming to Milwaukee since the time of Count Augostin Harasthy, who arrived in 1840 and located at Sauk City; but it was not till the early '90s that they arrived in large numbers. According to the census of 1910 Milwaukee contained 5,571 Hungarians by birth, 8,233 by country of origin, and 2,064 by mother tongue. The 1920 census showed 4,803 by country of birth, 12,200 by country of origin, and 2,736 by mother tongue. Many Hungarians were listed as Austrians, Roumanians, Jugoslavs or Czechoslavs. The present estimated

number of foreign and native-born (second generation) Hungarians in Milwaukee is between 6,000 and 8,000. The Catholic Hungarians belonging to the St. Imre congregation hold services in the German St. Joseph's Church, on Cherry and Eleventh streets. The Hungarian Jewish Church is on Tenth Street near Walnut Street. Some of the Hungarians belong to the Church of Evangelism, which has a meeting place on Madison Street. A number of Hungarians are Baptists. There is a Hungarian Reformed Church Hall at Fourth and Court streets.

There are forty or more Armenian families in Milwaukee—about 200 individuals, and 100 Armenians in West Allis.

The Syrians in Milwaukee are estimated at more than sixty families and more than 600 people. They have a Roman Catholic Church, St. George's, on State Street, which was built in 1917.

Estimates of the number of Mexicans in Milwaukee vary from 3,000 to 6,000. Many are of the floating type, constantly moving from one locality to another, and expecting when they have accumulated money to return to Mexico.

Jugo-Slavians began coming to Milwaukee not more than a quarter of a century ago, but for several years thereafter arrived in such numbers that they have come to constitute one of the largest immigrant additions to the portion of the community engaged in industrial labor. They are Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, each group speaking its own language, but many understanding all three, and all of them quick in obtaining a working capital of English. It is computed that there are 25,000 Jugo-Slavians in Milwaukee County, chiefly domiciled in the Fifth, Eighth, Seventeenth and Twentieth wards of the city and in West Allis. They have eight educational societies and a benevolent organization.

Were a wreath for the brow of cosmopolite Milwaukee to be gathered from flowers of oratory which have bloomed in addresses delivered on various public occasions in this city, none worthier could be assembled than bespangled some of the speeches at the opening of the German May Festival at Kneeland's Grove on Spring Street in 1852. Booths had been erected on the grounds, and provision made for old-time German sports and games. The weather was auspicious. All classes were attracted to the scene. Mayor Crocker presided over the opening exercises. Editor

Kruer, of the *Banner*, speaking in German, congratulated his countrymen on the circumstance that, gathered as they were, far from the land of their nativity, amid surroundings still bearing traces of the primeval wilderness, they enjoyed a new and strange freedom of expression. "No spies, no soldiers, no gens d'arms," he said, "are posted here to watch your movements and listen for indiscreet words that might maliciously be misconstrued to make innocent enjoyment wear the aspect of treason. Here the aged and the youthful, the matron, the maid and the laughing child, as well as the honest worker seeking respite from his toil, are free as the air they breathe, bright as the sun that gilds the tree-tops, and enjoying happiness unrestrained." Mr. Kruer's address was followed by that of E. G. Ryan, which was in English. The future chief justice of the State Supreme Court was in the prime of his powers, and never spoke with greater eloquence and power than he brought to bear that day upon the subject of cosmopolitanism as illustrated in the human tide from near and far that was pouring into the region of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. He said:

"It is well for us to come together. Should we, the recently gathered neighbors of a freshly assembled society, be as strangers in all things save the accidents of habitation and business? Should all who do not happen to come within our little coterie be as outside barbarians, never seen without the sweating harness of their daily trade? Is it not better sometimes to cast aside the tools and trappings of daily labor, forget the selfish instincts of daily care, and come forth to hold thus together a generous social public festival? Life is a strife, and we are apt to elbow one another in our struggles for bread or for wealth. Such meetings as this beget acquaintanceship and foster kindly mutual regard.

"I have often thought that we in the West are a crowd rather than a community. We have no transmitted society, inheriting fellowship, bound by blood and alliance, grown up together to dwell and labor in our fathers' places. We come here in the full maturity of life and character. We meet here from all quarters of the civilized earth. Our native manners, languages and habits of life, of thought and of society act in sort as a principle of repulsion between us. We gather into clans rather than merge in society. We meet, however, to accomplish a great providence.

The commingling in the Mississippi Valley of the blood, the languages, the literatures, the manners, the arts and the industries of all Christendom, to mix and merge and to become the elements of a new society and the seed of a new race, under the freest institutions and on the richest soil God's sun shines upon, is no blind chance. It is a pregnant combination ordered by the Providence which watches over the nations and guides the progress of human civilization. We are drawn hither to contribute to a civilization partaking every national civilization, and higher than any other on earth. We are here to mix our blood in a new race of men, superior to all races because sprung from all. We are here, and more will come. From the older States of this Union, having already partially undergone this transfusion of races from Holland, Germany, France, England, Ireland and Scotland; from the frozen shores of Norway and the sunny plains of Italy; from the teeming coasts of Europe and the almost Asiatic soil and blood of Hungary, Teutonic and Celtic, of all races, we come to found here a new empire of free life and industry. Ladies and gentlemen, we are not an Anglo-Saxon race. The American is composite. The unmixed blood of a few families has been held nobility. Nature abhors unmixed blood. The pride of lineage was a sin against physical laws, and carried within itself the seed of its own dissolution. Our nobility is popular, universal consanguinity its pedigree, the charter of humanity its title—a nation of nobles, without serfs. Not today, in the significance of this festival, do we meet as New Englanders, New Yorkers, Germans, Britons or Irish. We come from many lands, with the blood of many races in our veins; but meeting here on the inheritance of our common posterity, we must look to the future, not to the past; we must find our relations not in our fathers, but in our children. We meet as the common ancestry of the new race hereafter to inherit the glorious patrimony we are reclaiming for them from the wilderness, uniting in them all our blood—the indomitable will and energy of the Teuton and the ardor and genius of the Celt—the young American race, the Western American race, great in the hopes of the centuries to come; the pioneer race of the Great Valley, worthy, let us hope, of its vastness. Not in our fathers, but in our children, are we a people. For this have we migrated hither. It would be too grave and

tedious a discussion for this pleasant meeting to dwell upon that great motive power, the migratory propensity implanted by Providence in our human nature, now peacefully leading forth millions to new seats and new freedom, as once its armed and embattled tread resounded over the earth, sowing the seeds of a new order in the desolation of the old. Yet let us in passing acknowledge it for what it is, a great element in American progress. Migration has its inconveniences, but let us acknowledge whatever we owe to it, and in every immigrant who lands upon these shores, whatever uncouth garb may cover his person, whatever strange sounds may come from his mouth, whatever unfamiliar nationality may be stamped upon his features, let us respect the principle in the agent; let us acknowledge a contribution of humanity to the American race, a minute tribute of the old world to the power and progress of the new; a unit in the great human pilgrimage, guided hither by a star seen as of old in the East, the Star of Empire, which westward holds its way. Where in the far centuries of the unknown future that star may guide wanderers in search of the destiny of their race, we know not; today it stands over this valley, and humanity comprehends and obeys its laws.

"And, ladies and gentlemen, if the mixture of our various races in one posterity is thus to cement a higher civilization, let us ask why should not the same elements in us now contribute to a higher society among ourselves? Let me say that society amongst us is too conservative. We all seem to have something of a belief in national infallibility, a faith in the perfection of our own habits of life. We are prone to set up our own several standards and to enlist under them like bands of free companions. Our society is a system of social sets. We should find a truer and wiser liberality. We bring the arts, the manners, the intelligence of many lands. Let us not fence ourselves wholly apart with an adhesive bigotry for our peculiar manners. There is something good in all national peculiarities. Let us seek it, borrowing what is best from each and tolerating what is strange in all. The mists of prejudice will disappear before the light of experience; clans will merge in society, and the crowd will become a community."

One of the speakers at the joint annual banquet of the Pioneer

Association and the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, held at the Kirby House in February, 1883, was Prof. James Davie Butler of Madison, who observed that he would like to say a word about the heterogeneity of Milwaukee, and proceeded as follows:

"The more diverse the elements, the more valuable the combination. The greater the number of elementary rocks, the geologists tell us, the more fertile will be the soil. Crossing the breed improves cattle. An analogous process raises the vegetable kingdom to a higher plane. Hennepin, the second white man whom we know to have landed here, carried with him what he called a theriac, considered a cure for human ailments. It was compounded of no fewer than three-score-and-four simples, as honey is concentrated from a vast variety of flowers. Milwaukee is the antipodes of China in lineage as well as in longitude. One is the ultimatum of heterogeneity and the other of homogeneity. China has evolved a Dead Sea. Milwaukee has generated life and energy like that of the unsalted ocean on whose shore she sits as queen. Multitudinous diversities of race have been working together. Whatever in each is best worth saving works out its own salvation, and the result is the survival of the fittest. The type of society which here is having its genesis, to what shall I compare it? It has one emblem in the table I admired in the Borghesi Palace, which is inlaid with a specimen of every known gem. It reminds me of the Romans, who, congregating from all quarters to build the Eternal City, threw each of them into its foundations a handful of soil from his native land, and who, learning from every enemy, adopted the Gallic sword, the Grecian shield, the Samnite discipline and the ships of Carthage."

In 1885 popular magazines had called attention to huge purchases of Government lands in this country by wealthy non-resident Europeans, and expressed the belief that soon there would be nothing left of the public domain to confer upon actual settlers. At the Old Settlers' banquet of that year, Jeremiah Quin, himself an immigrant American, observed:

"The immigrant must come to dwell in the land. An alien should never own a foot of American territory. If we madly plant the seed of a foreign landlordism, the harvest of dreadful revolution will surely come. Perpetuating foreign languages in our country is a great mistake, and distinctive race colonization,

whether in town or country, is a double misfortune. If possible, every foreigner should be sandwiched between two Americans. To this end, every avenue of social life should be broadened, every agency of social intercourse encouraged. Intermarriage will in time become a potent factor in cementing the races, but our great national laboratory is the public school. Here the children of all classes meet upon common ground and enjoy equal privileges, and from the public school must come, fraternized and nationalized, America's future citizens, intelligent, law-abiding and united. Tear down no man's altar. Make war on no man's conscience. Stand by the public schools, and hold the public lands for the old settlers."

The source of the following was an address by Hempstead Washburne of Chicago at the annual dinner of the Wisconsin Society of Sons of the American Revolution, which was held at the Hotel Pfister in Milwaukee on the evening of the 29th of May, 1908:

"Broad as may be our Republic, not one acre upon its free soil was intended for that man who does not venerate our institutions, and who would not defend them as he would his own fireside. The early immigrants helped us to independence. They shed their blood without a murmur to perpetuate the Union. They and their children have filled every position of trust with honor and success. They absorbed our Constitution as a part of their existence and passed it down to their children (who like ourselves were American born) as a heritage more potent for good and more certain to protect posterity than wealth or honors. We have not far to look tonight to realize that sons of the more recent immigrants have proved as good American citizens as the sons of our earliest immigrants and are alive to the value of the heritage our and their ancestors preserved."

Organized effort to hasten the development of Wisconsin by propaganda designed to attract settlers from abroad owed much to the initiative of Governor Leonard J. Farwell, whose election to the executive office in 1852 had been preceded by a brilliant career in business at Milwaukee. The creation of a State immigration agent is said to have been his idea, and his policy of advertising the industrial advantages of Wisconsin in Europe was followed by his successors in the governorship for many years.

Later efficient work of this character was performed under the auspices of railroad companies, as well as by private individuals largely interested in the sale of lands. The propaganda for settlers which was conducted by Kent K. Kennan, now of this city, in the decade beginning with 1879, and which resulted in attracting some five thousand Bavarians to Wisconsin, was carried on in the region northwest of Munich. Its object was to people the lands along the Wisconsin Central Railroad in Clark, Taylor, Price and Ashland counties, and it contributed in a laudable degree to that desirable result. While Mr. Kennan was thus engaged, the firm of Johnson, Rietbrock & Halsey of this city was active in a similar undertaking—the populating of 50,000 acres of farmland in Marathon County. Many of the individuals they interested in the choice region it was their purpose to develop were sons of German farmers in the southern portion of the State, but Andrew Kreutzer, acting as their agent, made frequent visits to New York with the object of calling the attention of freshly-arrived immigrants to the attractive opening in Wisconsin. He talked with people from Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Limnitz, Pomerania, South Germany and Austria, who, with their children and grandchildren, to the number of thousands, are happy tillers and owners of valuable farms in Marathon County at the present day. Another resident of Milwaukee, William E. Powell, immigration agent of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway for many years, was credited with responsibility for inducing more than twenty thousand Europeans to make their homes in the United States, most of them along the lines of that railroad in Minnesota and the Dakotas, but a number of them taking up farms in Wisconsin.

CHAPTER XXIV

OLD MILWAUKEE STREETS

HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS CONVEYED IN SOME OF THEIR NAMES—FAMILIAR LONG AGO, MANY WERE ALTERED AND NOW ARE FORGOTTEN, WHILE OTHERS ENDURE IN A CHANGING WORLD—THE STORY OF WISCONSIN AVENUE—ODDS AND ENDS OF ANECDOTE SUGGESTED BY WELL-KNOWN THOROUGHFARES.

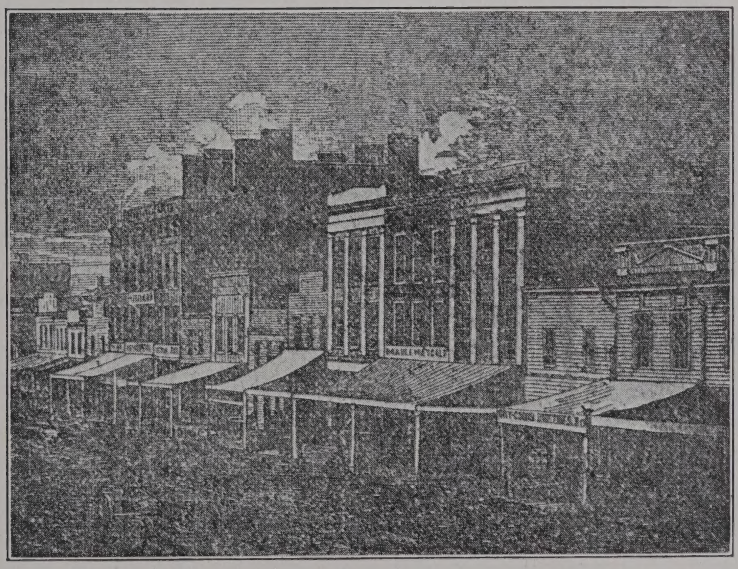
The origin of street names is of curious interest to inquiring minds. Sometimes such names are redolent of local history. Ferry Street, for instance, recalls the time when the Milwaukee River at the foot of East Water Street was crossed by a ferry instead of a bridge. Galena Street was named for Galena, Ill., which in its heyday was the emporium of the Lead Region and for a time more populous and important than Chicago. With Galena Street on the West Side, Mineral Street on the South Side recalls the time when Milwaukee was the chief port of shipment for the product of the Lead Region. At the dawn of Milwaukee's being, Mineral Street was Mineral Road, over which traveled toiling oxen dragging heavy wagons laden with pigs of lead and bags of shot. Next to the fur business the lead business was the prime commercial activity connecting this city with the world outside. Once there were two Beaubian streets in Milwaukee, commemorating the Western pioneer and fur-trader who was one of the predecessors of Juneau and who still is remembered in Chicago. In the late '40s the Beaubian Street on the South Side was renamed Scott Street, for Capt. Martin Scott, U. S. A., brevetted for his bravery at Monterey. Captain Scott was well known and greatly admired in Milwaukee. When President Garfield was murdered, in 1881, the Beaubian Street on the North Side was given the name of Garfield. Now it is West Garfield Avenue. Many early Milwaukee street names have disappeared from the map. Others have survived the vicissitudes of time and

change, one of these being Wisconsin Street—East Wisconsin Avenue. East Wisconsin Avenue was Wisconsin Street when Wisconsin itself was hardly more than a name. Wisconsin has developed, and so has the interesting highway which from the beginning has been designated in its honor.

This thoroughfare came into being at the outset of Milwaukee's career. At its intersection with the old East Water Street, now North Water Street, Solomon Juneau erected his log cabin, near the earlier structure of the fur-trader leClair, and began his traffic with the Indians. Here was the nucleus of what later grew to be the City of Milwaukee. Here Mr. Juneau gave hospitable entertainment to travelers in the wilderness who happened to make their way to the future metropolis of Badgerdom, among his guests being William Hamilton in 1827, George H. Walker possibly as early as 1833, and Byron Kilbourn in 1834. It was in 1834 that the first survey was made in this portion of the territory contiguous to Lake Michigan. A sectional line was drawn along the present line of East Wisconsin Street and marked by white posts, all measurements starting here, so that in figurative language it may be affirmed that Wisconsin Street was the first letter in the alphabet of Milwaukee.

The earliest grading in the city began at the junction of Wisconsin and East Water streets, contractors working southward from the section line on Wisconsin Street, and carting earth from the bluffs on the east for the purpose of filling the marsh that stretched between the present line of East Clybourn Street (then called Huron Street) and Walker's Point. Their next undertaking was the grading of Wisconsin Street as far east as Jackson Street. Rich in scenic beauty, the ruggedness of the locality made difficult tasks. Nelson Olin, who had contracted to perform the work for Solomon Juneau, said that at the southeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets it was necessary to fill a hole forty feet in depth. The north side of Wisconsin Street between East Water Street and Broadway presented a steep ascent, and there was high land from Broadway to a point east of Jackson Street, while at Van Buren Street was a sharp descent into a ravine. The first Federal building in Milwaukee was the lighthouse at the head of Wisconsin Street, erected in 1838, to reach which it was necessary after descending into the ravine to climb

EAST WATER AND WISCONSIN
STREETS, LOOKING SOUTH,
1867



EAST WATER STREET IN 1844

View of the west side of the street, between Wisconsin and Michigan Streets.

an acclivity to the eastward of sixty feet. When the lighthouse was built the lake bluff continued southward nearly to Huron Street.

For many years in the developmental era business on the East Side was concentrated on East Water Street. Huron Street was brought into prominence by the building of piers into the lake, and was a bustling thoroughfare from 1843 to 1854, during which time business on Wisconsin Street was largely confined to the two blocks between what is now North Broadway and the river. However, the Belleview House, afterward the Milwaukee House, stood in 1836 at the northeast corner of Wisconsin and Main streets (Broadway), and early in the '40s Wisconsin Street away off toward the lake was the site of Zachariah Clayton's sash, door and blind factory, where he used steam when his competitors on the canal were boasting of their water power. Wisconsin Street was for a long time distinctly a residence street, however, except along the stretch extending from Broadway to the river. One of the most comfortable dwellings in early Milwaukee was that of George D. Dousman, on the northwest corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets. A little later rose the Wolcott residence on Wisconsin Street a block further east, and others. When the engine house stood on the Dousman lot, the grade was altered, after which the house was twelve feet above the street, and the boys had trouble getting their machine in and out. The block had been graded down many years before, in the infancy of the city, but not to the level afterward fixed.

In 1842 the first fine brick residence in Milwaukee was erected by the Rev. Lemuel Hull at the northwest corner of Wisconsin and Jackson streets. Too spacious for the requirements of his domestic establishment, Mr. Hull turned his mansion to account by establishing under its roof the first school in Milwaukee for the higher education of women, the "Milwaukee Female Academy," which after his death—he died in 1843—was conducted by his two daughters, the elder of whom, Eleanor, had barely reached the age of nineteen. Illustrative of primitive conditions prevailing in the Milwaukee of 1843, it may be noted that Mr. Hull's remains reposed for several years in a sepulchral edifice of brick located in what had been his own front yard on Wisconsin Street. Later, when his farm, then far beyond the southern

boundary of the city, was transformed into Forest Home Cemetery, the body was removed from its original resting-place and interred in that beautiful necropolis.

An important impetus was given to Wisconsin Street when in 1844 Abner Kirby erected at the northeast corner of that thoroughfare and East Water Street the substantial brick building in which he conducted his jewelry business. On the roof of this building he maintained the first public time-piece in the city. In 1849 James B. Martin built a still more noteworthy structure on the corner diagonally opposite, which sometimes was referred to as the Martin Block and sometimes as Gardiner's Hall. In May, 1882, when preparations for the erection of the Mack Building were under way, an old settler jotted down the following memorandum:

"The old dark drab painted brick building which is being pulled down at the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets was erected in 1849. Previously the site had been occupied by a white frame two-story structure, in the lower story of which was the pioneer clothing store of Cary & Taylor, afterward Cary & Williams, and the dry goods store of Wardner & Higby. The *Sentinel*, first as a weekly, then as a daily, was printed up-stairs. During the Mexican war it had a bulletin board on the corner, where throngs gathered to learn the news. This was in 1846 and 1847. Election news also was announced on the bulletin board, and the corner for many years was a landmark in Milwaukee. This frame building was erected in 1840. The building was torn down to make way for Martin's Block, in the third story of which was the famous Gardiner's Hall. Martin had brought considerable money to the city, and his building was said to be better than any in Chicago at that time. Gardiner's Hall was the scene of social gatherings, concerts and other entertainments. Here were delivered the closing addresses in the trial of Radcliff for the murder of Ross, with A. R. R. Butler and E. G. Ryan for the prosecution, and J. E. Arnold and A. D. Smith for the defense. Here E. G. Ryan and S. M. Booth spoke for Land Reform, the issue of 1851, W. K. Wilson, then in the first flush of manhood, having introduced the bill. The elder Patti, accompanied by her sister Adalina, sang in this hall. The gallery of H. S. Brown, the leading photographer, was in the third story

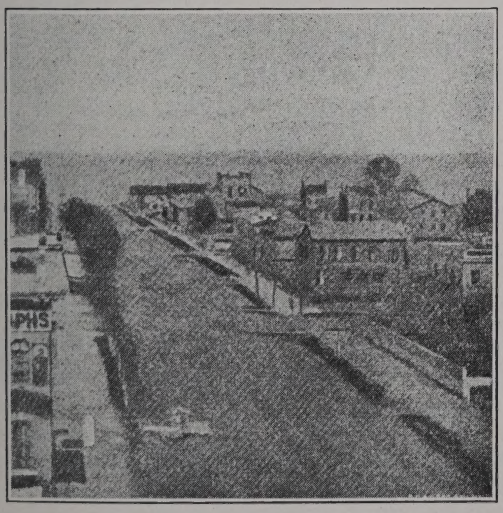
of the building. On the second floor were the offices of Emmons & Van Dyke, and of Smith & Palmer [H. L.]. A good-sized room on the second floor furnished quarters for the City Council. The corner store was occupied by Crampton & Osborne, dry goods. Doctors Whitney and McKnight had offices in the block. It was in his office in this building that Jonathan E. Arnold died. In later years Thomas Hooley had a dry goods store here."

Soon after Mr. Martin had improved the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, the northwest corner received attention. Here, practically on the site of Juneau's old store, rose the Ludington Building, extending from East Water Street to the river. Later, on the former site of the Milwaukee House, William Young—not "Governor" William Young, but another man of the same name, who afterward went to St. Louis—reared Young's Hall, destined to be burned down and rebuilt—the structure known in succeeding years as the "Library Building" and the "Miller Building." Still more noteworthy, however, was the selection in 1855 of the site of the Dousman residence for the post office. This gave prestige not only to Wisconsin Street but to the whole East Side.

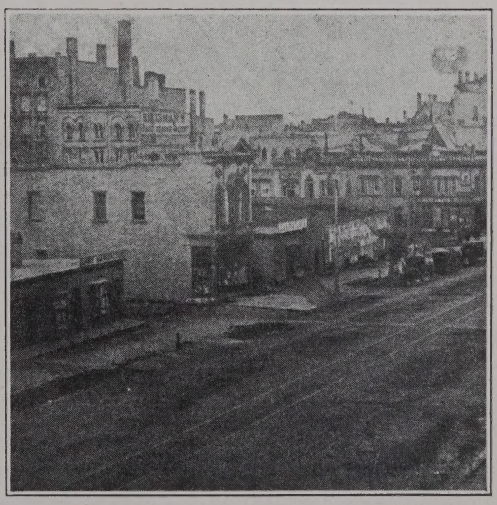
Improvement of the upper end of Wisconsin Street then in progress was commented on by the *Daily Wisconsin* in an article published toward the end of 1857: "The work of cutting down the east end of Wisconsin Street to the new grade is nearly completed, and blocks and streets begin to appear where the old Government lighthouse keeper's house and the Gardens, a favorite place of resort in times gone by, formerly stood. The quantity of earth removed in cutting down the bluff has been enormous, but it has all been needed in filling lots and raising streets in the Third Ward. At the corner of Wisconsin and Marshall streets is a block of four four-story brick dwellings now nearly completed, and, nestled down beside them, is a one-story frame dwelling which nine years ago stood some forty feet higher in the air, but which, by successive alterations of the grade, has been lowered to its present place." This structure, on the north side of Wisconsin Street, was built and owned by Zachariah Clayton, and descended to his heirs.

After the great fire which in 1860 swept away all the wooden buildings on the south side of Wisconsin Street from East Water

OLD GRAND AVENUE, WEST FROM
THE BRIDGE, EARLY '80s



WISCONSIN STREET IN THE '60s



WISCONSIN STREET IN 1866
Opposite old Post Office and Miller Building, Looking Southwest.

Street to Broadway, James B. Martin acquired the frontage from East Water Street to the alley and constructed the Iron Block, otherwise known as Masonic Hall. At that time, and for many years thereafter, however, East Water Street continued to be the great retail artery of Milwaukee, as well as the thoroughfare preferred, though not exclusively, by wholesalers in general.

Even the most sanguine believers in the progress of Milwaukee were startled in 1872 when they learned that T. A. Chapman had selected for his large and growing retail dry goods business a site as far "out of the way" as the southeast corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets. He had come to Milwaukee in 1857 and had enjoyed steadily expanding patronage. His location was on the east side of East Water Street, not far south of Wisconsin Street. The site to which he proposed to remove was occupied at the time by Henry E. Dickinson as a billiard hall—in a made-over wooden building which formerly had been a church. Milwaukeeans whose memories reach back to 1865 remember that after the fire of that year, which swept the south side of Wisconsin Street from Broadway to Milwaukee Street, the rookeries which had been destroyed were replaced at first by cheap and shabby structures that were no improvement on their predecessors. Confident were the predictions that Mr. Chapman's intrepidity would result disastrously. Great was the astonishment when it became apparent that the prophets of evil had lacked vision. Much of Mr. Chapman's success was due to qualities inherent in himself—to his genius for initiative, to his unerring taste, to the reputation for excellence of all he dealt in which he had earned during years in business. These things no doubt were more important than location; but after he had carried his customers with him his trade continued to grow, and others than he found Wisconsin Street a fine street for retail business. This reputation it maintained notwithstanding the rise of other flourishing retail centers in different sections of the city, and notwithstanding the phenomenal development of what formerly was Grand Avenue and now is Wisconsin Avenue, on the west side of the river.

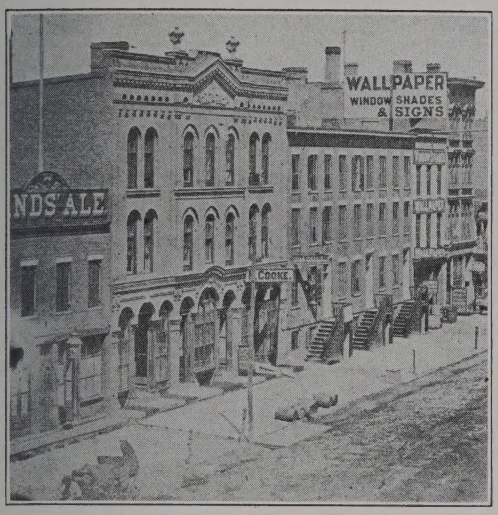
The erection of what in its day was known as "the New Insurance Building" at the northwest corner of Broadway and Wisconsin Street was an architectural event in the history of

Milwaukee. The structure was completed at about the time of the panic of 1873. So beautiful was the design and so solid the construction of the spacious edifice—a noteworthy erection for that day—that it attracted wide attention, seemingly arousing envy in Chicago. At least that was the interpretation put upon the course of a newspaper of that burg which sent a special correspondent here to write a "story" about it. He had lively imagination and a sarcastic style. "The merchants of Milwaukee," he wrote, "as they sit on the grass in front of their stores, look up from their checkerboards to watch the progress of work on a new building which is rising in their town. As they contemplate its lofty elevation, towering six stories into the air, they congratulate one another with the remark that 'Milwaukee is growing, and some of these days will become a city.' It's a restful little place at the present time." Wilbur Storey and his *Chicago Times* were recognized as contributing to relieve the monotony of existence. Milwaukeeans were accustomed to buy the *Times* from the newsboys and laugh at what it said. They chuckled at this, being well aware that a building like that which was to be the home of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company would have been as welcome in the Chicago of that time as it was in Milwaukee. The era of the skyscraper had not arrived, nor were elevators in vogue. When the elevator era opened the Insurance Building was among the first in Milwaukee to be provided with that modern convenience. This was when the story immediately under the handsome Mansard roof had been rented by the Masons and converted into the gorgeous "Egyptian Hall." Prior to that the topmost story had been used for lectures and dances, and, as elevators were unknown outside of London, where they were in an experimental stage, and were called "lifts," the public accounted it no hardship to climb stairways for the sake of the entertainment offered in what then seemed to be the vicinity of the sky. In those simple days indulgence in golf had not come to be considered essential as a precaution against muscular atrophy. Exertions incident to ordinary existence kept people physically fit.

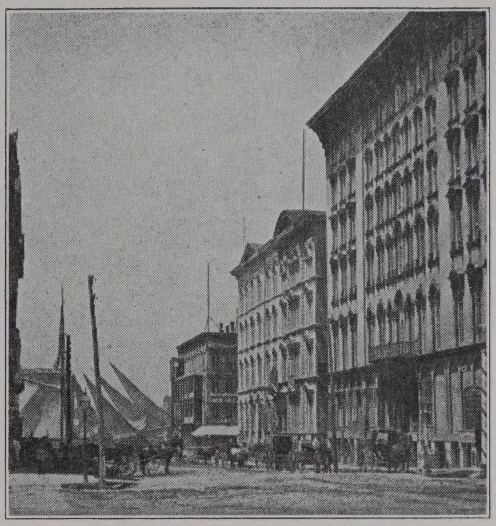
It was not until the '70s that there came to be railway tracks on the lake front and a railway station at the head of Wisconsin Street. For years thereafter a wooden building of modest dimen-

sions met the requirements of travelers at this point. In 1873 the Chicago & North-Western built its bridge across Milwaukee River and landed passengers at this station. The North-Western's present station, provided for at the end of the '80s, was welcomed as a well-equipped and commodious structure for that time. The building of the Milwaukee Club on the northeast corner of Jefferson and Wisconsin streets was erected in 1885, when the carriage works of Brown & Wechselberg occupied what is now the post office site, across the way on the south, and the quaint old-time residence of George Austin was on high ground where the Goldsmith Building now stands. The selection of the post office site marked another step in the upward trend of Wisconsin Street, which was accelerated by the building of the Pfister Hotel in the opening '90s. Then rose the Pabst Building and the Hermann Building (later the Railway Exchange Building), heightening the sky-line on the lower part of the street. After another interval followed the erection of the Wells Building on the old post office site, and then the construction of the most spacious and grandest of Milwaukee's monumental office-buildings, the home of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company; the substantial and ornate Northwestern National Fire Insurance Company's building, moreover, taking the place of the historic Hull residence. The Milwaukee Gaslight Company's improvement of the northeast corner looked important when it was made, but like the spacious accommodations provided for the two insurance corporations, was outgrown before many years. Hence the necessity for the Gaslight Company's latest building, realizing the fascinating artistic possibilities of what, though deriving suggestions from the Mayans, may be called the newest American architectural style.

East Wisconsin Avenue and the former Grand Avenue, once Spring Street, now Wisconsin Avenue, have undergone a remarkable evolution. Old Milwaukeeans who remember the Spring Street of the early days and contrast it with the scene presented at the present time regard what has occurred with delighted enthusiasm. Chestnut Street, not Spring Street, was the spot where Byron Kilbourn drove his stake when he founded the West Side. Chestnut and Third streets were the heart of a flourishing business section during a long period, while Spring Street was



OLD MAIN STREET
Now Broadway, Looking North From Wisconsin Street, 1867.



MICHIGAN STREET, 1866
Newhall House, Old State Bank and Phoenix Block. Sailing Vessels at Public Dock.

NORTHEAST CORNER OF MILWAUKEE AND WISCONSIN STREETS, 1871
AFTER A BIG SNOWSTORM

quiescent. Great was Kilbourn's delight when in 1840 John Hustis made the northeast corner of Chestnut and Third streets the site of the first brick business block in Milwaukee. At that time Spring Street was hardly a highway, the precipitous hill at Fifth Street tending to make it a cul de sac. Moreover the ground was marshy near the river. However, though the first bridge across the Milwaukee was built by the county at Chestnut Street, the ferry between Wisconsin Street and Spring Street was so much used that it was deemed advisable to supersede it by a bridge in 1842. This was constructed by James H. Rogers, who was Spring Street's first "great and good friend." He was one of the far-seeing men among the early settlers of Milwaukee, appreciating the advantages offered by the Menomonee Valley as well as the beauty of the frontage on the lake. Therefore he bought lake frontage and purchased at the same time a farm on the West Side which took in the slope of the hill south of the line of Spring Street extended, and included a considerable tract of the marsh at its base. As early as 1845 he gave the city its first modern hotel, at the corner of East Water and Huron streets. It was largely due to his prescience and energy that upper Spring Street was planned to have magnificent width. Later he built at Fifteenth and Spring streets the beginning of what afterward came to be the stately abode of John Plankinton and what now is the Musical Conservatory of Marquette University.

Charles H. Williams, son of Micajah T. Williams, and executor of his father's estate, was another friend of Spring Street. He owned buildings on part of the present site of the Plankinton Arcade. As a member of the Board of Aldermen, prior to his removal from the city in 1852, he was largely instrumental in bringing Spring Street to grade in the vicinity of Fifth and Sixth streets. E. D. Holton was in business on Spring Street during the village period (Holton & Goodall). He felt confidence in its future then as well as more than a generation later, when he purchased the old Grand Avenue Congregational Church property and erected the New Hampshire Block. Mention of early Spring Street recalls the memory of Harvey Birchard, for there was a time when Birchard's Block was the finest structure on the street. It was destroyed by fire, and he rebuilt it. Again it burned down, and he rebuilt it again. Toward the end of the '50s Mr. Birchard

erected on the north side of Spring Street, between Eighth and Ninth streets, now the site of the Public Library and Museum Building, a row of brick residences which attracted attention at the time. When Thomas Greenwood, in 1871, erected his retail grocery store at the southeast corner of Spring and Third streets, on the site afterward occupied by the Schlitz Hotel, it was pointed to as the only substantial building on the lower stretch of what is now Wisconsin Avenue with the exception of the Plankinton House.

In early days the street became known for churches. It was in the Methodist Church at the corner of Spring and Second streets that Solomon Juneau was sworn in as mayor. The Methodists have made improvements from that time to the present. The Congregationalists have done their share. The Universalists built one of the early churches on Spring Street. So did the Unitarians. So also did the Episcopalians, who are represented today by the beautiful St. James' Church, with its musical chimes. So did the Presbyterians. Later than others came the Catholics. One of the outstanding architectural adornments of Milwaukee is the Church of the Gesu. The remarkable expansion of Marquette University began on Grand Avenue. Today its sightly buildings occupy a greater total frontage than that of any other single institution represented on the street.

From first to last John Plankinton was the strongest promoter Grand Avenue ever had. Far in advance of its normal development he literally threw his money into the street. He built the renowned old Plankinton House, and saw to it that the Plankinton House was conducted for the benefit of the public. He erected the ornate structure between Fourth and Fifth streets long known as the Library Building. To encourage the movement of business up the avenue, he reared at the intersection of Fourth Street a large brick store building which he offered rent free for a time to a responsible wholesale firm, for the purpose of testing the merits of the location. At very considerable cost he erected the Loan and Trust Building. His exertions began early and continued long. Dying in 1891, Mr. Plankinton felt serenely confident he had not labored in vain, and time has ratified his judgment.

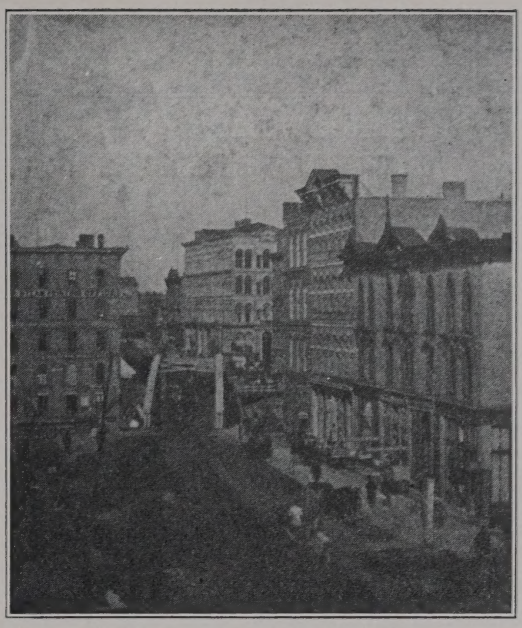
Today the old Wisconsin Street and the old Spring Street

which subsequently became Grand Avenue are merged in Wisconsin Avenue, bristling with activity and presenting a varying succession of noteworthy examples of architectural felicity and grandeur at frequent intervals from its eastern extremity on the shore of Lake Michigan to its western crossing of the Menomonee Valley over a concrete viaduct impressive for width and length and solidity and sightliness; and not ending there, but still pushing westward with virility suggestive of indefinite extension in the years that lie ahead.

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* of June 22, 1930, contained an article on the subject of Wisconsin Avenue embodying information of a statistical character which is worthy of citation here. Figures, it is true, sometimes repel perusal; but there are exceptions to every rule. Where property values are concerned, readers of a practical cast of mind prefer figures to glowing words. With confidence that the substance of the article will be interesting for reference when people of a later generation study the material development of Milwaukee, it is drawn upon at liberal length as follows:

"The property on downtown Wisconsin Avenue is worth $72,161,900. In the fifteen blocks from the public museum at Eighth Street to the lake, are nine buildings valued at $1,000,000 each or more, and each year the canyon grows deeper as new skyscrapers rise. What was the main street when Milwaukee was a trading post village has held its own through the years, and today Wisconsin Avenue is without a rival in property values in the city. One-eighteenth of the entire city assessment of $981,544,775 in 1929 was levied against the eastern third of the city's chief business thoroughfare.

"Notwithstanding the many costly buildings that are found on the downtown part of the avenue, the land fronting on the artery is worth approximately twice as much as the improvements. The figures are: lots, $48,927,100, and buildings, $23,234,700. These interesting figures were obtained through a survey. One case was found, on the north side of the avenue between Third and Fourth streets, in which a small lot assessed at $148,000 is occupied by a building assessed at $9,000. The assessment per front foot on the lot—$7,000—is almost equal to the entire value placed on the building.



LOOKING EAST FROM SPRING STREET, 1867

In the center is the old bridge; to the left the old Ludington Block; just across the river on the right the first Martin's Block; then Martin's Iron Block; in the distance a glimpse of the old Baptist Church, later a billiard hall, present site of Chapman's store.

WISCONSIN STREET

The dwellings to the right gave way as a site for the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company Building.

"The most valuable corners in the city are at Third Street and Wisconsin Avenue, where the land fronting on the avenue at all four corners is valued at $14,000 a front foot. This is based on the first forty feet at each corner, figured on a special assessment formula. The front foot assessment is somewhat higher along the southern side of the avenue. Only one block on the north side, that from Third to Fourth Street, has an average assessment of $7,000 a foot, while on the south side it averages approximately $7,000 from the river at Gimbel's to the Boston Store. The values diminish both east and west from Third Street, dropping to $1,600 at Eighth Street and $1,000 at Marshall Street.

"Property assessments, according to Louis A. Arnold, city tax commissioner, are figured on a scale of what the assessors regard as 80 per cent of the real value. The figures that are to follow are the assessment figures, so should be regarded as representing only part of the real value of the properties.

"The four most valuable structures on the avenue are the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company Building, which is assessed at $1,710,000; the Plankinton Arcade, $1,670,000; Gimbels, $1,305,000, and the Empire Building, $1,250,000. The next two are the Wisconsin Theater Building, $985,000, and the Schroeder Hotel, $935,000.

"On the north side of the avenue, some of the more valuable buildings and lots and their assessments, beginning at the museum, are: Mariner Tower, at Sixth and Wisconsin, still under construction, and estimated by Commissioner Arnold at $700,000, lot $250,000; Wisconsin Theater, $985,000, lot $830,000; Strand Theater, $144,000, lot $796,000; Patton Building (Milwaukee Commercial Bank), $75,000, lot $270,000; Espenhain store, $90,000, lot $858,000; Alhambra Building, $200,000, lot $685,000; building occupied by Brouwer Shoe Company, $20,000, lot $213,500; building corner Third Street occupied by Walgreen drug store, $15,000, lot $280,000; Straus Building, $300,000, lot $455,000; Loan and Trust, $60,000, lot $605,000; Second Wisconsin National Bank Building, $300,000, lot $476,000; Bartlett Building, $166,000, lot $238,000; Gross Building, $113,000, lot $271,000; Caswell Block, $380,000, lot $1,125,000; Empire Building, $1,250,000, lot $1,360,000; Trust Company Building, $460,000, lot $653,000; Bankers' Building,

$600,000, lot $534,000; Broadway Building, $6,500, lot $82,000; Guaranty Building, $406,000, lot $500,000; Wells Building, $800,000, lot $395,000; New Pfister Hotel, $440,000, lot $325,000; Milwaukee Club, $35,000, lot $135,000; building occupied by Buick Sales Agency, $50,000, lot $118,000; Schuster Hotel and Restaurant, $28,000, lot $97,000; Northwestern Mutual Company, $140,000, lot $122,000; building now used by the Gas Company, $175,000, lot $197,000; Gas Company new building, estimated by Mr. Arnold at $900,000, lot $175,000; Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, $1,710,000, lot $520,000.

"On the south side of the avenue, beginning at the museum, the larger assessments are on these properties: Palace Theater Building, $68,000, lot $472,000; Schroeder Hotel, $935,000, lot $2,600,000; Dayton's Women's Wear Store, $100,000, lot $390,000; Tegtmeyer Building-Randolph Hotel, $310,000, lot $325,000; Boston Store, $230,000, lot $1,356,000; Kresge store building, owned by Gimbel Brothers, $33,000, lot $460,000; Woolworth store, $230,000, lot $1,075,000; Garden Theater, $115,000, lot $743,000; Majestic Building, $650,000, lot $1,015,000; Merrill Building, $50,000, lot $380,000; Security Building $270,000, lot $738,000; Plankinton Building, $1,670,000, lot $3,900,000; Gimbels, $1,305,000, lot $2,200,000; building occupied by Caspari Shoe store-Rank & Motteram Jewelry Company, $38,000, lot $568,400; Iron Block, $20,000, lot $362,000; Railway Exchange Building, $180,000, lot $235,000; Fields store-Reckmeyer furs, $115,000, lot $519,000; Alsted-Kasten jewelry store, $25,000, lot $150,000; Chapman store, $100,000, lot $409,000; Chapman store annex, $20,000, lot $118,400; Goldsmith Building, $75,000, lot $232,000; post office, $850,000, lot $700,000; Martin Hotel, $60,000, lot $106,000; Globe Hotel, $25,000, lot $56,000; Juneau Hotel, $25,000, lot $91,000; North Western road depot, $60,000, lot $350,000.

"From this list it will be seen that adding 20 per cent to the assessment figures will also put these buildings in the $1,000,000 class; Schroeder Hotel, Wisconsin Theater Building, the Gas Company's new building, the Wells Building and the post office."

The article closed with this statement: "The most valuable block in the city is that between Second and West Water streets, Wisconsin Avenue and Clybourn Street. It is occupied by the

Plankinton Arcade Building, the Plankinton Hotel and the Antlers Hotel. The total assessed valuation of the buildings in the block is $2,754,700 and the land is assessed at $4,969,000. The sum of these, plus 20 per cent, gives $9,263,440, the approximate value of the block."

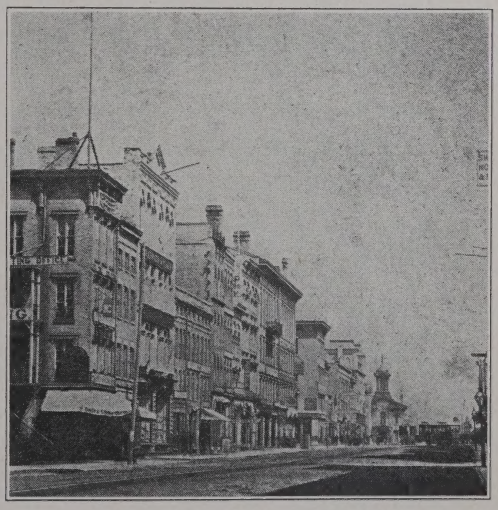
Of all the streets in the city, what was known in the beginning as Water Street and then as East Water Street (now North Water) was the first to be graded, and the grading was not carried very far, on account of the marsh beginning at East Michigan Street and covering most of the old Third Ward. Subsequently the old East Water Street was pushed southward to make a practicable way to Walker's Point, Dousman's warehouse, at the southern extremity of what is now North Water Street, being the place where steamboats docked when they could get over the bar at the old mouth of the river. The part of East Wisconsin Street nearest to the river was graded at nearly the same time, earth taken from the hill being useful in beginning the filling of the Third Ward marsh.

The first name of the street next east to the old East Water Street at East Wisconsin Street was Main Street, in the expectation that it would become the principal thoroughfare of the budding town. Main Street was changed to Broadway in later years. Milwaukee Street came next after Main Street, then Jefferson, Jackson and Van Buren streets, named in honor of Democratic Presidents, the city as well as the Territory being overwhelmingly Democratic at the outset. Lewis Cass, who had been governor of Michigan and had held the office of Secretary of War during the trouble with Black Hawk, stood high in the esteem of the people of Wisconsin, who confidently looked forward to his election to the Presidency at the time when they named a street for him. Though General Taylor was elected to the Presidency, and though during many years of his army career he had been a resident of Wisconsin, his name never has been conferred upon a street in Milwaukee. East Polk Street, in the Third Ward, was named for President Polk. It runs from East Erie Street to North Beach Street, on the map—two blocks in length—and very few people are aware of its existence.

North Market Street was once a market street in reality, when there was a market in the building afterward used as a

OLD GERMAN MARKET
Division Street (now East Juneau Avenue)
near East Water, looking west.

WEST WATER STREET
Looking South From Spring Street, 1867.



EAST WATER STREET
Looking North From Michigan Street, 1867.

city hall, on part of the site of the present city hall, and when hucksters' wagons assembled in the street near by, as they afterwards did in the streets fronting the old German Market on what was then Division Street, now East Juneau Avenue.

Until 1887 the old North Water Street was a part of River Street, the southern reach of which latter subsequently became Edison Avenue. On the early maps, River Street from Knapp to what was then Oneida (now East Wells Street) was on a peninsula reached from the East Side by a bridge at the foot of Division Street across the bayou, the historic Red Bridge then affording access to the West Side at this point.

North Marshall Street was named for Chief Justice Marshall. It appears on early maps, which showed the portion north of East Brady Street as Hunter Street, and Cass and Astor streets in that region as Kinzie and Johnston streets. Racine Street then extended only from the river to Brady. Farwell Avenue was named for Governor Farwell. In 1885 Lake Avenue became Juneau Place, and Division Street, Juneau Avenue. What used to be Juneau Place now is part of Juneau Park. There once was a Juneau Street in the old Third Ward. It was changed to Pier Street and then to Corcoran Avenue.

Early Milwaukeeans knew North Prospect Avenue as Port Washington Road. In 1853 the name was changed to Michigan Avenue, later to Prospect Street, and still later to Prospect Avenue.

The following were among the upper East Side streets on Lapham's map of 1845: Hamilton, Massena, Monroe, Monesto, Pere Marquette, St. Lawrence, Sauk. Most of them, Hamilton excepted, gave way to others. All these streets ended at Brady Street, which was named for a famous New York lawyer. This part of the city was in Spence's Addition. By a special ordinance passed in June, 1847, these streets were vacated, and are not to be found on the map of the city published in October of that year. Rogers' Addition took the place of Spence's Addition, and on the plat of Rogers' Addition only two streets were named—Elizabeth Street and Prospect Street. On the map of 1849, Keene Street (now Curtis Place) and Albion Street appear, and on the map of 1857 Elizabeth Street on the East Side is changed to Franklin Street, possibly for Benjamin Franklin. On the 1857

map Doty Street is shown, named for Governor Doty, but changed to Warren Avenue in 1883. Perhaps the patriot who fell at Bunker Hill may have been in mind when the name of Warren was selected; but there is a Warren Avenue in Wauwatosa named for a respected pioneer whose farm was on the land through which it runs.

When Juneau lived on it, the East Side street now called East Juneau Avenue was Division Street. At first it formed the dividing line between the city and the country. Later it was the dividing line between the First Ward and the old Seventh Ward, which still later, with a tier of First Ward blocks, was added to the Third Ward. Then it became Juneau Avenue. That name is now extended to what used to be Chestnut Street, on the west side of the river, the East Side's part of the thoroughfare being East Juneau Avenue.

The old Johnson Street, south of East Juneau Avenue, near the river, was not named for President Johnson, but for Richard Mentor Johnson. This Johnson was a Kentuckian, famous in his day for service in the War of 1812 and for having introduced in the Kentucky Legislature the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt. Moreover, he was vice president of the United States in the administration of Martin Van Buren. His street was longer than the one named for Polk, but not very long, running only from the river to Milwaukee Street. In the recent revision of designations the name of Johnson Street has been altered to East Highland Boulevard.

Martin Street was the name borne till 1929 by what is now East State Street, the Martin for whom it was named being Morgan L. Martin, who was active with Juneau in the founding of the city. Certainly it was a pity for the aldermen to remove this honored name from the map of Milwaukee. South of the old Martin Street came Biddle Street, named for Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia, who was president of the United States Bank that carried on a losing fight with Andrew Jackson. When Martin Street was changed to East State Street, Biddle Street became East Kilbourn Avenue—and nobody complained of that, for Biddle meant nothing in particular to Milwaukee.

The change of Oneida Street to East Wells was made at the same time, meeting with general approval, for the reason that

Daniel Wells, Jr., was identified with every part of Milwaukee, and was remembered for improving the East Side by erecting the City Hotel in 1845, getting through Congress the bill for the first post office ten years later, and finally in his old age constructing on the former site of the first post office the sightly skyscraper which is known as the Wells Building.

East Mason Street suggests the close relations which in the beginning subsisted between Wisconsin folk and those on the opposite side of the lake, for its name was bestowed in honor of Stevens Thompson Mason, who was governor of Michigan when Wisconsin had no separate geographical existence and Milwaukee was located in Brown County, Michigan Territory.

East Michigan Street is believed to have been named not for the Territory or State of Michigan, but for Lake Michigan, to which, in the early times, it afforded the easiest approach from the river, being at the southern end of the high land on the East Side. Next to it was the old Third Ward marsh. North of it, where East Wisconsin Street is now, grew scrub oaks, and there was a ravine to negotiate at Van Buren Street, while the way eastward along the early Michigan Street led to the sandy peninsula stretching to the original mouth of the river. It was on East Michigan Street that Solomon Juneau erected his second dwelling house, with two tame bears in the front yard, and poles for them to climb, for the amusement of passers-by—Milwaukee's earliest Zoo. The southern edge of the high ground was irregular. On the old East Water Street solid ground extended southward to the old Huron Street. Farther east, at Jackson Street, Michigan Street was close to the edge of the marsh. The bridge connecting Michigan Street with Sycamore Street (now called West Michigan Street) was not built till 1890. It was ten years prior to the construction of this bridge, and when the old and at that time the only Michigan Street stopped at the river, that, at the banquet in celebration of the then new Chamber of Commerce Building, William P. Maclaren offered this famous toast: "Michigan Street, where once the red man scalped his foe, where now the white man scalps his friend!" the toast being drunk with enthusiasm by "bulls" and "bears," whose "scalping" was confined to operations in the grain market.

Huron Street, which now is East Clybourn Street, was named for another of the Great Lakes, and so was Erie Street. Between

WEST WATER STREET
Looking North from Grand Avenue, in the '80s.

LOOKING NORTH ON MAIN STREET, NOW BROADWAY, TOWARD MASON STREET, 1870.

Huron and Erie, however, came three streets named for cities—Detroit, Buffalo and Chicago. Then came Menomonee Street (now East Menomonee), remindful of the tribe of Indians which at the time of the white man's arrival claimed all the lands north of the Milwaukee River. South of East Menomonee Street and north of East Polk Street is now East Corcoran Street. East Harbor Place is the name given to the short street south of East Polk Street. Formerly it was Oregon Street.

East Knapp Street was named for Gilbert Knapp of Racine, who represented Milwaukee County in the Legislative Assembly in 1836, when Milwaukee County included what is now Racine County. Ogden Street, now called East Ogden Avenue, appears to have been named for Thomas L. Ogden, a respected attorney of Milwaukee's pioneer period. Lyon Street was named for a milkman of that name. Early owners of property in the Town of Milwaukee were Isaac, Lucius, J. H. and Peter Lyon.

When East Pleasant Street was named it was practically in the country. For many years before and after the Civil war what was known as "the Twelve-Acre Lot," fenced in and used as a cow-pasture, cut off the western part of Pleasant Street from the eastern part. The eastern boundary of this grazing field was Marshall Street and the western boundary Van Buren Street. East Kewaunee Street, which runs east and west through the eastern half of the old Twelve-Acre, was named after the little city of that name on the Kewaunee River, for which a great future was expected by some of the pioneers. Joshua Hathaway and other Milwaukeeans were largely interested in Kewaunee, and named many of its streets after Milwaukee men.

Sir Walter Scott's novels furnished high-sounding designations for a number of streets on the upper East Side which were platted after the city had entered upon its new career of expansion during the '70s and '80s. Sprinkled among the names which have a literary flavor, however, are a few others. Bartlett Street, now North Bartlett Avenue, was named for Dr. J. K. Bartlett, North Newhall Street for Daniel Newhall. North Cramer Avenue recalls the early-settler brothers of that name, Eliphalet and William E. North Stowell Avenue commemorates Mayor John M. Stowell and North Downer Avenue, Jason Downer. North Hackett Avenue is a reminder of another respected pioneer

family, one of whose members participated in the platting of what looked like perpetual farming country when its improvement was begun, but quickly developed into one of the choicest residence districts in America. When it was brought into the market by Edward P. Hackett the tract was called Prospect Hill. When Prospect Hill had begun to take rank as one of the show-places through which visiting strangers were driven for the purpose of impressing them with the beauties of Milwaukee, there was introduced in the Council an ordinance changing the name of Hackett Avenue to something supposed to be more euphonious and impressive. This undertaking aroused the indignation of the late Judge Joseph G. Donnelly, who assailed it in a string of lively stanzas, some of which are here reproduced:

Peace, Prospect Hill! It seemeth ill
To raise this clamorous racket,
As if your street were too elite
To bear the name of Hackett.

'Tis true the name's unknown to fame;
No storied knight doth back it;
But we can cite full many a night
Made glorious by Hackett.

Not his renown to take a town
And ruthless raze and sack it.
He takes a farm and by his charm
Creates a town, does Hackett.

When Prospect Hill had prospects nil,
Who flashed the scheme to track it
With rich stone curb—this mere suburb—
And costly asphalt? Hackett!

Ah, Prospect Hill, it seemeth ill!
Let other tongues attack it.
Your tongue should wag and never flag
In grateful praise of Hackett.

The bumptiously-conceived ordinance encountered the defeat which it deserved.

A West Side street still bears for a part of its original length the name of the first white resident of Milwaukee after Solomon Juneau. This is West Fowler Street, designated for Albert Fowler. Once the name applied to its westward extension as well as to the part in the down-town area, but for many years the western part has been St. Paul Avenue (now West St. Paul Avenue), suggestive of the railroad which runs through the valley not far away. Clybourn Street was named for Archibald Clybourn of Chicago, who, with Micajah T. Williams, Colonel John McCarthy

and Byron Kilbourn, was one of the original proprietors of realty on the West Side. Mr. Clybourn built the Washington House, which stood on Cherry Street, between Second and Third streets, and which afterward was moved to the corner of Third and Cedar streets (Kilbourn Avenue) and renamed the Republican House. When the Washington Hotel was new it was distinguished by a swinging sign carrying the name of the establishment and a portrait of the Father of His Country. Mr. Clybourn was a member of the firm of Clybourn & Chase (Horace Chase), which built the first warehouse in Milwaukee, near the old mouth of the Milwaukee River.

North of Clybourn Street, on all maps until a few years back, one finds Sycamore Street, which recently was changed to Michigan Street, in conformity with the designation of the East Side thoroughfare of which it has formed an extension since 1890, when the bridge was built that connects the two. Sycamore Street, so long as it retained that appellation, was one of the reminders of an original intention of the part of those who made the plat of Milwaukee on the West Side of the River to give the names of trees to all the streets on that side running east and west, an intention, however, which was not strictly adhered to even in the beginning, for the street next north of the old Sycamore Street was named Spring Street, on account of the number of springs discovered during its survey, and the street next north of that was named Wells Street, after Daniel Wells, Jr., who settled in Milwaukee in 1835, was prominent in the upbuilding of Milwaukee and of Wisconsin, and lived to be Milwaukee's "oldest inhabitant," dying at the ripe age of ninety-three. Until 1868 Wells Street was open only from the river to the middle of the block between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, the fence that closed it forming the eastern boundary of Camp Scott during the Civil war. On the map of 1868 the street makes its appearance once more from Fourteenth Street to Sixteenth Street and for two and one-half blocks westward from Twentieth Street. The gaps were caused by a deep ravine running through several of the east-and-west streets on the West Side. The water course at the bottom of this ravine was crossed on Spring Street by a wooden bridge.

Cedar Street, lately changed to Kilbourn Avenue, had for its

next neighbor on the north the street, now known as State Street, which for a long time was Tamarack Street. Later the name of Tamarack Street was bestowed upon a street in the northwestern outskirts, where also there was formerly a street called Kilbourn Avenue before that name was taken for the present more centrally located avenue bearing the name of the West Side's founder.

Next north of the present Kilbourn Avenue came Prairie Street, now Highland Avenue, a reminder of the name of E. D. Holton's farm, called Highland Home, to which the western portion of Highland Avenue afforded access when the built-up portion of the city was far to the east.

Chestnut Street, now West Juneau Avenue, was another street named for a tree. North of it was Poplar Street, now West McKinley Avenue, and north of Poplar was Vliet Street, which as West Vliet Street still perpetuates the memory of Garret Vliet, who came to Milwaukee in 1835 and made the first survey of the West Side. Another of the tree streets, Cherry Street (now West Cherry Street), lay next to Vliet Street on the north.

West Court Street, next north of West Cherry Street and only one block in length, running from North Third to North Fourth, derived its name from the circumstance that Byron Kilbourn wanted the County Court House to be located on the West Side, and offered a site for it—the quarter-block afterward occupied by the Sixth Ward School. Juneau and Martin defeated Mr. Kilbourn's project by erecting at their private expense and giving to the county the first County Court House and the site on which it stood, between Jefferson and Jackson streets, bounded on the north by Biddle Street, now East Kilbourn Avenue. They also gave the county the park in front of the original Court House, comprising the greater part of the block.

North of Cherry Street for most of its length came Galena Street, and north af Galena Walnut Street, which was the last of the tree streets in the days of the early settlers, though now there is West Locust Street, about a mile farther north. Harmon Street, which used to be the name of what is now the eastern part of Brown Street, was called after C. L. Harmon, a citizen of Chicago, who had investments in Milwaukee when Kilbourn made his first plat. Brown Street was named for Samuel Brown, who pre-

ceded Kilbourn as a West Side pioneer resident, but lost his first choice of a home by reason of the efficacy of a "float" which was used to drive him off, whereupon he took up a claim farther west on land that afterward became a part of the city. Brown Street passes through the center of what was once his farm. He was on friendly terms with Kilbourn. Samuel Brown's son, Thomas H. Brown, was the first native-born Milwaukeean to hold the office of mayor. What now is Reservoir Avenue (West and East) once was Beere Street.

North Avenue derived its name from the supposition on the part of the founders that it would be the limit of the city's expansion on the north. From the beginning its name was the same on both sides of the river, it and Burleigh Street being the only thoroughfares which were identical in name on both sides in the early days, though today what was Burleigh Street on the east side of the river is East Kenwood Boulevard.

The Pierce Street on the North Side, afterward distinguished as North Pierce, was named for Jonathan L. Peirce, proprietor in the '50s of a large dry goods house at the corner of West Water and Spring streets, and owner of land in the then extreme northern part of the city. The Pierce Street on the South Side was named after President Franklin Pierce. Strictly the two names are not the same, but they have been made to appear so by mistaken spelling, for Peirce the merchant wrote the e in his name before the i, while President Pierce wrote the i in his name before the e—a fine distinction which map-makers and directory publishers ignored.

It was Mr. Peirce who gave Burleigh and Buffum streets their names, calling them after friends of his in New Hampshire and Maine. In Ludington's Addition Burleigh Street was Oak Street till 1883. Two street names in Milwaukee are very generally mispronounced. One of them is Burleigh. The name is English, and its authentic pronounciation is "Bur-lee," with the accent on the initial syllable, not "Burl-eye." Yet Third Street car conductors call it "Burl-eye," and "Burl-eye" is the pronunciation used by most of the people who live on Burleigh Street. Lord Cecil Burleigh was a noted figure in history, secretary of state for King Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth of England. As has been explained, however, it was not for him that Burleigh Street was

named. The other street whose name is rarely sounded as it should be is Becher Street, on the South Side. This street was named for a well-known resident of Milwaukee who was associated with two other prominent Milwaukeeans of his day in the platting of Burnham, Rogers and Becher's Subdivision. J. A. Becher was a native of Germany. He came to the United States in 1853 and to Milwaukee in 1857, engaging in the business of buying and selling real estate. He was quartermaster of the Thirty-fourth Wisconsin Infantry in the Civil war. With the restoration of peace he returned to his old occupation. He served on the School Board and in 1872 was elected to the State Assembly. For many years he was president of the State Board of Immigration, which functioned usefully following its organization in 1879, a time when thousands of newcomers from Europe were pouring through Milwaukee on their way to settle on farms in Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas. He was president of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, a voluntary organization, whose benevolent object was to assist German immigrants who by reason of sickness or other misfortune were in need of aid. Mr. Becher was an educated, kindly-hearted, courteous gentleman. Considering the fact that the population of Milwaukee is largely German, it seems strange that his German name as applied to the designation of a Milwaukee street should have come to be generally mispronounced by Germans as well as by others. Nearly everybody boggles where Becher Street is concerned and calls it "Beecher" Street.

North Buffum Street runs through property once donated to the city for a high school site by Dr. I. A. Lapham. West Concordia Avenue was once Wells Street, so called for another of Mr. Peirce's Eastern friends; Julia Street was named for his daughter, Mrs. Julia Ely, and Ring Street not for the famous thoroughfare of that name in Vienna, but for Hannah Ring, of Salisbury, New Hampshire, one of Mr. Peirce's ancestresses. Quite a number of Mr. Peirce's street names were altered as the years rolled by.

What used to be Lee Street was named for Mrs. Zelotes Cotton, an early resident of the city, whose maiden name was Ann Eliza Lee. The part of the city through which it runs was "Ann Eliza Lee and George W. Peckham's Subdivision" on the early

maps. At the present time the name of Lee Street has been abandoned for that of Meinecke Avenue, which was conferred upon the portion of the thoroughfare west of Fifteenth Street, and which the Council gave to the whole street after having at first determined to give the name of Lee Street to the Meinecke Avenue part. The change of mind—quite proper under all the circumstances—was due to the discovery that if the name of Meinecke Avenue were abandoned the city might lose title to the site of a fire-engine house given conditionally to the public at the time when Meinecke Avenue was originally named. Once there was a Wall Street, remindful of Caleb Wall, who for many years was active in various ways promotive of the development of Milwaukee. The name was changed, which was a matter of minor consequence, for the reason that, unlike its famous prototype in New York, Milwaukee's Wall Street was unimportant and inconspicuous.

Clarke Street was named for an early day physician, Dr. William Clarke, and Hadley Street for Jackson Hadley, a leader in local politics in the era immediately preceding the Civil war, who, at the time of his death in 1867, represented his district in the State Senate.

What is now North Third Street was part of the old Indian trail to Green Bay and originally was known as Green Bay Road. For many years a part of North First Street was called Green Bay Street, the change being made in 1870. At that time and for some years thereafter a deep ravine ran across what at first was known as Short Street, later as Island Avenue and now as North Palmer Avenue, being the first street east of North First Street.

North Hubbard Street was named for the first sheriff in Wisconsin Territory, Henry M. Hubbard, who was appointed in 1836 by Governor Dodge; Richards Street for Daniel H. Richards, founder of the *Advertiser*, the first newspaper in Milwaukee; North Holton Street for Edward D. Holton, also an early sheriff, later president of the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, now the First Wisconsin National Bank. Mr. Holton for many years was one of the leading citizens of Milwaukee and of Wisconsin. His name is commemorated not only by North Holton Street, but also by Holton Hall, which was erected at his expense for Milwaukee-Downer College.

West Auer Avenue is a street that recalls a well-known family, whose members have contributed much to the improvement of Milwaukee. West Fiebrantz Avenue is a reminder of William J. Fiebrantz, who was active in business and local politics for many years. Keefe Avenue was named for John C. Keefe, who platted property in its vicinity.

Capitol Drive on the west side of the river was Lake Street until a few years ago. Capitol Drive on the East Side was Atwater Road.

North Booth Street was named for Sherman M. Booth, editor of the *Free Democrat* and an outstanding figure of the anti-slavery movement in Milwaukee. North Fratney Street commemorates Frederick Fratney, a pioneer German editor of Milwaukee and one of the founders of the German-English Academy. West Hopkins Street, formerly Hopkins Road, was named for an early-day resident, Otis B. Hopkins. West Lisbon Avenue was part of the old plank road with toll gates which was much traveled by farmers in the early days and which led to the town of Lisbon. One of the interesting phenomena of the era preceding railroads was intense opposition to railroad projects on the part of many of the people interested in toll roads. Five miles out on the Lisbon Road at that time was a tavern kept by George F. Knapp, who always had a courtly and cordial greeting for guests from Milwaukee. When advised that sleighing parties from the city would visit his establishment for supper, he dressed for such occasions in "small clothes" and a queue tied with a black ribbon. Great was the contrast between the establishment presided over by Mr. Knapp and the "roadhouses" of the present day! When the railroads ruined his business, Mr. Knapp resented the innovation. Nothing—not even a free pass—could tempt him to ride on a railroad. A fine spring of cold water west of North Twenty-Seventh Street near the old Chestnut Street gave their names to Cold Spring Avenue and the old Cold Spring racecourse. Cold Spring Avenue was the continuation of the old Poplar Street beyond Tenth Street, which for a long time was the western limit of building on the West Side. It is now West McKinley Avenue.

There was a Rose Street long before Milwaukee had a mayor of that name, but it was on Jones Island. As may be seen by reference to old maps, the last street on the south end of what is now

Jones Island was named Abert Street. This street fronted on the entrance to the old harbor. Its name—that of a member of the United States Engineer Corps—was provided for in an ordinance passed August 10, 1846, the language of which is such as to arrest attention: "Also a street from Mahnawauk Street, next and parallel to the north pier of the harbor to Lake Michigan, to be called Abert Street, in perpetual remembrance of his ill-advised location of the harbor." Usually it is accounted an honor to a man to give his name to a street. In this instance it was intended as a dishonor. Abert Street on Jones Island was meant to serve as the monument of a unique revenge. But the aldermen who planned it could not see into the future. The building of the Straight-Cut changed the destiny of the sandspit which separated the lake from the river. It had been a peninsula in the early days. The Straight-Cut parted it from the mainland. After a time Captain Jones located his shipyard there, which was why it came to be called Jones Island. The streets were ignored. Their locations as well as their names were forgotten. After the shipyard was discontinued, the island came to be the habitation of squatters engaged in fishing. Finally the Steel Company acquired ownership of the tract, and now it cuts an important figure in connection with the city's far-reaching plan of harbor improvement.

Meanwhile the name of Abert has reappeared upon the map of Milwaukee—this time with no sinister implication. West Abert Place, which runs east and west between North Richards and North Thirteenth streets, two blocks south of West Capitol Drive, recalls the fact that George Abert—no relation to the lieutenant of engineers—was one of the respected early settlers of Milwaukee.

Even the building of the Straight-Cut did not please everbody. No one who remembers Horace Chase will accuse him as a man lacking in public spirit, or morbidly influenced as a rule by personal considerations of a financial character. Yet in 1848, the first year of Wisconsin's Statehood, he resigned his seat in the Legislative Assembly, stating his reasons therefor in the following letter:

"To the Honorable E. Whitesides, Speaker of the Assembly. Sir: As the Assembly has this day passed a law authorizing the

city of Milwaukee to raise a tax for the construction of a harbor at Center Street (the present Straight-Cut), and the said law does not provide for the payment of the owners of the property south of Center Street interested in the present harbor (at the old mouth of the river); and knowing that the assembly has passed an unconstitutional law, not only by the Constitution of the States, but of the United States, as well as the common law of all civilized nations; and although my associations with the Assembly have been pleasant, I should forfeit all sense of honor as well as self-respect should I longer retain a seat in this Assembly. I therefore, sir, through you, tender my resignation."

If the Chases and Captain Sanderson and Dr. Lemuel Weeks, to say nothing of Lieutenant Abert and good old Colonel George H. Walker, could come back to Milwaukee today and see what has been accomplished in preparation for the time when deep waterways will make Milwaukee a seaport, it is conceivable that they would view the situation with satisfaction akin to that of the average human individual who gets a chance to exclaim "I told you so!"

For a long time what was Reed Street and now is South Second Street was the principal business thoroughfare of the South Side, a fact to which substantial edifices, some of them antedating the Civil war, bear witness to the present day. South Water Street, henceforth to be East and West Seeboth Street, also was a bustling thoroughfare, its rise to importance preceding that of Reed Street. The deflection of activity following the construction of the Straight-Cut detracted from the prosperity of Reed and South Water streets so far as retail trade was concerned, but it was not till the middle '80s, when the Union depot was removed to the West Side, that a fatal blow was inflicted on flourishing South Side hotels. Later came a noticeable betterment of retail business on the portion of Reed Street near National Avenue, while National Avenue itself began to suggest possibilities of development which have come to be more and more strikingly illustrated with the passing of the years. Grove Street and later First Avenue appreciated in value. Muskego Avenue and other streets responded to the improvement of communication with the West Side and with all down-town Milwaukee by the construction of viaducts at Sixth, Sixteenth and Twenty-

seventh streets. Meanwhile Mitchell Street rose into prominence as an independent outlying retail center; while great transformations took place on Kinnickinnic Avenue and other parts of what in the early times had been the village of Bay View, and out Howell Avenue way, and in the locality of the old Indian Fields.

In the Directory of 1857 what is now North Plankinton Avenue was Water Street, and took in part of what is now Third Street. There were a Washington Street running from what is now West Wisconsin Avenue to Fowler Street, and a William Street running from Seventh Street to Fifth Street, and a Menomonee Street running from Ninth to Water Street, and a Franklin Street running from Wisconsin Avenue to Fowler, and a Clermont Street also connecting the latter streets. There was a Lake Street on the East Side running from Michigan to what is now East Juneau Avenue. There was a Cooper Street running from the Milwaukee River to Harbor Street. The West Side had an Ogden Street at that time which ran from Third to Hubbard, and the East Side had a Berry Street running from North Water to Racine. Here are names of South Side streets which were changed: Baulding, from Railroad to Pierce (Railroad Street was the old name of Greenfield Avenue); Brown, Railroad to Virginia; Cook, Railroad to Elizabeth (now National Avenue); Monroe, Railroad to South Water. Once there was a Cross Street on the South Side, named for Mayor James B. Cross. It was changed to Lapham Street, commemorating Dr. I. A. Lapham. American Avenue, on the South Side, was Bismarck Avenue, and then Accommodation Street before it received its present name. There was a Bismarck Street on the North Side which ran from 786 Eighteenth Street northwest to Center Street. It is now Monroe Street.

Orchard Street on the South Side was named for Captain James Sanderson's orchard, which was one of the first in Milwaukee. Once there was a Sanderson Street, named for the Captain himself, but that became Fifth Avenue. The numbered avenues on the South Side did away with many street names which are on the older maps of that section of the city. Clinton Street was River Street in the early days, but there was a confusion of River streets in Milwaukee, so this one was re-named in honor of Dewitt Clinton, the father of the Erie Canal. Elizabeth

Street on the South Side was changed to National Avenue at the time of the building of the Soldiers' Home. One of the oldest and longest streets on the South Side was named Reed Street for George Reed, remembered as a brother-in-law of Alexander Mitchell. Mitchell Street is named for Mr. Mitchell himself. The portion of Mitchell Street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Avenues was once called Odin Street, recalling the Scandinavian deity. Reed Street south of Pierce Street was Kent Street; Hanover was Duane; Greenbush was Abert—another Abert Street!—and First Avenue was Chicago Street, although there was a street of that name on the East Side. Sweeping changes were made in the names of South Side streets in 1858.

The easternmost street on the South Side, with the exception of the bend of South Water Street, is East Davidson Street, which was named for Thomas Davidson, who was Commodore Wolf's partner in the shipyard. West Walker Street still commemorates the founder of the South Side, Colonel George H. Walker. The South Side has remembered several Presidents of the United States in naming its streets, but in this respect no section of the city has shown itself quite so closely up-to-date as Wauwatosa, for in Wauwatosa there is a Coolidge Street.

A break in the order of the South Side's numbered avenues was made when the designation of Layton Boulevard was given to what formerly had been Twenty-Second Avenue. As Shakespeare observes, "Nice customs curt'sy to great kings," and certainly rigid adherence to system might well give way before desire to honor a public-spirited citizen who wrought so generously for Milwaukee's benefit as did Frederick Layton.

Not since two generations ago, when a sweeping change of street names on the South Side necessitated reprinting the map of Milwaukee, have there been so many alterations at one time as were effected by the Common Council in the early part of 1930. Most noteworthy of all were the substitution of North Water Street for East Water Street and of North Plankinton Avenue for West Water Street. These early thoroughfares, though each originally was known as Water Street without a preface, had been East Water Street and West Water Street respectively since Juneau's and Kilbourn's time. Situated in the heart of the city, they were known to everybody, and it will take some time for

everybody to become accustomed to the change in their designations. What heretofore was North Water Street, on the East Side, has become East Kane Place.

Meanwhile old Milwaukeeans are struggling to readjust themselves to the revolution that has done away with the long-familiar designations of Clinton Street, Reed Street, Hanover Street, Greenbush Street and Grove Street, on the South side and labeled those thoroughfares respectively South First Street, South Second Street, South Third Street, South Fourth Street and South Fifth Street, besides renumbering the old avenues to make them correspond with West Side streets. The old South Water Street has given way to East and West Seeboth streets. Sentimentalists who would have retained the old names to which everybody had become accustomed, and many of which had been endeared by cherished associations, were silenced with the assertion that uniformity and system in street nomenclature simplify the work of the postmen and of everyone else engaged in the making of deliveries. Another observation quieting objectors was that much new territory brought into the city during recent years contained streets with names which duplicated those in old Milwaukee, so that a certain amount of change was unavoidable.

A HISTORIC CORNER

This picture was taken in 1886 from the roof of the Miller Building, original site of the old Milwaukee House, looking down Broadway to the Chamber of Commerce and down Wisconsin Street to the bridge. In the center of the foreground is what used to be called "the corner that never changes," later the site of the Railway Exchange Building.

CHAPTER XXV

OLD-TIME HOTELS

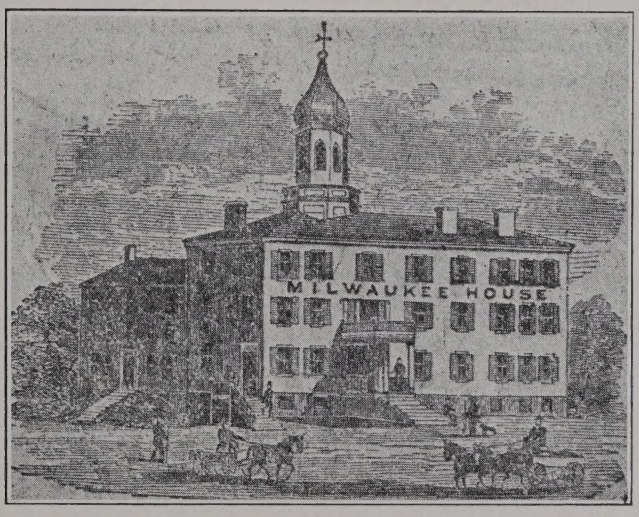
ENTERTAINMENT FOR TRAVELERS IN THE MILWAUKEE OF OTHER DAYS—CRUDE AT FIRST, IT UNDERWENT STEADY IMPROVEMENT —EVOLUTION FROM THE TRIANGLE AND THE SHANTY TAVERN TO THE UNITED STATES, THE NEWHALL AND THE PLANKINTON.

The first place of entertainment for travelers in Milwaukee was the log house of John and Luther Childs, located among scrub oaks on the hill east of Juneau's trading post, and occupying as nearly as can be determined what now is the northeast corner of Broadway and Wisconsin streets.

In March, 1835, Jacques Vieau, son of the first Milwaukeean of that name, conceived the idea of bettering the accommodations provided by this pioneer hostelry, and—boards being now obtainable from the sawmill on the Milwaukee River which had been established by Doctor Bigelow—erected what came to be known as "the Cottage Inn," on the east side of East Water Street, south of Michigan Street. The boards manufactured by the Bigelow enterprise were oak and basswood, but for architectural purposes these were infinitely preferable to rough logs, and the Cottage Inn at once became the leading hostelry of Milwaukee, though this distinction was one it did not retain for more than a year. Many of its patrons always referred to it as "the Triangle," for the reason that a sound-producing contrivance of that shape surmounted its roof, and was used by its landlord to summon his patrons to their meals. The cookery at the Cottage Inn was rough and ready, and hash was the staple of its bill of fare. In the ten years of its existence the establishment changed proprietors several times, but under most of them failed to meet the requirements of wayfarers of refinement. Usually it was no place for a guest who objected to sleeping with a stranger, or who considered it a hardship to make his own bed. Abner Kirby,

himself destined to become a hotel proprietor in the course of time, averred that on the day of his arrival in Milwaukee, in 1844, he carried his trunk on his back from the boat to the Cottage Inn. He was seasick, and in need of rest. The man who did duty as a porter escorted him, carrying a half-inch candle between his fingers. Groping up a flight of stairs, he showed the guest into a room and informed him that his bed was a buffalo skin which was lying on the floor in a corner. Mr. Kirby turned in. The robe was warm, he said,—because another guest had just slipped out from under it. The best days of the Cottage Inn were its last. It was greatly enlarged and improved in 1843, but burned in the fire of April, 1845.

In 1836 Solomon Juneau completed the Belleview House, whose construction had been begun in the preceding year. It was on the site of the Childs log cabin—a frame structure, three stories in height, surmounted with a cupola, and commodious and modern in the estimation of Westerners of the '30s. People who stopped at the Belleview were supposed to have money, and the rate for transients was a dollar a day. The Belleview was managed in turn by Sidney A. Hosmer and Elisha Starr, by Childs & Cotton, by Daniel Wells, Jr., by Hurley & Ream, and by Caleb Wall. Mr. Wall was a friend of order. He came to Milwaukee with the idea that a first-class hotel could be made to pay without a bar, and that the most desirable class of patrons would appreciate quiet surroundings at night. One of the rules which he posted in the office of the Milwaukee House was that guests were expected to be in their beds by 10 p. m. To the landlord's surprise, his reckless boarders insisted on remaining up as late as they pleased, and retiring to their rooms at whatever hour they chose. Awakened at midnight on one occasion, he rushed into the street to find that a grating sound which had disturbed his rest was caused by a number of his guests who had spent their evening in a bar room conducted by one of his rivals, and were getting into their windows by means of a ladder. This constrained him to rescind his early-closing rule and also to purchase decanters for the equipment of the most ornate bar in the settlement, after which the Milwaukee House became as noisy after supper as any of its competitors, and instead of seeking entertainment away from home, some of the patrons formed the habit of spending night after



THE MILWAUKEE HOUSE
Corner of Wisconsin and Main (now Broadway).

night in the Milwaukee House bar room. Perhaps a feeling of responsibility preyed upon the mind of Landlord Wall. Whatever may have been the cause, he abandoned hotel-keeping and went into business as an auctioneer and a handler of real estate, doing much in the latter capacity to promote the development of Milwaukee. The picture of the old Milwaukee House, with its yards and stables, and both sides of the road in front of it lined with wagons, while the sound of revelry floated from its windows to fall upon the ears of passers-by, was one that lingered long in the memory of residents of Milwaukee. On May 21, 1845, the register of the Milwaukee House contained the names of 287 persons who had arrived during the week of May 19th. This was the year in which the enterprise of James H. Rogers set about providing competition fatal to the pretensions of the caravansary which had sufficed for all the polite requirements of an earlier and cruder time. In 1849 the building was removed to another site, the main portion of the original structure being destroyed by fire in 1855.

Of West Side hotels none was more famous at the start than the Shanty Tavern of the Lelands, picturesquely described in the reminiscences of Doctor Barber. It occupied the triangular lot at the junction of West Water and Third streets later conspicuous as the location of the Second Ward Bank. This hostelry was nothing but a barrack, 100 feet long and 22 feet wide, but its proprietor was an approved host, and his place filled up with young men, its designation softened to "Leland's Pavilion." The Leland establishment served to accommodate most travelers who put up on the west side of the river, until January, 1837, when the American House, a spacious frame edifice, was erected on its site by the same proprietor. This was kept as a tavern until 1840, when it was sold and ceased to function as a place of hospitable entertainment. In the florid introduction to the first Milwaukee City Directory, published in 1847, Julius P. Bolivar McCabe descanted upon the final estate of this notable structure as follows:

"It was cut up into a multiplicity of tenements for birds of passage from the four winds of heaven, who were antipodes to each other in their manners, customs and habits, and spoke as many languages as were spoken at the Tower of Babel. In fact,

it might with justice be styled the modern Babel, from which it differed, however, in point of cleanliness, as the filthy habits of its inhabitants gave it a strong claim to the appellation of the Refuge of the Refuse. Its tenants paid their rent, however, and were suffered to keep possession of this receptacle of filth and fever until within a few months past, when the whole chain of buildings was bought by our enterprising fellow citizen, Major John S. Fillmore, who ejected their inmates and has recently employed competent workmen to purge, purify and renovate the whole concern, and render it fit for the habitation of small but respectable families, who believe with John Wesley that 'cleanliness is next to godliness.' "

The Washington House, built in 1836 by Archibald Clybourn, of Chicago, far exceeded Leland's in exterior appearance and interior comfort, but failed to have a Leland for its manager and was less eligibly located. At first the Washington House stood at the northeast corner of Third and Vliet streets, where it was conducted by Silas Griffith. Frederick Vogelgesang removed it in the '50s to the corner of Third and Cedar streets, giving it the name of the Republican House. The Kletzsch family raised it to the standard of perfection which made it renowned.

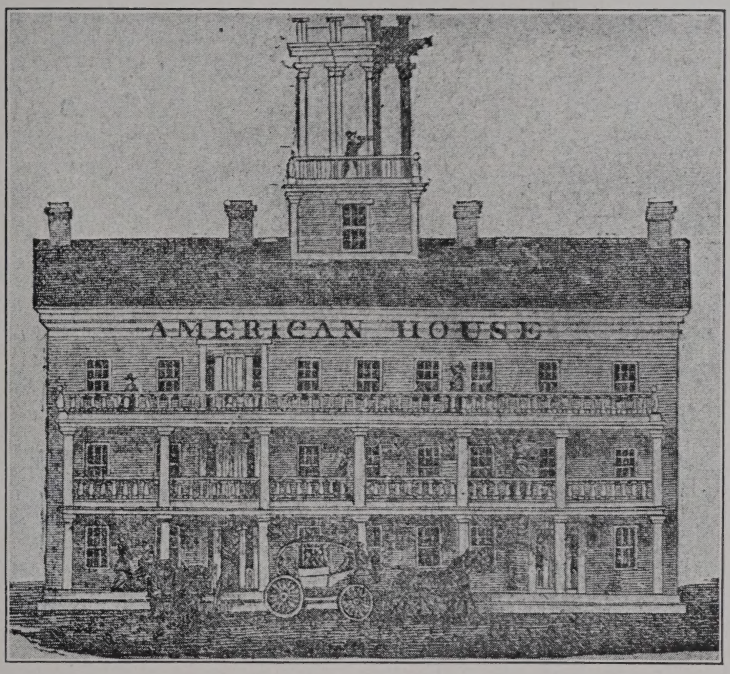
John S. Mitchell came to Milwaukee in 1843. A native of Ireland, though of Scottish parentage, he had arrived in the United States at the age of twelve. In his young manhood he was a sailor, making cruises along the Atlantic coast extending as far as the Gulf of Mexico. On his arrival in Milwaukee, the recent construction of Strong's pier had directed attention to the prospects of business development in the vicinity of Huron Street. There were those who expressed confidence that the population of the city would cluster about the shore end of the Strong pier, where boats landed and discharged their passengers and freight. Mr. Mitchell built the Eastern Hotel, so near the water's edge that during storms its walls were dampened by the spray from the waves. His house was the first to attract the attention of new arrivals, and for years he enjoyed an excellent business. A volunteer life-saving crew was organized among the boarders, and on many occasions the place served the purpose of an emergency hospital, people who had met accidents of various descriptions being taken there to be cared for. The building of the new harbor

was followed by rapid decline of the status of the Eastern Hotel and of all the business that depended upon the piers. Now the boats arriving at Milwaukee entered the river to discharge their passengers and freight. The Mitchells utilized their hotel as a residence for a number of years, moving to the West Side in 1864. In the first year of his residence in Milwaukee Mr. Mitchell was a delegate to the city convention. For more than thirty years he was in office as constable, deputy sheriff, under sheriff, marshal and court crier.

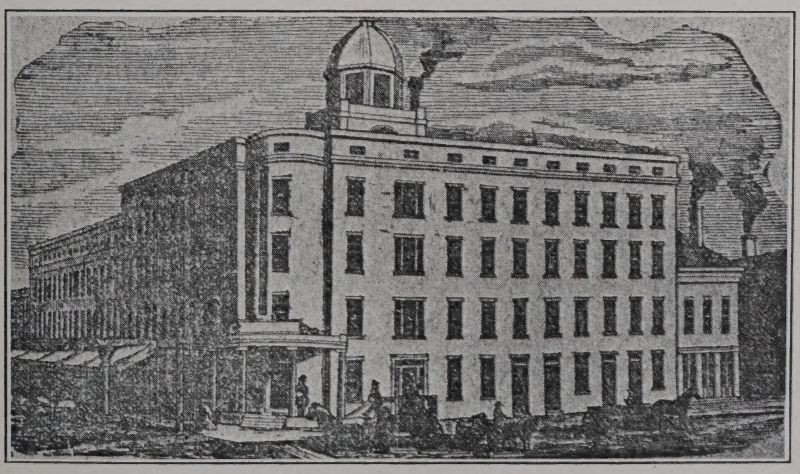
The American House—second of that name—which was on the south side of Spring Street, occupying part of the later site of the Plankinton House, was erected by Jacob L. Bean, not long after his arrival in Milwaukee in the early '40s. Skinner & Rice were its managers in 1843. Later it was conducted for many years by the Kanes, father and sons. It was destroyed by fire in 1861. Built of wood, it underwent numerous enlargements, and must have been ably managed to secure as much patronage as it did at a time when hostelries more substantial and modern in construction were at the service of the public.

The first brick hotel building in Milwaukee was erected by Daniel Wells, Jr., in 1845, at the southeast corner of East Water and Mason streets. Known originally as the City Hotel, later as the Walker House, and finally as the Kirby House, it underwent numerous changes of proprietorship, while for a period of more than seventy years receiving a generous share of business. It was torn down in 1929.

The United States Hotel, built in 1845 by James H. Rogers on property at the northeast corner of East Water and Huron streets owned by Philo White, who had purchased it from Solomon Juneau, was far in advance of anything of an earlier date in Milwaukee. The frontage on East Water Street was 120 feet, and the hotel, built of brick, covered all the ground. At first it was three stories in height, an additional story being added later, for the United States Hotel was a great success. Milwaukee as a city waited for waterworks till 1873, but to supply running water to the patrons of this luxurious hostelry pipes bored from tamarack logs were laid underground from a spring on the north side of Michigan Street. The hotel was destroyed by the conflagration of 1854, but these pipes were found in good preservation when



AMERICAN HOUSE
On Spring Street (now Wisconsin Avenue), three doors from West Water.



UNITED STATES HOTEL
Corner of East Water and Huron Streets

dug up a quarter of a century afterward, some of the wood from them being fashioned into canes for old settlers, who could recall the time when travelers reaching the city by steamboat landed on the pier near the end of Huron Street, and when the United States Hotel was in its glory.

The Dousman warehouse, built in the autumn of 1839 and opened for business on New Year's Day, 1840, continues to serve as a reminder of the time when all the heavy merchandise used in Wisconsin came by water, and when boats arriving from the lower lakes were objects of interest to everybody in Milwaukee. Many passengers landed at the Dousman dock. At the northeast corner of East Water and Detroit streets there is a building with the following words on its cornerstone: "B. Stimson, July 4, 1853." This once was the Cross-Keys Hotel, a brick successor to the wooden original which for ten years prior to that date had occupied the same site. Bailey Stimson, proprietor of the Cross-Keys, was an Englishman, who had come to Wisconsin very early, settling at first at Racine and subsequently identifying himself with Milwaukee. His was a genuine old-country inn, at which other Englishmen were accustomed to stop when they came to Milwaukee. Another hostelry of modest pretensions seemed to hold out inducements to Irish guests, being called "The Lakes of Killarney." There was a "Caledonian" for Scotchmen and a "St. David's" for sojourners from Wales. The Merchant's Hotel was on Erie Street, just east of East Water, but it was built on Huron Street, a little east of Broadway, and moved twice.

Theodore Wettstein, who came from Germany in 1848, is remembered in many capacities, for he was a genial, cultivated and versatile gentleman. The Hotel Wettstein, which he conducted at first under the name of "Zum Deutschen Haus," in a building on the east side of Market Square, and later in larger quarters at the northeast corner of Market and Oneida streets, became famous far and wide. It was a favorite stopping-place for "Acht-und-Vierzigers," and received honorable mention from Henry Villard when that noted journalist and financier came to write his memoirs. Mr. Wettstein was conspicuous in the organization of the Milwaukee Musical Society. He was the proprietor of the old Milwaukee House, in the winter of 1855, when that historic structure was destroyed by fire. Mr. Wettstein was the

first manager of the St. Charles Hotel, built by Captain Upmann in 1857. The Captain himself undertook its management for a time, and was succeeded in 1872 by the Ferneckes Brothers, who made a reputation of their own. The building was purchased by Capt. Frederick Pabst and reconstructed at considerable outlay early in the '90s.

The Fond du Lac House, on the west side of Fourth Street, between Prairie and Chestnut streets, was much approved by farmers who came into the city by way of Chestnut and Winnebago streets or the Fond du Lac or Green Bay roads. Later it secured patronage from immigrants. In appearance it was a handsome old-style mansion, surrounded by a trimly kept front yard, and supplied with ample accommodations for the farmers' teams. It was built and conducted by Louis Auer, Sr., who was a nephew of Louis Trayser, the first German tavern proprietor in Milwaukee, and as a youth Mr. Auer had served as his uncle's assistant. After prospering as a hotel-keeper Mr. Auer went into business in foreign exchange, insurance and real estate, besides selling passenger tickets for ocean steamship lines.

Reinertson's lodging house, on Clinton Street between Oregon and Lake, was a well-patronized place for many years, satisfying immigrants and others who had no desire to pay for style and were content with simple comforts.

In 1849 John Layton, the father of Frederick Layton, erected the Layton House, opposite what soon afterward came to be the entrance to Forest Home Cemetery, and for a time he was its proprietor, assisted by his son. Hundreds of wagons passed the place daily, and stage coaches stopped at its door, for it was on the main highway leading from the city to Janesville and all points southwest. When the Laytons went into the packing business, the hostelry was consigned to the charge of others, but it was well kept up and well patronized down to recent times.

In the middle '40s Byron Kilbourn conceived the expediency of increased accommodations for travelers on the west side of the river. Engrossed with other enterprises, such as the construction of the Kilbourn Road southwest to Muskego, the western road through the woods to Watertown via Prairieville, and the stimulation of manufacturing establishments on the waterpower, he had neither time nor means for building, at his own expense.

Thus situated, he sought to enlist the interest of a man named Smith, who had been a tavern-keeper in the East and had come to Milwaukee to investigate the outlook for profitable investment of his savings. To the prospecting stranger Mr. Kilbourn offered two lots at the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, one as a gift and the other for the nominal price of $200 if he would build on them a hotel to cost not less than a thousand dollars. What happened is related on the authority of Dr. J. B. Selby. Mr. Smith was disposed to accept the inducement, but disinclined to act with precipitancy. Before deciding, he went up to Humboldt, which was a place of great expectations at the moment, whereas in Milwaukee rival locations were clamoring for recognition and voices were raised in asseveration that competing points were worthless. Confused by the uproar in the city, Smith arrived at the conclusion that it would be safest to buy and build at Humboldt, which he did. Subsequently Mr. Kilbourn used the two lots for the site of the Mansion House, which from the time of its erection did a good business and brought him in a rental of a thousand dollars a year till 1863, when it was destroyed by fire. After that he put up at moderate cost a row of brick stores which annually brought him a rental of $7,000 to $8,000, while the ground on which they stood increased enormously in value. Meanwhile the prospects of Humboldt went glimmering, as a result of the protracted litigation between Noonan and Orton, and until the city grew out to it the location—just south of Capitol Drive—relapsed into farming land. The original name of the Mansion House was the Great Western Hotel. It was kept at one time by the father of the artist Vinnie Ream, afterward Mrs. Hoxie, who made the statue of Abraham Lincoln that graces Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. Vinnie Ream, however, missed being a Milwaukee girl, as her birth did not occur till after the Ream family's removal to Madison.

The Phelps House, at the northeast corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets, bore at first the name of its original proprietor. It was not large, but tidy and attractive, and possessed a highly advantageous location so long as the La Crosse and Milwaukee passenger station was only a block away. As the Clifton House it continued to exist long after most of the hotels which were its earlier contemporaries had ceased to be.

Hotels which held forth inducements to travelers by advertisements in the "Emigrant's Handbook," published by Samuel Freeman in 1851, were the United States Hotel, at the corner of East Water Street and Washington Avenue (Huron Street), at that time conducted by Button & Sexton, and the finest hostelry in Wisconsin; the City Hotel (later the Walker House, still later the Kirby House), at the corner of East Water and Mason streets, kept by Pease & Fagan; the Milwaukee House, Main Street and Washington Avenue, Skinner & Ahlum; the Tremont House, Michigan Street, W. H. Watkins; the Keystone State Hotel, on the corner of Main Street (Broadway) and Detroit Street, Andrew McCormick; the Cross-Keys House, East Water and Detroit streets, B. Stimson; the Lafayette House, Huron Street next to East Water Street, by Morrice Louis; the Commercial Hotel, East Water Street, William L. Evans; the Pennsylvania Temperance Hotel, East Water Street, Jacob Deily; the Steamboat Hotel, near Dousman's warehouse, East Water Street, E. Warner—all these and several smaller ones being on the East Side of the river; and on the West Side the American House, "recently enlarged and newly furnished, with the best attention to be found at any hotel in the Western country," P. Kane and Sons. The Menomonee Hotel, West Water Street near Spring Street, D. D. Neiman, also advertised in the medium referred to; but evidently at that time, while Milwaukee's first railroad was only twenty miles in length, the preponderance of people arriving in Milwaukee traveled by lake, and the best locations for hotels were those most closely contiguous to the piers and the docks.

After the destruction of the United States Hotel, the need of another first-class hostelry to take its place was generally felt and expressed, but more than a year elapsed before the formulation of definite plans. Finally a group of business men waited upon Daniel Newhall, who was looked upon as Milwaukee's wealthiest citizen, and suggested that he should undertake the enterprise of its erection. Mr. Newhall at first desired time for reflection, and asked his visitors to call again. When they kept this appointment his answer was in harmony with their request. He was a man of his word, and never did things by halves. In keeping with his reputation and character, he carried out his promise on a generous scale, exceeding the expectations even of

those who had expected most. The ground dimensions of the structure which he reared were 180 by 120 feet, and it was six stories in height. Its walls were brick. In design and equipment it was in accordance with the taste of the period and the best examples at the East. When completed it represented an investment of $275,000. It was formally opened to the public on the 26th of August, 1857. That was a year of panic. Space in the building not required for hotel purposes had been taken in advance at high rentals, however, and at the outset the hotel patronage promised to be profitable. But matters in the commercial world went from bad to worse, and rentals declined on property of every description. In the second year of the new hotel's existence Mr. Newhall's income from it was said to be insufficient to pay taxes, insurance and interest on the investment. His good fortune in the wheat market deserted him at about the same time. In 1865 the Newhall House passed into the hands of Daniel Wells, Jr., S. S. Sherman and C. D. Nash. In 1873 it became the property of the Newhall House Stock Company, of which Mr. Nash was president. Lessees and managers went through experiences no happier than those of owners. One and all in succession evinced ambition to conduct the establishment in a manner reflecting credit on the city; but one and all lost money. Popular personally and well-liked as a host was John F. Antisdel. While incapable of parsimony, he was a consistent economist, a competent overseer of help, and habitually as frugal as was compatible with what he believed to be due to the comfort of his guests; yet he could not make the hotel yield a profit. It was while Mr. Antisdel was lessee and manager that the history of the Newhall came to a tragic close. At 4 o'clock on the morning of January 10, 1883, from a cause that never was ascertained, the hotel caught fire and burned to the ground, with a loss of seventy-eight human lives. Next to the *Lady Elgin* disaster, the Newhall House fire was the most appalling calamity in the history of Milwaukee.

Jeremiah Quin attributed the origin of the Plankinton House to the circumstance that John Plankinton would not take a bluff. In 1867, Mr. Quin explained, while Mr. Plankinton was giving all his attention to the packing business, D. C. Abbey walked into his office one day and exclaimed, "Say, John, we ought to have a

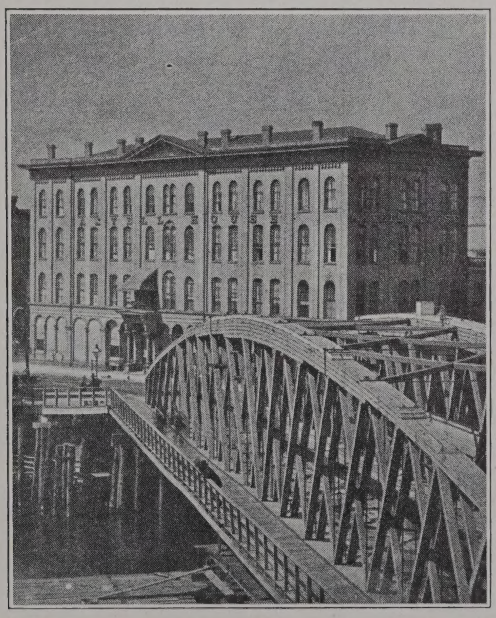
THE OLD NEWHALL HOUSE

Destroyed by fire January 10, 1883. Seventy-five lives lost. Albany Hall, for many years a popular meeting place, to the left.

hotel on Spring Street. I'll donate the land if you'll put up the building." Well aware that Abbey was not the owner of a foot of real estate on the thoroughfare, Mr. Plankinton replied, "When you give the land I'll build the hotel." This was all Mr. Abbey sought for at the moment. Within a few days he returned to Mr. Plankinton and laid down on his desk a deed for 80 by 100 feet on Spring Street. He had spent his time in soliciting contributions from merchants along the street, and the purchase of the site had been effected with the avails of his canvass. Mr. Plankinton was always a man of his word, and before the end of 1867 the beginning of what afterward became one of the most noted hostelries in the West had been reared on the plot suggested as a site for it by Mr. Abbey. Having made a beginning, it was not Mr. Plankinton's nature to neglect an undertaking for the benefit of Milwaukee in which he had invested his money and to which he had given his name. To put the new hotel upon a paying basis required time and patience and liberal outlay. They were not lacking. Additions were made to it from time to time, one of the first being effected by annexing the Birchard Block, on the West Water Street end, which afterward was rebuilt. While contemplating further expansions and improvements, Mr. Plankinton made a trip to Europe, where he conceived the idea of the arcade. Again the patronage of the Plankinton outgrew the accommodations. Again Mr. Plankinton added to its size, till finally it extended along the entire frontage from West Water Street to Second Street. One of its features inspiring especial pride was its grand dining room, said at the time of its construction to be the largest ceiled enclosure in the world without supporting columns. This accomplishment was due to the Howe truss, a device originated in bridge-building and now used by architects in general. The lavish employment of onyx in the dining room imparted a rich effect to its color scheme. The woodwork throughout the hotel was especially elaborate and beautiful. Changes in hotel architecture are inevitable accompaniments of a rapidly changing age, but old Milwaukeeans will not forget the hotel which for many years was their and John Plankinton's pride, with its dignified, high-ceilinged rooms, beautiful carved adornments, and withal its excellent table.

The Niagara House was a well-known South Side hotel for a

long time beginning in the early '40s. In 1865 it was purchased and enlarged by Dr. Harmon Benson, who again expanded its dimensions in 1872. He equipped it in style, making it worthy of the new name which he conferred upon it—the Metropolitan. The location of the Metropolitan, at the northeast corner of Florida and Hanover streets, was convenient to the old Union Depot, though not so near as the Axtell House, the opening of which occurred in the fall of 1872. The removal of the Union Depot to the West Side in 1886 was followed by the conversion of the Metropolitan and the Axtell to other uses. Prior to the erection of the Axtell House Mr. Axtell had been associated with Richard B. Ricketson in the proprietorship of the Cream City House, which they made so popular that it proved too small to accommodate its patronage.



EAST WATER STREET BRIDGE AND
AXTELL HOUSE, 1877

SOUTH SHORE PARK BATHING BEACH

CHAPTER XXVI

WATERFRONT HISTORY

EVENTS THAT RECUR TO THE MEMORIES OF MILWAUKEEANS VIEWING THE PANORAMA OF THE BAY—KILBOURN'S WELCOME OF THE STEAMBOAT WISCONSIN—PERILS, HEROISM AND PERSISTENT PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAKE NAVIGATION—OUTSTANDING INCIDENTS IN A RECORD OF SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENT.

It is difficult to bring to the realization of Milwaukeeans of today the extent to which shipping interests occupied the thought of inhabitants of the place from the beginning of its settlement till the decline of sailing on the lakes. Prior to the railroads, traveling by water was easier and more expeditious than traveling by land. Long after the coming of the railroads it was practiced to a greater extent than now, and water transportation was largely relied upon for the carriage of heavy freight. Lake craft, small in comparison with what they have come to be at the present time, were incomparably more numerous. They were constantly before the eyes of dwellers in a busy port like Milwaukee. Docks lined the river, and vessels lined the docks, their masts rising above the tops of the buildings and constituting a striking feature of the down-town sky-line, which, of course, was lower than the sky-line of the present time. Vessels innumerable moved up-stream and down, necessitating frequent waiting on the part of teamsters and pedestrians in the vicinity of the bridges. Loading and unloading of cargoes went on in daily view of the public, performed by hand, and affording employment to numerous workers. Shipbuilding was an outstanding industry in Milwaukee, supplying gainful occupation to many, another profitable occupation being ship-chandlery. Residents of Milwaukee in general watched with interest the construction of ships, and turned out to launchings as a popular spectacle, significant of

the importance of the town. Shipping news commanded liberal space in the newspapers. As late as the '70s the marine department was accounted front-page matter by editors of Milwaukee dailies, and was duly scanned not only by mariners and business men but by casual readers. Every bright boy was as familiar with the names of favorite ships in those days as his successors are with the names of popular makes of automobiles. Americans and their newspapers had not begun to devote the amount of attention to sporting events which they freely yield in the Twentieth Century. Base ball scores did not become a feature of current news till after the Civil war. Perhaps it was partly because of a dearth of other topics of discussion; but, whatever the reason, vessel news was in Milwaukee's early days a subject which nearly everyone discussed familiarly.

Steady as had been the growth of the lake marine, it frequently was complained of as incommensurate with the needs of still more rapidly increasing population and commerce. In 1812, which was five years after Fulton's demonstration of steam on the Hudson, there was not a steamboat on the lakes; there were not more than a dozen sailing vessels. In 1818 the number of sailing vessels had increased to thirty, and during that year the first steamboat that crossed Lake Erie was launched at Black Rock. From 1824 the number of vessels of all descriptions on the lakes increased year by year, and in 1840 had grown to 250 sailing vessels and forty steamboats. By 1845 the steamboats numbered eighty and the sailing vessels more than 300.

The unfortunate outcome of Juneau's generous effort to equip Milwaukee with a steamboat of its own indicated the risk attendant on investment of money, but did not discourage expectation that steamboats would do much for the development of Milwaukee. In its issue of September 29, 1845, the *Sentinel* published the following editorial:

"Rapid as has been the increase in the number of steamboats, propellers and sailcraft on the upper lakes for the last year, trade and travel have multiplied in a still larger proportion. There are not enough vessels now to do the business which is daily offering. The steamers which leave Buffalo every day for Chicago and intermediate ports take on larger loads both of freight and passengers than they can safely or comfortably carry. And yet the

proprietors have no election in the matter, for people will keep coming aboard and insisting on taking passage even after the boats are filled up. At this end of the route, again, there is more or less wheat at all the lake ports awaiting shipment, but there are not vessels enough to carry the half of what is already stored, and the demand for freights has run up the price to 15 and even 18 cents a bushel. The result is that wheat begins to find a dull sale, or, if sold at all, goes off at comparatively low prices. Although it commands 87 and 88 cents in Buffalo, five shillings is the highest price that has been paid here for several days. Our farmers are suffering by the scarcity of vessels. We hope that another season will add largely to the numbers of our lake fleet."

The interest of Milwaukeeans in the progress of steamboating on the lakes was manifested in an impressive way on the 4th of June, 1844, when they turned out en masse to welcome the arrival at this port of a gallant vessel bearing the name of the Territory. An article beginning as follows and fully reporting the ceremony appeared in the *Courier* of the 5th:

"Steamboat *Wisconsin*—Presentation of Colors.—This magnificent boat has visited Milwaukee a number of times this season, but it never was our good fortune to board her till yesterday. This was the day appointed by the citizens of Milwaukee for the presentation of a complete suite of colors to her gallant commander, Captain H. Randall, for the use of the boat."

A procession, forming in front of the Milwaukee House, had assembled at 9 in the morning and marched to the steamboat landing, preceded by the German band. The presentation took place on the *Wisconsin's* upper deck, in the presence of a thousand spectators. On behalf of the citizens, Byron Kilbourn delivered the address.

"We deem it appropriate," he said, "that Milwaukee, the principal town of the Territory of Wisconsin, should do herself the honor of acting on this occasion in the name of the Territory which has been so appropriately honored by you in conferring her name upon the largest and best appointed and most beautiful boat that floats upon the great inland seas of North America.

"By the services of Fulton, to whom be accorded unstinted praise, the waters of the northern lakes and the great wilderness of the West, from the sources of the Mississippi to its mouth,

have been transformed as by magic into a cultivated and densely populated country. And now, upon this interesting occasion, I presume it will not be considered ill-timed or inappropriate for me to remark that before the triumph of Fulton there was 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness' who prepared the way for the full development of the power of steam as the great agent in peopling this vast region and bringing the world close together. The voice was that of John Fitch, whose primitive efforts preceded, and, it is asserted, assisted, those of Fulton—John Fitch, of whom the person now addressing you is a grandson. My mother was the daughter of John Fitch, and, as an individual, I ought for this reason, as well as for the glory of our common country, to be proud of the results which have been achieved in steam navigation—results which though confidently predicted by my honored ancestor, he had not the happiness to behold.

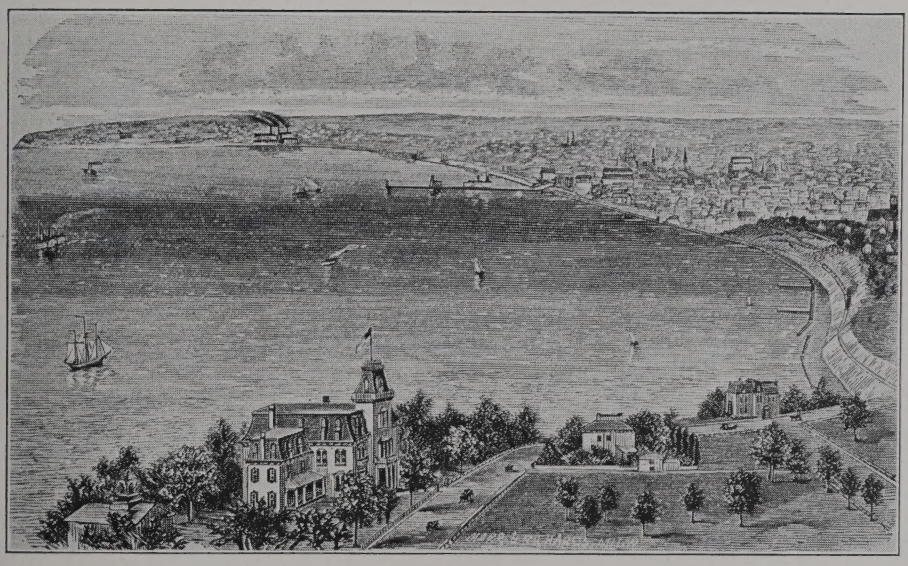
"To him the world is indebted for the first successful experiment in steam navigation. In 1798 he navigated the Delaware River from Philadelphia to Trenton at a speed of eight miles an hour; but, from defective machinery and the want of pecuniary means to perfect his plan, he was forced to abandon his darling project, which happily for the world was subsequently brought to accomplishment by the genius of Fulton under the enlightened and generous patronage of Livingston.

"To the power of steam Wisconsin owes her commercial development, and to your splendid boat her highest compliment. Be pleased, therefore, to receive in her name and in the name of the citizens of Milwaukee the stand of colors which the committee have now to offer for your acceptance."

Captain Randall made an appropriate response.

Steamboats and the men who ran them played important parts in the early times. They brought to Milwaukee a large proportion of the people who settled in the city or on farms in its tributary territory whose development promoted the city's commercial and manufacturing growth. In the recollections of all who made it the trip from Buffalo constituted an experience apart and captivated their imaginations.

The captain of a lake steamer was not only an autocrat on board his vessel but a king on shore as well. His smile was courted by people in the hotels. His sayings were reported and



MILWAUKEE BAY

As it looked in the '70s, before the breakwater was built.

commented on by the newspapers. To be on speaking terms with him was accounted a distinction by the younger men of all the ports at which his vessel touched in the course of her trips around the lakes. No wonder that captains were accounted heroes, for to live up to the responsibilities of the position of commander of a lake steamer required character as well as ability of no mean order. They were engaged in navigation as dangerous as that of the high-seas. The government's work of charting the lakes and improving the harbors did not begin until after lake steamers had been carrying passengers for many years. Aids to navigation which are matters of course at the present time were then unknown. Each of those bluff, hearty sea-dogs was obliged to encounter risks but dimly envisaged by the people who committed their lives to his charge. Lighthouses were few, and in the clearest weather the skipper sometimes was obliged to make calculations by means which now would be deemed inadequate as well as crude, but which then were the best available. The wonder is how well they sufficed, for though disasters were frequent and terrible, they might have been more numerous and often more serious than they were but for the vigilance and skill of the lake captains. These doughty mariners seemed to carry the map of the lakes in their heads, and often proved minutely inerrant in their knowledge of localities that sometimes imperil navigation even amid the improved conditions existing today.

The first steamboats on the lakes were deemed comfortable by those who used them because standards of living were lower than those to which the public became accustomed in later times. Modern travelers would condemn the best of the early steamboats as death-traps, which in fact they often proved to be. High-pressure engines, carried on the main deck, provided motive power. They could be heard by the noise of their exhausts before the boats rose above the edge of the horizon and became discernible to the eye. Hurricane decks were cut short at the smokestack. Without the shelter of pilot-houses, wheelsmen were obliged to stand out in the weather while they performed their task. The standard fuel used for producing steam was wood, enough of which was piled about the boilers at Buffalo to carry a vessel to the rivers, and additional supplies were required at frequent intervals along the route. These stops took time.

Everything moved more slowly than now, though the earlier age seemed speedy to those who carried on its business and participated in its affairs. The steamship itself had not come into existence till the century in which the settlers lived, and that century had not reached the middle of its career. In the absence of government surveillance to insure compliance with the demands of safety, captains took chances which in retrospect appear appalling. Many a leak in the hull was stopped by the simple expedient of clapping a piece of pork against it and bracing the pork with a timber. There were frightful chances of fire. Sometimes there were boiler explosions involving heavy loss of life that official inspection might have served to avert. The captains dared danger, along with their passengers and their crews. When circumstances arose demanding prompt resourcefulness to prevent disaster the captains generally rose to the occasion. They never lacked resolution. Under handicaps that were appalling, they always did the best they could.

A favorite story of the good old days on the lakes is that of Captain Cooper of the steamboat *Pacific*. His rudder chains parted in a heavy sea, and the vessel broached to, endangering itself and all on board. The captain had himself swung over the stern by a rope, and while big seas drenched him to the skin repaired the damage. The *Pacific* was brought safely into port.

People were so used to expecting captains to prove equal to all demands that no matter what risk impended there was confidence that all would come out right. The steamer *James Madison* was under command of Capt. John McFadyen, uncle of Archie McFadyen, long afterward famous in amateur baseball as a member of the old Cream City Club, and also well-known as doorkeeper of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce. When bad weather prevailed on the lake, all Captain McFadyen asked for was plenty of sea-room in which he might ride out the storm. Once during tempestuous weather, while the *Madison* was due at Milwaukee but failed to appear, another steamer came in and her captain was asked for news of McFadyen. "I think I saw the *Madison*," he replied. "At any rate, I saw a steamer out in the lake with her funnel gone and rolling considerably. I thought it was the *Madison*. I guess she is all right." When the gale ceased to blow, Captain McFadyen brought the *Madison* in, hav-

ing patched her broken funnel and placidly proceeded on his way. He considered all was well with the *Madison* so long as he kept her off the beach.

None of the early steamboat captains is better remembered by name than Captain Blake. He was old enough to take part in the War of 1812, and fought under Scott at Lundy's Lane. In spite of a rough exterior he was an excellent officer, greatly admired by his men as well as by the public at large. At first he was in command of the *Michigan*, and later of the *Illinois*, of the Newberry Line. In 1849, when captain of the *St. Louis*, he was seized with cholera. Brought ashore at Milwaukee and taken to the American House, he died there on the 3d of October. Blake was the last man in the world who would have been expected to act in the role of a colporteur, yet for many years he canvassed the patrons of his line with a view to disposing of copies of the Bible. His stock was of considerable size, and much time and patience were consumed in working it off. It had fallen into his hands in lieu of money from a passenger without cash to pay his way.

Many lake steamship lines owed their origin to the preference of immigrants for making their westward journey by water. One of these was the Northern Transportation Company, which went out of business when its immigrant traffic declined. Others, like the Union, Anchor and Western lines, remained after the chief dependence for revenue lay in the direction of receipts from freight. As early as 1860 the Anchor Line was operating in connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad, its steamers being the *Queen of the Lakes*, the *Nile*, the *Iowa* and the *Forest Queen*. The *Iowa*, which had been changed from a sidewheeler to a propeller, was one of the largest boats on the lakes at the time. The *Nile*—this was another *Nile* than the one that fell heir to the engine of Juneau's old *Milwaukee*—blew up in the Detroit River. In the early 'sixties the *Merchant* was put on. She was the first iron merchant vessel constructed on the lakes, and there was fear that she would not be equal to coping with the storms which rage on the inland seas. Contrary to early predictions, however, she proved stanch and seaworthy, and other vessels, the *India*, *China* and *Japan*, were built upon her model, running at first in the Lake Superior trade, but afterward on the line between Buffalo,

Milwaukee and Chicago. After years of excellent service, the *Merchant* met with a succession of misfortunes. Sinking in the Detroit River, she was raised and repaired, but a year later ran ashore near Oak Creek, to be pulled off and patched up and again put into service. Finally she met her fate by running upon the reef off Racine. Meanwhile the Anchor Line added the *Alaska*, the *Philadelphia*, the *Arizona* and the *Gordon Campbell* to its list of propellers, and continued to flourish.

The Northern Transportation Company was in business before steam took the place of sail, and had a line of schooner packets for the lake trade, all built off the same models, so that anyone could tell an N. T. boat as far off as she could be seen. At one time the company had twenty short, chubby boats of about 300 tons burden running between Ogdensburg and Milwaukee and Ogdensburg and Cleveland. When the Vermont Central was built the Northern Transportation boats were run in connection with that road. Captain Rossman was the commodore of the fleet. Others of their captains were Richardson, Reed, Chapman, Thorp, Williams and Brown. Rossman was a gentleman as well as a thoroughly efficient sailor, and a great favorite with the traveling public.

The sympathy of the passengers was always with the commanders of boats on which they made their journeys when the latter entered into competition with their rivals for the purpose of proving the superior qualities of their respective vessels. This is illustrated in the following summary of an account which a Milwaukeean who was one of Captain Rossman's passengers gave of a trip on the *Maine*: A steamer named the *Water Witch* had been carrying a broom as a signal that her commander thought she could not be passed by any of her rivals. Both steamers were ready to leave Chicago one afternoon, but neither commander seemed anxious to go out first. The *Water Witch* lay below the bridge, and the *Maine* above. Captain Rossman had ordered all lines cast off but one at the stern which sufficed to hold the *Maine* to her dock. The captain of the *Water Witch* waited a long time for Captain Rossman to precede him out of the harbor, but finally lost patience and steamed out himself, whereupon Captain Rossman whistled for the opening of the bridge and followed in pursuit. When the *Maine* cleared the harbor piers the *Water Witch*

was a quarter of a mile out in the lake and headed for Milwaukee, flaunting her broom for all to see, and driving the water from her bows in fine style as she moved along. On the *Maine* nothing was said about a race, but black smoke began to pour out of her funnels, while the pulsations of her swiftly-moving engines sent quivers through her hull. As late as 10 o'clock she was still in the rear, but slowly gaining on the *Water Witch*. The passengers retired, with resolutions to be up early in the morning. When the Milwaukeean responsible for this narrative woke up it was 4 o'clock. Looking out of his cabin window he saw that the *Maine* had caught up with the *Water Witch* and that the two were now racing side by side. Passengers who came forth somewhat later found the *Water Witch* in the wake of the *Maine*, trying might and main to recover lost distance, but trying in vain; and so the strife continued till the end, when the *Maine* entered Milwaukee harbor fifteen minutes ahead, and the *Water Witch* lowered her broom. Captain Rossman enjoyed his victory, but never admitted that he approved of racing. He sailed the lakes for a long time, in his later years in the employ of the Goodrich Transportation Company. He was one of the last of the captains of the old school on the lakes.

The Union Line, operated in connection with the Erie Railroad, came into existence later, its first boats being the *Passaic*, the *Wabash*, the *Jay Gould*, the *Canisteo*, the *Esquimaux* and the *Evergreen City*, and these were followed by the *Nyack*, the *Dean Richmond*, the *Newburg*, the *Starucca*, the *James Fisk, Jr.*, the *B. W. Blanchard*, the *Avon* and the *Portage*. Still later came the *Tioga*, *Owego* and *Chemung*.

The Western Transportation Company operated in connection with the New York Central, being the outcome of a combination of lines on the Erie canal and lake transportation companies. First it ran its boats in connection with the Erie and later with the New York Central. Its first boats were the *Empire State*, *Badger State*, *Fountain City* and *Idaho*, which ran from Buffalo to Chicago and Milwaukee for many years, but when the passenger trade declined went to Lake Superior.

The foundations of the Goodrich Transportation Company began to be laid long before the era of the Civil war. In the early '50s Capt. Albert E. Goodrich was favorably known in Mil-

waukee as clerk of the Ward steamer *Traveler*, running between this city and New Buffalo. In 1855 he purchased from E. B. Ward the steamer *Huron*, and began operating the Goodrich Line between Manitowoc and Two Rivers. Peter Johnson and James A. Hodges, at the suggestion of Captain Goodrich acquired the North Pier at Manitowoc in the spring of 1857, and the *Huron*, then in charge of Capt. Sandford Morgan, began regular trips, touching at that pier. At the same time Captain Goodrich bought from E. B. Ward the steamer *Comet*, which came on the line as soon as the Straits opened. She was in command of Capt. Fred Pabst, afterward head of the Pabst Brewing Company of Milwaukee, and Gregory Hurson was her clerk.

As business increased, Captain Goodrich extended the line to Chicago and either purchased or chartered from E. B. Ward other steamers, notably the *Traveler, Arctic, Cleveland, Sam Ward, Forester, Alpena, May Queen* and *Gazelle.* The name of the line at that time was the Clement Steamboat Company—Capt. Stephen Clement president and A. E. Goodrich manager and part owner. They also had boats running to Green Bay and all the intermediate ports, the steamer *Arctic*, propellers *Ogontz, St. Joseph, Ottawa, Wabash Valley, Truesdell, Oconto* and *Depere*, and the steamer *Planet* was on the Superior route. About 1865 Captain Clement retired and the Goodrich Transportation Company was formed, with Capt. T. G. Butlin as superintendent.

About 1860 Captain Goodrich built his first boats in Manitowoc. They were the propeller *Union* and the steamer *Sunbeam.* The latter was intended to be the sidescrew propeller *Victor*, but proved a failure and was changed to the sidewheel steamer *Sunbeam.* He next built the steamer *Northwest*, a large boat for the Lake Superior trade. Then came in succession the sidewheelers *Corona, Manitowoc, Orion, Sheboygan, Muskegon* and *Chicago*, and also the propellers *Navarino, Menominee* and *City of Ludington.* The *Navarino* was burned at her dock in Chicago in the great fire of 1871. After the death of Captain Goodrich in 1886 there were built at Manitowoc for the company the propellers *Racine* and *Indiana.* The *City of Ludington* and *Menominee* were rebuilt, and their names changed to the *Georgia* and *Iowa.* There were numerous other fine boats on the line, built elsewhere than at Manitowoc.

In a glass case over the door of the assembly hall of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, where it has been a familiar sight to more than one generation of traders in wheat, is a handsome model of a steamship. This ornamental object was a treasured possession of the bulls and bears long before the erection in 1880 of the stately edifice in which they meet. Asked by visitors for a clue to its significance, Archie McFadyen, the doorkeeper of earlier days, used to say, "That's one of the Black Boats," which was a sufficient explanation formerly—but who remembers "the Black Boats" now? "The Black Boats" was the appellation colloquially given to a pair of lake steamships built at Detroit to run between Grand Haven and Milwaukee in connection with the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee transportation line. Two days of public celebration signalized their respective first arrivals in this city, on the 27th and 29th of August, 1859, for they marked an era in the history of Milwaukee's development, affording direct and rapid transit between this city and the East. The citizens of Detroit purchased a silk flag for the vessel bearing the name of their city, and Milwaukeeans did the same for her sister boat named in honor of Milwaukee.

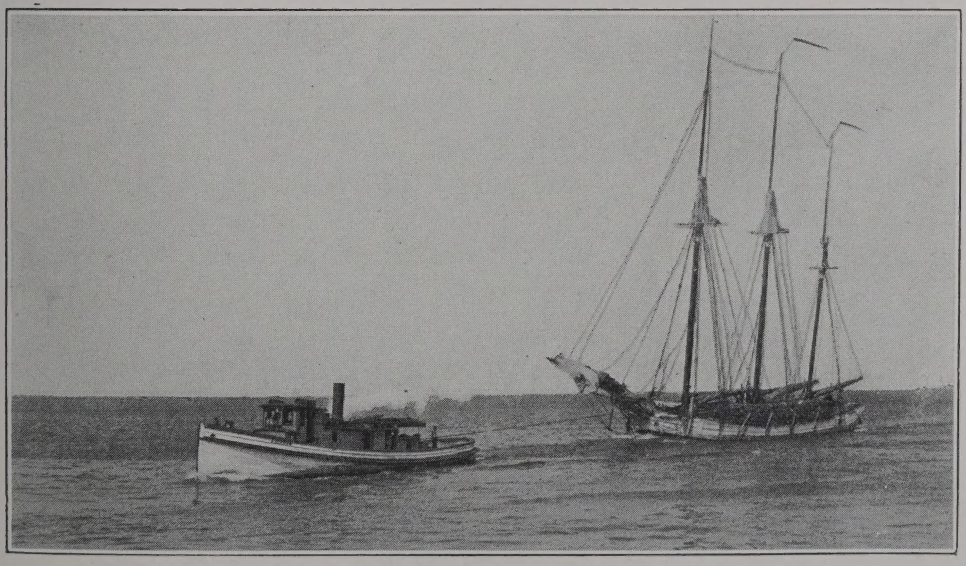
The company's dock was near that of the Gas Company on the Milwaukee River. Thither flocked an enthusiastic multitude to witness the ceremony of presenting the colors to Captain Cross, the orator of the occasion being Mayor Herman Page. Gen. Rufus King commanded the military escort, made up of handsomely uniformed and well drilled militia organizations, which marched ahead of the carriages conveying committee members and the city's guests from the steamboat to the Newhall House. A sumptuous dinner was followed by an excursion on the lake, the Light Guard firing a salute as the *Milwaukee* steamed into the bay.

The *Milwaukee* and the *Detroit* were sidewheel steamers, without guards, and brig-rigged. The capacity of each was 1,100 tons. Capt. William S. Cross, commander of the *Milwaukee*, was a brother of Mayor Cross, and had numerous personal friends in the city. The commander of the *Detroit*, Capt. Dennis McBride, also was well known here and greatly admired. Later Milwaukee became his place of residence. Both boats eventually proved unequal to the rigors of the service, and were superseded by others

JUNCTION OF MILWAUKEE AND MENOMONEE RIVERS, LOOKING NORTH, ABOUT 1879

OLD DAYS OF SAILING CRAFT

Southwest from Huron Street Bridge.



OLD TIME SCHOONER ENTERING THE MILWAUKEE BAY

of improved types, but they were wonders when they first appeared.

On the *Milwaukee* and the *Detroit* were established the first marine post offices in the interior part of the United States. They carried all the mails between the East and Wisconsin, Minnesota and Northern Iowa. This service was continued for four years, from 1860 to 1864. In the last-named year fears were aroused in the North by rumored plans of the Confederacy, assisted by the secret society known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. One of the projects afoot was to effect the capture of the D. & M. steamers for use in releasing Confederate prisoners confined on Johnson's Island, and, if this failed, to set the boats on fire. It was while thus menaced that they were retired from duty on Lake Michigan and the marine postal service was discontinued.

Sidewheel propellers were an experiment of the early days, boats of this description being equipped with screws in place of paddlewheels. On trial the device proved open to objections and passed out of use. The *Baltic* of the Ward Line was a boat depending upon screws at the sides. When she was running light they worked very well, but heavy cargoes forced the screws too far below the water-line, and then there was trouble, because the journals could not be oiled, and wore out, in which condition there was a terrible pounding. After an unsatisfactory experience with her sidewheel propellers the *Baltic's* machinery was removed and she was utilized as a tow-barge.

Boats whose motive power was the screw propeller proved useful and popular eventually, but they were of another type, distinctively known as propellers. They demonstrated their worth and held their own for a long time, prolonging the prosperity of lake transportation lines in competition with railroads.

Incidents of an untoward character commingle with those of a cheerful aspect in the record of every period in the history of the lakes. In 1846 the steamboat *Boston* was driven upon the beach near St. Francis Seminary. This vessel carried as part of her cargo the organ for St. Paul's Episcopal Church, packed in five boxes, only one of which had been landed on the pier when the captain, fearful of the waves which were rolling high, tried to make the harbor for shelter. Despite the fury of the storm, no lives were lost, but parts of the organ went to the bottom. The

church people set up so much as they could save and when opportunity served procured assistance from the East to supply the missing parts, for it was not till long afterward that organ factories were established in Milwaukee.

No wonder that Milwaukeeans were participants in the Harbor Convention at Chicago in 1847, the preliminaries of which had been arranged at a meeting in the East whose chairman was a Milwaukee man. This gathering, many months antecedent to the great assemblage at Chicago, was held at Rathbun's House, Broadway, New York City, on the evening of September 28, 1846, William Duane Wilson of Milwaukee presiding, with Robert Fergus of Chicago and Thomas Sherwood of Buffalo acting as vice presidents. The convention was planned to be a representative assemblage of people residing in the valley of the Mississippi and the basin of the Great Lakes, aiming, as Mr. Wilson explained in his opening address, "not to obtain or secure political capital for either of the major existing parties, but fearlessly to set forth those cardinal principles of public policy with reference to appropriations for our rivers and harbors in support of which the united West will rally with ardent enthusiasm." When the convention held its sessions at Chicago during the week of July 5th, 1847, John H. Tweedy of Milwaukee was its vice president for Wisconsin, other Milwaukee participants in its proceedings being Hans Crocker, William Duane Wilson, Thomas L. Ogden, Dr. Benjamin McVickar, Alanson Sweet, John B. Smith, Lester H. Cotton, Robert H. Strong, Dr. Erastus B. Wolcott, John Anderson, Dr. J. P. Greves, Daniel Wells, Jr., Herman L. Page, Leonard J. Farwell, John S. Fillmore, Henry Miller, Dr. John B. Dousman, George W. Mygatt, Jacob P. Rapelje, Lewis J. Higby, Anson Eldred, Charles E. Jenkins, Increase Allen Lapham, Benjamin Church, Dr. Thomas J. Noyes, Emanuel M. Shoyer, Louis Franchere, Lewis Ludington, Charles Ludington, John F. Rague, John Hustis, James B. Cross, Alexander Mitchell, Moses Kneeland, Gideon P. Hewitt, Henry C. Heide, John W. Medbery, George D. Dousman, Dr. Charles Wunderly, David Merrill, Uriah H. Persons, Allen W. Hatch, Benjamin H. Edgerton, Morgan L. Burdick, William A. Hawkins, John White, Cicero Comstock, Ambrose Ely, George T. Fowler, Levi Blossom, Jr., Abel Hawley, Dr. Edwin S. Marsh, James Kneeland, Orlando Alexander, John

T. Bradford, Henry K. White, Alonzo Blossom, E. C. Kellogg, Edward D. Holton, Clark Brookins, Charles S. Hurd, Sylvester Pettibone, William Brown, Henry Sivyer, Charles Mears, Cyrus D. Davis, Levi Hubbell, Sidney L. Rood, Charles Jones, Charles Crane, Gen. Rufus King, William M. Cunningham, Daniel W. Bailies, Charles F. Ilsley, Jonathan Myers, Thomas Williams, Andrew N. Dixon, Ezra Lowell, Frank B. Putnam, Peter G. Jones, Edwin Palmer, James Christie, Archibald P. Allen, Horatio N. Wells, Alexander Mathieson, Francis Randall and others. The list is interesting as a partial index to wide-awake Milwaukeeans of that early day. Of course there were many interested in the object of the convention whose business engagements kept them from attending, one of these apparently being Byron Kilbourn, who had been a member of the committee of nine appointed at the initial meeting in the East to make arrangements for the convention.

The delegation from Milwaukee carried a banner on which were painted two contrasting pictures—on one side a spirited representation of the steamer *Boston* as she appeared before she came to grief; on the reverse the wreck of the *Boston* as it lay on the beach off St. Francis in the summer of 1847, with a glimpse of the harbor, and the significant inscription, "In Memory of the Veto of the River and Harbor Bill. Si monumentum quaeris? Circumspice."

Daniel Webster, who had been prevented by other business from attending the convention, wrote a letter of considerable length addressed to its members and setting forth his views on the power and duty of the Federal Government under the Constitution to make rivers and harbors objects of especial solicitude and liberal expenditure. President Polk in his veto message of 1846 had taken in effect the position that Congress might make provision for harbor accommodations for foreign commerce but not for domestic trade. In other words, while considering seaboard harbors proper objects of Federal attention, he was against internal improvements. Daniel Webster argued that the power of Congress to regulate commerce exists in relation to internal as well as external trade. He said: "A vast chain of lakes, if it be not more proper to call them a succession of inland seas, stretches into the deep interior of this northern part of the con-

tinent, as if kindly placed there by Providence to break the continuity of the land and afford the easier and readier intercourse of water conveyance. But these vast lakes require also harbors, and lights, and breakwaters. And are these lawful objects of national legislation? To me, certainly, they have appeared to be such, as clearly as if they were on the Atlantic seaboard. * * * To render the Constitution perpetual (which God grant it may be) it is necessary that its benefits should be practically felt by all parts of the country and all interests in the country. The East and the West, the North and the South, must all see their own welfare protected and advanced by it. * * * It is right and just that the region beyond the Allegheny should receive fair consideration and equal attention in any objects of public improvement interesting to itself, and within the proper power of the Government. * * * I should rejoice to see no difference of opinion on a topic of such vital and general interest. This, however, I may perhaps not see; but I shall see, I am sure, the cause of Internal Improvement triumph by decided majorities; I shall see the Lake Harbors improved, and new ones constructed; I shall see the noble rivers of the West cleared of their obstructions; I shall see the great internal interests of the country protected and advanced by a wise, liberal and constitutional exercise of the powers of the Government."

The River and Harbor Convention did not produce immediate results in the direction of congressional appropriations, but it attracted nation-wide attention, and by indirection conferred important benefits upon Chicago and Milwaukee.

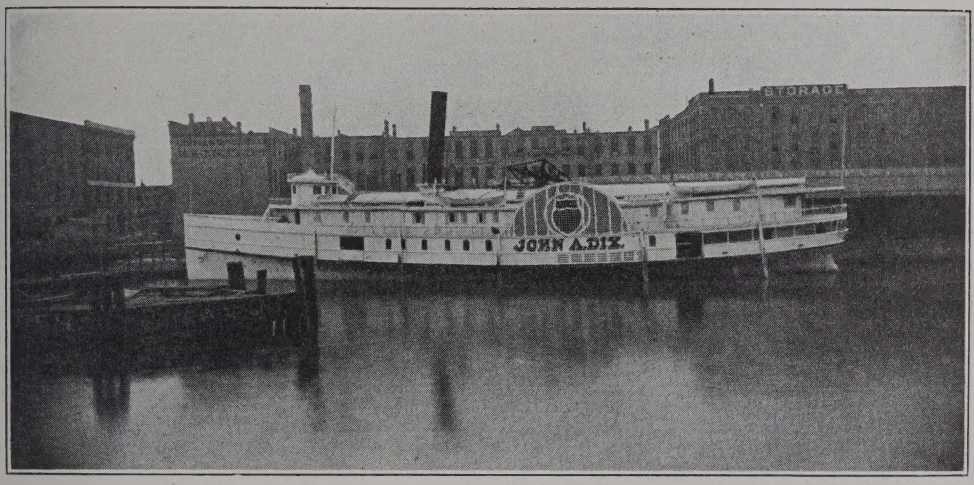
Disasters, not all of which might have been averted by harbor improvements, continued, one of them being the loss of the *Phoenix*, off Sheboygan, on the 27th of November, 1847, which is remembered as one of the major tragedies of navigation on the lakes. She hailed from Cleveland, where she had been pressed into service to carry a number of immigrants from Holland who had set out from Buffalo in another steamboat that became crippled on the way. It had been the intention of the immigrants to settle in the vicinity of Oostburg. Of 209 persons on board, only forty-six were saved. Milwaukee people were much affected by the appalling calamity so near their doors, and made generous

contributions for the relief of the survivors, several of whom eventually became residents of this city.

The wreck of the *Sebastopol*, during a furious gale on the night of September 17, 1855, occurred off Milwaukee. In the thick weather, the captain could not make out the pier light at the harbor entrance. Deceived by lights in the windows of residences farther south, he ran aground at St. Francis. In addition to a full load of freight, the *Sebastopol* carried some sixty passengers. The captain's wife and four young children also were aboard. With his faithful crew, he worked like a hero. When daylight came efficient aid was furnished by volunteer rescuers from Milwaukee with a lifeboat. Eight men were drowned, but all else on board—a total of eighty or ninety—were brought in safety to the shore, after which the doomed vessel broke up, becoming, together with her cargo, a total loss.

The *Niagara*, the *Keystone State*, the *Louisiana* and the *Queen City* rated as large, fine boats in their day. The *Niagara* was lost a few years after she came out. On the 24th of September, 1856, she caught fire five miles off Port Washington, and burned to the water's edge. Capt. Fred Miller, a favorite commander, was in charge. Two days before the tragedy she had left Collingwood with between 285 and 300 passengers. The smoke and fire attracted attention from the shore, whence three schooners put forth to offer help, and the steamer *Traveler* made in the direction of the doomed craft from a point ten miles out in the lake. But the fire burned so quickly that despite the desperate efforts of the captain to provide rafts between 150 and 185 people perished, among the victims being Congressman John B. Macy, who was one of the passengers. Capt. Frederick Pabst, afterward famous as a Milwaukee brewer, was the *Traveler's* first mate, and assisted in rescuing Captain Miller and several of the passengers who had jumped into the water from the burning ship.

Only a few days after the tragedy of the *Niagara* off Port Washington occurred that of the *Toledo* at the same place. The *Toledo* was one of the largest packets of the Western Transportation Company, of Buffalo, while much of the travel between the East and the Middle West was by steamboat or sailing vessel. On her upbound trips most of her cabin space was given over to Down Easterners and Europeans bound for Wisconsin and the



THE OLD JOHN A. DIX, SIDEWHEEL STEAMER

VIEW OF THE OLD GOODRICH DOCK ON THE MILWAUKEE RIVER, BETWEEN SYCAMORE AND CLYBOURN STREETS

Northwest to settle on the farms or in the thriving towns and cities that had sprung up on the western shore of Lake Michigan. On her fateful trip she had aboard about eighty persons, passengers and crew. She had docked at the old pier at Port Washington, discharged passengers and freight, and was preparing to put out again and continue on to Milwaukee and Chicago. A sudden summer storm came up, and, since the ship was ready to clear, the captain "risked it." The violence of the storm increased. Before the ship was twenty rods from the pier it became apparent to watchers on shore that she was in difficulty. She began to drift shoreward, and it could be seen that efforts were making to break out her anchor; but the links of the heavy chain fouled in the hawse pipe, and the hook could neither be dropped nor raised. Axes were brought into play, but hacking at three-quarter-inch iron links was useless. The ship drifted until she struck the sandy bottom of the beach and went to pieces like an egg-shell. Only two of the eighty aboard her were saved, for the people on shore were powerless to aid. One man was tossed bodily by the sea to the top of the bridge pier. Picked up more dead than alive, he recovered. The other survivor was a tiny baby boy, who in some miraculous manner floated ashore on a piece of wreckage.

In 1900 the anchor of the *Toledo* was recovered by the crew of a fishing tug, and set up as a memorial of the passengers and crews who lost their lives in the wrecks of the *Niagara* and the *Toledo*. It may be seen in the cemetery at Port Washington, where the bodies of the victims were buried when the waves washed them ashore.

Brave Milwaukee men made hero records within the sight of home and within cheering-distance of their friends when the schooner *Resolute* dragged her anchors and was pounded to pieces on the beach off the city in the fall of 1859. Under command of Capt. Frank Church, the *Resolute* was bound down with a cargo of corn, when a northeaster drove her into Milwaukee Bay. She dropped her anchors during the night, but they did not hold, and when the morning dawned she was decks to, almost off where the end of the straight-cut is now, with a signal of distress flying. Nearly all the town went down to the beach and

gazed at the schooner washed by the big seas, with ten people scattered about in her rigging.

Capt. James Porter and John Thorsen went to Norris' ship chandlery for a coil of rope. As they were passing the Merchants' Hotel they met Charley Warner on the sidewalk. When they told him their errand he joined them. Having procured the rope they went down the river to where the steamer *Cleveland* was lying, about where the railroad bridge is now. They scrambled across her deck to where her life-boats were hanging to the davits, and lowered one of these into the water without waiting long enough to say "By your leave," for well they knew that every moment was precious and there would be time for explanations after they had finished the job they had on hand. Plenty of willing hands assisted in carrying the boat across the strip of sandy beach to get her ready for launching, and a crew piled into her, composed of Porter, Thorsen, Warner, Captain Kynaston and a sailor whose name escaped getting into the record.

The idea was to make the coil of rope fast on shore while the other end was attached to the schooner. It was riven through the ring-bolts on either end of the boat's deck, with the notion that this would provide for pulling it back and forth without trouble, but as matters turned out it came near being the death of the rescue party. When Thorsen had made fast an oar with a few turns of the line the crew waded into the surf with the boat, Thorsen holding her steady till the others had piled in and taken their oars, when he jumped in and took the steering oar. They made a good start, and the crowd watched with breathless interest. One minute they would be on the top of a huge wave; the next they would be in a hollow, out of sight of those on shore. After a hard struggle they were seen to reach the schooner, coming up under her lee.

The rope was made fast on board, and the work of getting part of the crew into the boat began. The first person assisted from the schooner was a boy, the son of the captain, who had been taken for a pleasure trip by his father. Four more of the crew jumped in, with whom the boat contained all the load she could carry. With the intention of pulling her ashore by means of the rope, the oars were stowed. But when she had made two-thirds of the distance back to land, and was nearly abreast of the

head of the pier, the boat was caught by the undertow and holdfast, when a big sea picked it up and rolled it over. Then it righted, but the ten people who had been aboard it had disappeared. A groan went up from the crowd on shore, but even while it was escaping heads began to pop up in the water, among them those of Warner and the boy. Warner seized the little fellow and started to swim for the boat, when a fresh wave turned it over and tore the boy from his grasp. The sweep of the wave, however, carried the boy shoreward and when he came to the surface again he was well inside the pier, where the water under ordinary conditions was not more than waist-high. Alanson Sweet, who was with the crowd, rushed into the water, catching the youngster and dragging him to safety before the undertow could wash him back into danger. While he was wading ashore with the boy, the remainder of the people struggling in the water were assisted by men who took a turn of line about them and waded out to where they could lend a hand. The buffeters with the waves were revived with hot drinks, while the boat was manned by another crew, which had a comparatively easy time in rescuing the remainder of the people from the schooner.

Charley Warner had made one of the crew of the boat that went out to the *Sebastopol.* Twice on other occasions he rescued people who had fallen into the lake from the piers. Poor Charley Warner! He was of the stuff of which heroes are made, but minor exigencies of hum-drum daily existence sometimes caught him at a disadvantage. He came to a melancholy end. During the Gogebic excitement of the later '80s he and his wife mortgaged their home and invested the proceeds in mining stocks, which turned out to be worthless when the crash came. Warner succumbed to despair and committed suicide.

Marine disasters of all descriptions were likely to be more numerous formerly than at the present time, for the pioneering era was one of small craft, often flimsily constructed, of which there were scores afloat for every large, more substantial lake-going vessel of this later day. In the old times warning lights displayed on ship and shore were feebler far than those now in use. Harbor improvement was in a crude stage, and not only was there no "wireless," but the Government life-saving service was unknown. Many a horror of the lakes during the period

referred to produced but a slight impression on contemporaries not immediately concerned, and consequently is unknown in the present age except to those who have made a study of the subject.

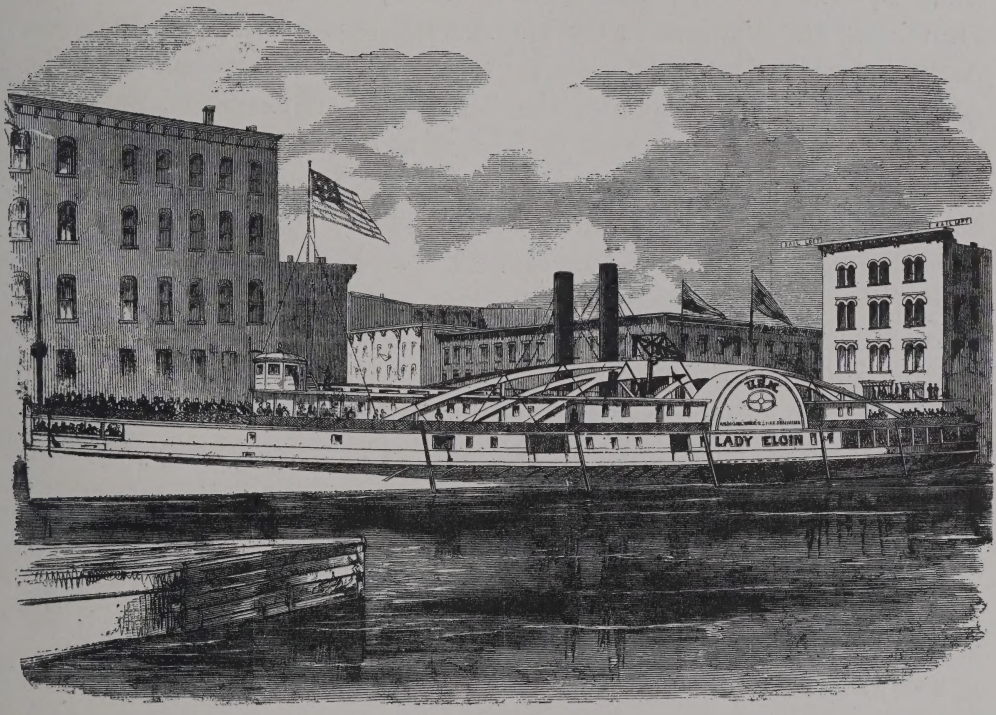
Individuals innumerable of the generation now passing could tell of the loss of the *Lady Elgin*, but few would be excited to tragic recollections by mention of the names of the *Phoenix*, the *Sebastopol*, or the *Niagara*. One reason why the *Lady Elgin* disaster stands out conspicuously beyond all others in popular recollection is that instead of being unknown immigrants the majority of her victims were resident excursionists, most of whom had numerous relatives in Wisconsin. It happened also that among the passengers who perished on the *Lady Elgin* was Herbert Ingram, M. P., owner and editor of the *London Illustrated News*. Scenes of the wreck were published in the New York pictorial weeklies of the time and in the English periodical referred to, which was the leader in its journalistic field. In other ways this particular disaster was exceptionally chronicled. The loss of the *Lady Elgin* is listed in Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, which contains no reference to the burning of the *Phoenix* or the *Niagara*, or to scores of other catastrophies equally or nearly as costly and fatal that occurred on the lakes and rivers of Western America during the middle stretch of the last century.

The sinking of the *Lady Elgin* occurred on the night of September 8, 1860. Of the origin of the excursion party of Milwaukeeans whose participants furnished the majority of the victims an account is contained in another chapter of this work. The tragedy was due to collision in a storm with the schooner *Augusta*, taking place off Glencoe, twenty-two miles north of Chicago, and not far from Winnetka and Evanston. The *Augusta* was heavily laden with lumber. She struck the *Lady Elgin* amidships, proceeding on her way. Just how many passengers the *Lady Elgin* had on board is not known. The number who perished was never exactly ascertained. Colonel Scanlan's history says: "It is probable that one-third or more of the lost were never found. There is a record of 298 bodies found. The number lost might have exceeded 400 persons."

The *Augusta* struck the *Lady Elgin* on the side, forward of the paddle-box, tearing off a wheel and cutting into the cabin

and the hull. Captain Wilson ordered all the passengers to go to the port side of the ship, with a view to causing a list that would lift the hole in the hull above the water-line; but in the confusion the order perhaps was not understood; at any rate, it was not obeyed. A boat was lowered, and efforts were made to stuff the hole and check the inflow of water, but without avail. Soon the engine fires were out and the vessel was entirely at the mercy of the sea. Live cattle, which had been taken on for ballast, were in the hold, and an attempt was made to drive them into the lake for the purpose of lightening the ship. Captain Barry, of the Union Guards, who lent his exertions to this endeavor, became overheated, and this may have been the cause of his subsequent death not by drowning but as a result of sheer exhaustion and exposure. Thirteen persons, all of whom were saved, were sent off in one of the boats, of which there were only three in all. Another of the boats with but two persons aboard, the clerk of the vessel and one of the mates, went off and reached the shore, its occupants claiming that there was nothing else for them to do, as they had only one pair of oars, and could not remain near the ship without danger of being swamped. The third boat carried eight people, but four of them were lost when the boat was overturned on the way to the beach. The captain of the steamer ordered the chopping off of the deck, that it might be used as a raft, and this was accomplished, though many of the passengers and the Captain himself who floated on it when it left the ship were finally carried off by the waves and drowned. By clinging to fragments of the wreck after the vessel had gone down, numbers were able to keep afloat for a time, but of these many perished on the way to the shore. One hundred and twenty-eight eventually were saved. Many people along the shore rendered what assistance was possible to rescue the remnant of the passengers and crew who reached the region of the breakers, most efficient of all in this work being a young student at the Garrett Biblical Institute, Edward Spencer, of Rock Island, who saved fourteen lives.

For weeks and even months after the wreck Milwaukee was the scene of funerals and mourning. A partial list of the victims who were residents of the city or had relatives and friends residing here included the following:



STEAMER "LADY ELGIN" AT HER DOCK

Capt. Garret Barry, of the Union Guards, treasurer of Milwaukee, and his son Willie Barry; Thomas H. Eviston, chief of the Milwaukee fire department, and his wife; Samuel Waegli, register of deeds; John Horan, deputy United States marshal; John O'Grady, clerk in the mayor's office, and Mrs. John O'Grady; William Burns, constable of the Fourth Ward; Martin Doerley, harbor master; Martin Delaney, policeman; Patrick Fahey, constable of the Third Ward, with Mrs. Fahey and their daughter; Jacob Nichols, leader of the City Band; Cornelius O'Mahoney, teacher; James Rice, school commissioner; Frank McCormick, city councillor, and his sister; George Arnold, brother of Jonathan E. Arnold and member of the volunteer fire department; R. K. Alexander, second engineer; Hugh Black, C. Birmingham, James Burns, Anna and Margaret Bulger, Mary Burke, Mrs. T. Bohan and child; Mrs. John Barron, Henry Bishop, Michael Burns, Fanny Burns, Kate Butler, Thomas Bulfin, Philip Bloss, Henry Bass, James Bieland, Philip Rosenberg, Terence Connolly, John Connolly, teacher; Alexander Corbitt, James Cosgrave, John Cline, Patrick Cannon, Lizzie Curtin, Thomas Curtin, John Campion, newspaper reporter; William E. Churchill, fireman; John Coughlin, Stephen Cuddy, with his son; Frank Casper, ——— Corcoran, Patrick and James Connolly, P. Connaghty, teacher; Mary Crehan, R. Commerford, Mrs. William Dwyer, Mr. and Mrs. John Delury, S. A. Downer, Elias Diehl, William Dressler, James Duffy, Michael Dwyer, and daughter; J. P. Engelhart, Mrs. Mary Ellis, A. S. Evanston, Morris Fitzgerald, Paul Foley, with his son and niece; P. Fitzgerald, Miss Fitzgerald, A. Fitzgerald, Ann Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. George Ferby, Kate and Elizabeth Fanning, D. W. Goetz, Margaret Gannon, Mrs. Grady and son, M. Horrigan, Matthew Hanley, Susan Hanley, Theodore C. Hanna, William H. Hayes, Mrs. William H. Hayes, Captain Harris, Godfrey Hipelius, Fred Hett, Mrs. J. Jervis, Agnes Keogh, Charles Johnson, son of Dr. James Johnson, James Kilroy, with Mrs. Kilroy and their child, A. Komarek, of the City Band, with three children, John Kelly, Bloss Lynch, messenger of the Common Council; Amelia Leyden, Edward Lowther, Lacy Lasky, Sarah E. Murphy, Hugh McGarry, Stephen Murphy, Patrick McDonough, Mary McGrath, Sarah McManus, Ann McGee, Mrs. C. B. McLaughlin, Elizabeth McLaughlin, James Malone,

Thomas McGill, Mr. Monaghan, Kate Monaghan, Andrew Monaghan, Michael McGrath, James Murphy, Michael Murphy, M. McKey, Mary Maloney, Mary Matthews, Patrick McGrath, M. Meyer, Thomas Neville, Minnie Newcomb, Christian Nichols, of the City Band; Mrs. Timothy O'Brien, Richard O'Brien, John O'Brien, Dennis, Patrick and Margaret O'Hearn, Daniel O'Leary and son, George F. Oakley, liveryman; Thomas O'Neill, William C. Pomeroy, son of F. C. Pomeroy, afterward superintendent of schools; Albert Patterson, Michael Purtell, Eli Plankinton, A. M. Pierce, John Persons, Henry Persons, Morris Parsons, John and Alice Pollard, A. F. Phillip, John F. Quail, Patrick Quinlan, George F. Reynolds, Mrs. James Rice and child, Patrick Rooney, Robert Ring and Mrs. Robert Ring, Edward Rogers, Mr. and Mrs. John Ryan, Peter Riley, Christopher Rooney, Mr. and Mrs. John Rooney, ——— Rapp, Richard Henry Schafer, Phillip Schneider, Henry Schecker, Thomas Slaughter, Bridget Sheahan, Thomas Sheahan and two children; Michael Spellin, Honora Spellin, James Shea, H. Senftleben, James Scollard, Jerry Sullivan, W. G. Smith, Mary Sullivan, Amelia Silk, Herman J. Strutt, Mrs. Mary Jane Sevlin, James Sevlin, Jeremiah Thomas, Milton Townsend, C. H. Walrath, clerk in Marine Bank; W. H. Wallace, Edward Warner, William Wilson, Michael Weaver, Mary Ward, Allen Williams and wife; James Veale, Patrick Welsh, John Young.

The sense of horror and desolation following the *Lady Elgin* disaster lingered in the community unobliterated even by the calamity of the Civil war. The date of the sad event is still commemorated every year by a mass at St. John's Cathedral. Survivors of the wreck formed an organization which brought them together annually till as late at 1891 and intermittently for years thereafter.

In April, 1900, the death of John Roper left only thirteen of the members of the survivors' association alive, these being John J. Crilley, Frank Boyd, John Eviston, Edward Mallon, John H. Murray, J. H. Miller, William Dever, C. Beverung, Fred Keuttemeyer, Albert Doebert, James McManus, Jerome Rodee and William Aylward. Mr. Crilley had been the second lieutenant of the Union Guards, Captain Barry's Company. The first lieutenant had been married the day before the excursion, and left

the party at Chicago, so Mr. Crilley helped Captain Barry to take up the tickets on the homeward trip. To a newspaper reporter who had called upon him for biographical data relating to Mr. Roper, Mr. Crilley furnished what information he could supply, and gave the following graphic account of his own experiences at the time of the disaster: "The air was raw and uncomfortable. The water was warm. Without warning, the crash came, and in ten minutes the boat sank. I clung to a door which I found while struggling in the water. I could not swim. From 1 o'clock till daylight I floundered in the water. Then I noticed a large raft, the hurricane deck of the boat, which had been torn away when she went down. It was maybe 60 feet long and 20 feet wide, covered with struggling people, trying to maintain places of safety. I paddled toward that raft, and when I came within hailing distance I cried for help. Tom Keogh and Ed Burke swam out to me and pushed my door to the raft. I clambered on, and together with the others floated toward the shore. We landed about midday near Winnetka. The students and farmers in the neighborhood drew us up the steep bank. I was so weak I could not hold on to the rope. John Roper, the man who died last night, was also on the raft. Out of the whole number who boarded the raft only 27 were drawn up on shore." The death of the last *Lady Elgin* survivor was reported in 1921.

Hundreds of poems, of various degrees of literary merit, were inspired by the disaster, which also was the theme of a number of songs brought out in elaborate style by publishers of sheet music and widely purchased and sung during the period when nearly every farmhouse contained a melodeon. Thousands in all parts of the West who are elderly now will remember when young people at evening gatherings joined in this sympathetic chorus:

Up from the poor man's cottage,
    Forth from the mansion's door,
Reaching across the waters,
    Echoing on the shore,
Caught in the morning breezes,
    Borne on the evening gale,

SINKING OF THE "LADY ELGIN"

Which occurred on Lake Michigan on the morning of September 8, 1860, half an hour after she had been run into by the Schooner "Augusta" of Waukegan, Illinois. From an illustration in the New York Illustrated News.

Cometh a voice of mourning—
A sad and solemn wail:
"Lost on the *Lady Elgin*,
Sleeping to wake no more,
Numbered with that three hundred
Who failed to reach the shore."

The compassion of the public found methods of expression more practical than singing. Relief work started with the raising of a fund of $7,500 for the immediate needs of widows and children left in precarious circumstances by the sudden death of those upon whom they had been dependent for support. It was computed that a thousand orphans were cared for, some by asylums, and others by private families into which not a few were taken as members by adoption.

Lowell Lincoln, an educator well known throughout the West, who had been proprietor of a commercial college in this city; George B. Davidson, an employe in the custom house; Edward Neighbor, a clerk for H. C. Paine & Co.; C. H. Abbott and J. E. Goss, bookkeepers, and Robert E. Scott and George Nieman, were Milwaukee victims of the loss of the steamer *Seabird*, in 1868. There were many others. The *Seabird* came into Milwaukee harbor on the evening of Wednesday, April 8, on what was to be her last trip, though no misgivings were entertained by those on board. She had been detained by rough weather to the northward and was four hours late, but left port with a fair wind and every indication of a pleasant trip. She had brought some thirty passengers, most of them bound for Chicago, and took on twenty more at Milwaukee, leaving three at Racine, and having about seventy-five on board when she proceeded on her way early the next morning. At 5 o'clock, when she was five miles out, fire was discovered aft of the wheelhouse on the main deck, which was packed with woodenware from Manitowoc, pails being surrounded with straw to prevent their being marred. Five minutes from the raising of the alarm, the entire stern of the steamer was ablaze. Of all on board, only two were saved, a passenger, A. C. Chamberlain, of Sheboygan, and a deckhand named Henneberry. Henneberry seized a gang-plank, with which he floated till he was picked up by the schooner *Cornelia*, Captain Bates,

which also rescued Chamberlain, who had clung to the steamship. Most of the passengers had been suffocated in their berths.

There have been times when Milwaukeeans were able to indulge in the pleasure of skating far out on Lake Michigan. More than once, in winters of long ago the ice on the lake was so strong as to tempt owners of cutters to risk driving on its glassy surface to Racine. In the heyday of sailing craft occasions were frequent when observers on the bluffs witnessed the spectacle of schooners fastened in the bay by the grip of winter and unable to get in or out until released by a thaw.

The part of wisdom for commanders of sailing craft was to put into safe harbor at the approach of cold weather and remain tied up at a dock until the opening of navigation in the spring. In the early '50s, when Goodrich sidewheel steamers ran up and down their West Shore route as late as Christmas prudent souls looked upon the feat as defiance of Providence. Yet the plan of running boats all winter was undertaken by the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee as long ago as 1858, the first vessel used in this service being the propeller *Quincy*. A small and poorly-constructed craft, designed for the Welland canal trade, she was not a great success as an ice-breaker. During the following winter the propellers *Michigan* and *Ogdensburgh* were placed on the route. They also were "canallers," and able only to make occasional trips. The propeller *Caldwell* met greater success, being larger and in every way better adapted to the business. Her burthen was 800 tons, and she was retained in the service for two or three winters.

In 1867 the railroad company placed its lake business in the hands of the Engelmann Line, of Milwaukee. This was the year when the propeller *Ironsides* was placed on the route. She had been built at Cleveland for the Lake Superior trade, and was a splendid vessel of 934 tons, more successful as an ice-breaker than any of her predecessors. In 1873 the *Ironsides* went down off Grand Haven, the disaster taking a toll of seventeen lives. It was in 1868 that Engelmann bought the propeller *Lac la Belle*, after she had been sunk in collision with the propeller *Milwaukee* in the St. Clair River and had lain on the bottom for a year. Well built at the start, the *Lac la Belle* was an important craft, with capacity of 857 tons. She was reconstructed and run in

connection with the *Ironsides* till 1872, when she foundered several miles off land about midway between Milwaukee and Racine, with a loss of seven lives. Not long after the loss of the *Lac la Belle* and the *Ironsides*, Mr. Engelmann was bought out by E. N. Peck of Detroit, who continued the business with the propellers *Messenger* and *Amazon*. The *Amazon* buried her bows in the sandy beach at Grand Haven. The *Messenger* became fast in the ice off Manistee, remaining there for six weeks, while fuel and provisions for her replenishment were sent from the shore on sledges.

In 1868 the Goodrich Line began running boats all winter, when the propeller *J. C. Truesdell*, later known as the steambarge *Otis*, was placed on the West Shore route, plying between Chicago and Manitowoc, with occasional trips to points farther north. Next winter the propeller *St. Joe* was ironed and placed in commission as an ice-breaker, continuing to defy the dangers of winter navigation for five years. Subsequently the Goodrich Company kept one or two boats in commission for the purpose of extending their winter route from Milwaukee to Ludington and competing with the boats of the Flint & Pere Marquette. In 1883 the propeller *Depere* went ashore north of Manitowoc during a severe snowstorm, but was got off in the spring.

Veteran marine men remember the fate of the propeller *St. Albans*, which left Milwaukee for Ludington in February, 1881, and encountered ice in such vast fields as to necessitate turning back, when a great storm arose, her cargo shifted, her seams opened and she sank. Her crew numbered twenty-five and she carried two women passengers. Three days and nights they spent on the ice, with no shelter and little food. Early one morning they were sighted by fishermen from Milwaukee—specks in the distance on the edge of the horizon. Word was spread about town, and thousands of spectators gathered on the bluffs. Brave men already were consecrated to the difficult work of rescue. The watchers on shore saw skiffs pushed along the ice in the direction of the castaways, who finally were reached and brought to land in safety.

An interesting achievement with a sailing vessel when winter navigation by steamboats was looked upon as riskier than it seems today, was that of Capt. William Callaway while engaged

in conveying relief from Milwaukee to the fire-stricken people of Upper Michigan in the winter of 1871-2, at which time he was master of the schooner *Toledo*. The following account, in the Captain's own words, is taken from his autobiographical narrative contributed to "Early Milwaukee," a publication of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County which was issued in 1916:

"I was windbound in Holland Lake, which is about twenty miles south of Grand Haven. One Sunday afternoon, Mr. E. W. Diercks, who later was registrar of the Milwaukee Board of Health, came on board and asked me to take him up to Holland, six miles from where we were anchored. Mr. Diercks had chartered me to bring a load of railroad ties from Holland to Milwaukee. I ordered two men into a boat and we rowed him to the little town of Holland. When we reached there we found the woods on fire south of the place and the citizens fighting the flames, trying to save their town.

"Their efforts were of no avail, for that night every house was burned to the ground—nothing left standing but a stone mill which was situated on a point of land at the head of the lake. When going back to the vessel we could hardly breathe, as we were to leeward of the fire and the smoke was dense. The next morning, seeing a tug taking the people to the lake shore for safety, I took the boat and brought many of them to the vessel. The people carried what clothes they had saved on board. I accommodated as many as I could in the cabin and put the others in the hold to stay until the danger was past. Soon after this I loaded the ties and came back to Milwaukee.

"The night of this fire was the night of the big fire at Chicago. That same fall there were terrible fires in the northern part of Wisconsin, and many people were burned to death. Many cattle were also burned and the fire made a clean sweep of farms, destroying the houses and killing the stock, especially in the country around Ahnapee and from there to Green Bay.

"Relief was asked for. People all over the United States sent supplies. A committee was appointed to receive them and send them to the sufferers. Among its members were J. A. Dutcher and Colonel Turner. They appointed Capt. A. J. Langworthy to go to Ahnapee. He was to select a committee there to visit

the people and find out what was most needed, so that the supplies might be distributed accordingly. As there were no railroads in those days along the east shore, the only way to get supplies to the burned district was to ship them by vessel or send them to Green Bay by rail and from there thirty-six miles by team.

"Colonel Turner chartered me to take the supplies to Ahnapee. Winter navigation was not very good, and it was no easy task to find a vessel captain willing to go. I loaded by John Eldred's shingle mill, where the North-Western Railroad bridge is now. My load consisted of everything imaginable—furniture, clothing, bedding, stoves, flour, groceries, hay, feed and so forth. We arrived at Ahnapee safely, and my old friend Captain Langworthy was there with the committee to receive and distribute them.

"When I had made the delivery, I came back to Milwaukee and took another load. This also I delivered safely; but while we were at the pier the wind blew a gale from the southeast, so that we were compelled to use all the ropes and chains we had to hold the vessel to the pier. When the gale was over, we loaded wood and left for Milwaukee, but before our arrival a gale and snowstorm set in from the northeast. I could not see the pier light, and the first thing I could make out was the north pier on our lee side; so I rounded to and let go the anchor, with the intention of trying to get out into the lake again. We got up anchor and cavorted into the lake all right, but the center-board, being down about four feet and frozen into the box, touched bottom, turning her around against all head canvas, and she went hard and fast on the beach. When the sea struck the vessel the spray flew all over us, and as it was freezing hard, being the 6th of January, we were soon covered with ice. About 11 o'clock at night we managed to get the boat down and through the broken drift ice, and reached the pier all right. I then lived on Grove Street. I got home as quickly as possible. When I took off my coat and pants they were frozen so hard that they stood up alone.

"After the sea went down I procured wrecking tools and put a purchase to Lighthouse Pier, unloaded some of the wood on the pier, threw some overboard, and succeeded in getting the vessel off the beach about the 9th of January. As there were no tugs

running during the winter in those days, we did the best we could with hand labor. We went on the Wolf & Davidson box to repair the damage. The ice was a foot thick from the piers, so we had to get men to cut it with saws. This took some time, but we got the vessel repaired, and then we had to saw our way back to the shingle mill.

"Without delay, we put on another load for the fire sufferers, but the weather was very cold, and the ice in the river about ten inches thick, so we were not able to get out for about three weeks. All this time the Michigan folks were suffering for want of supplies we had on board. In those days there were only the Grand Haven boats running during the winter. If I remember correctly they were the *Ironsides* and the *Lac la Belle*, both of which foundered later. These two boats would come close alongside when going out, to break up the ice; but before I could get the vessel around the cakes would freeze again, and leave me as badly off as before.

"After a time we got a northeast gale which sent in a sea and broke up the ice. After the gale the wind came from the west and carried the ice out into the lake. I then sailed for Ahnapee and arrived about a mile off the end of the pier at daylight one Sunday morning, when the wind died away. I had the boat lowered and towed the vessel in to the pier. There was a large crowd of people on the pier, and I shall always look back with pleasure to seeing those joyful faces. The people received us with shouts and cheers."

In the winter of 1872-3 the Engelmann steamers *Messenger* and *Manistee* were imprisoned in the ice on the lake for fifty-four days. Capt. David Cochrane of the *Messenger* reported when the trying experience was over that he and his crew had lived for the most part on boiled rice and pancakes, rice and flour forming part of the cargo. At the end of the ordeal the field of ice in which the *Messenger* was imprisoned floated near enough to land for a party from the ship to go ashore for supplies, the captain himself landing at a distance of twenty miles from the others. While the hardy vesselmen were making their way across the ice the mercury registered twenty degrees below zero.

February, 1883, the propeller *Oneida* was out twenty days from this port, drifting helplessly in an ice-floe. She was cas-

ually encountered by the propeller *F. & P. M. No. 2*, which arrived in Milwaukee having aboard James W. Martin, mate of the vessel which had been given up as lost. He had reached the *No. 2* after a thrilling experience in crossing the intervening strip of ice between the frozen-in propeller and the open water through which the *No. 2* was making her way. The journey across the ice had consumed an hour, and Martin had narrowly escaped drowning. The remainder of the crew had to be left unrescued at the time, their vessel fast in a floating island of ice, in the middle of Lake Michigan, thirty-five miles southwest of Ludington. During the three weeks since her imprisonment began the *Oneida's* engines had not been working, and she had drifted nearly one hundred miles, her bearings unknown to those aboard. She had ten tons of coal, but this was reserved for use in case she could be got free of her icy prison, and middlings from her cargo were used to keep up the fires in her furnaces, while flour and salted meats, which were in her cargo, were drawn upon for food. Some of her fenders were chopped up to furnish fuel for her stoves. There were times during the ordeal when the seventeen men on board were overworked at the pumps, but when Martin left her the leak had been practically stopped. Captain Smallman had started with Martin to get across the ice to the *No. 2*, but after proceeding part of the distance had turned about and cast his lot with his ship. The *No. 2* had made strenuous efforts to approach the *Oneida* nearer than she did, but Captain Duddleson, her master, was obliged to be careful to keep his own craft from being enclosed and imperiled equally with the *Oneida*. He felt responsible not only for his crew and his ship, but for ten passengers, some of them residents of Milwaukee.

A memorable event in the history of winter navigation on the lakes was the sinking of the iron steamer *Michigan* on the 19th of March, 1885. The winter preceding the disaster had been one of the coldest in the recollection of old inhabitants. Captains plying between Milwaukee and Grand Haven noted in their logs that Lake Michigan seemed to be frozen from shore to shore. In February the steamer *Oneida* became wedged in the ice out of sight of land. Anxiety on the part of watchers for her arrival led to the dispatch of the steamer *Michigan*, Capt. Redmond

Prindiville, from Grand Haven, to make a search for her. This was on the 9th of February.

Heading northward, the *Michigan* encountered heavy drift ice, which necessitated changing her course, and she put about when midway between Little Point Sauble and Pentwater. A gale accompanied with snow was blowing from the north, and the vessel became fast in a floe some eighteen miles off the east shore of the lake. With provisions running low, Captain Prindiville began to consider sending some of the crew over the ice for help. On the 14th he worked loose and headed westward, but found it impossible to go far. The hazardous expedition was entrusted to First Mate Russell and Clerk William P. Kenny, the latter a well-known resident of Milwaukee. With fifteen others they set forth on the morning of the 17th, taking a life-boat provisioned for two meals and a supply of blankets for use in case they should be compelled to pass a night on the ice. Some of the party carried pike-poles; others were equipped with axes and heaving lines. Within two hours after going over the side they found themselves out of sight of the ship, and had traversed a distance of seven miles. Six miles further on, Clerk Kenny broke through sheet ice, wetting his right leg as far as the knee. With the mercury at 15 degrees below zero and no change of stockings or other clothing at hand, this was a serious misadventure. A pike-pole helped him for a time to keep up with the party. Then his comrades took turns in assisting him till this was no longer practicable, when they came to the precipitous ridge. Leaving Kenny in charge of Martin, the remainder of the party continued their way to the shore, now only four miles away. After their departure Mr. Kenny partially revived, and helped by Martin, managed to mount the ridge and travel to its farther side, where again he lapsed into unconsciousness. Two miles of anchor ice lay between the devoted pair and the land, from which, however, they were espied by two farmers, Frank Buys and Arthur Fowler, who ventured forth to their rescue, Fowler, a man of giant stature, bearing the unconscious Kenny in his arms for a great part of the way to the shore. The bluff where their landing was effected was 150 feet in height, but Kenny was lifted to the summit by means of lines and carried to shelter, the utmost care being exercised in drawing the frost

from his frozen foot. Contrary to the advice of a physician, who assured him that he must choose between losing the injured limb or his life, Mr. Kenny refused to undergo amputation. Eventually he recovered the power of locomotion and lived for many years. Nearly all the members of the landing expedition were frost-bitten during their exposure, and with the exception of Porter Sheldon all returned to their homes, he putting out alone to retrace the journey over the ice which had separated him from his comrades on shipboard.

Meanwhile the powerful tug *Arctic* was sent out from Grand Haven with instructions to seek the *Michigan* and afford her relief. She succeeded in getting within four miles of her quest, but, on account of the ice, could make no nearer approach. Here she herself was imprisoned and held while her crew were witnesses of the crushing of the *Michigan* between two heaving floes and her foundering in four hundred feet of water.

Dragging their life-boat across the ice, the captain and crew of the *Michigan* had succeeded in placing a quarter of a mile between themselves and their ill-fated ship before she sank. They made their way to the friendly *Arctic*. Finally, after once more toiling over ice-fields, they reached Holland, Michigan, on the 23d of March. It was near the end of that month when the *Arctic* was able to escape from the tentacles of the Frost King and make port.

Meanwhile the *Oneida*, whose plight had occasioned so much solicitude, had succeeded in escaping disaster. She appeared off Port Washington on the 13th of March, and made harbor at Milwaukee on the following day.

In 1885-6 the Goodrich steamer *City of Ludington*, Captain Gilman, drifted in the ice for more than a month. With a yawl mounted on runners, some of the passengers and a part of the crew made a journey of twenty miles and effected a landing.

The tug *Ida H. Lee* went down in Milwaukee Bay at 7 o'clock on the morning of April 23, 1874. She had taken a line from the schooner *Ida* two miles northeast of the harbor, and swerved while coming in with her tow, the schooner running over her. Her engineer, James Slocum, was carried down with the tug to the bottom of the lake.

Another fatality recorded in the history of Milwaukee harbor

occurred on the morning of October 30, 1888. The tugs *Lawrence* and *John B. Merrill* were off North Point, the *Lawrence* about two hundred yards astern of the *Merrill.* Aboard of the *Lawrence,* in addition to her crew of three men, were her Captain, John Sullivan, her cook, Frank McGowan, and Thomas Doorley, who had gone out on the captain's invitation for a ride on the bay. While the captain was at the wheel and the crew were below, the boiler exploded, all on board going to the bottom with the tug except McGowan and Doorley, who when the wreck disappeared from view had been left struggling in the water and were picked up by the *Merrill.*

Capt. Andrew G. Olson and six other Milwaukeeans were the rescuers of the crew of the bark *Tanner,* September 9, 1875, Congress recognizing their valor by giving them medals. The captain of the *Tanner* was drowned, and his crew were in the greatest peril when Olson and his followers saved them at the risk of their own lives. The *Tanner* was stranded near the Rolling Mills when en route for Buffalo with a cargo of wheat. After his heroic exploit Olson was made a letter-carrier, remaining in the service for many years.

The wreck of the schooner *M. J. Cummings,* which occurred off the entrance to the Straight-Cut, and within sight of thousands of people on shore, on the 18th of May, 1894, was the result of a northeast gale so fierce that it was impossible for help to reach the doomed craft, though the life-saving station was near at hand. The *Cummings* was heavily laden, which together with the direction and fury of the blast, prevented her from manoeuvering into shelter within the harbor of refuge, so that as the best that could be done her captain lowered the sails and cast anchor within the outer harbor. But the anchors failed to hold. She dragged them past the entrance to the inner harbor and went on the beach south of the south pier, where she filled. The woman steward and one of the sailors died from exposure, lashed in the rigging, and all but one of the others perished in the water while the life-saving crew were making frantic endeavors to effect their succor.

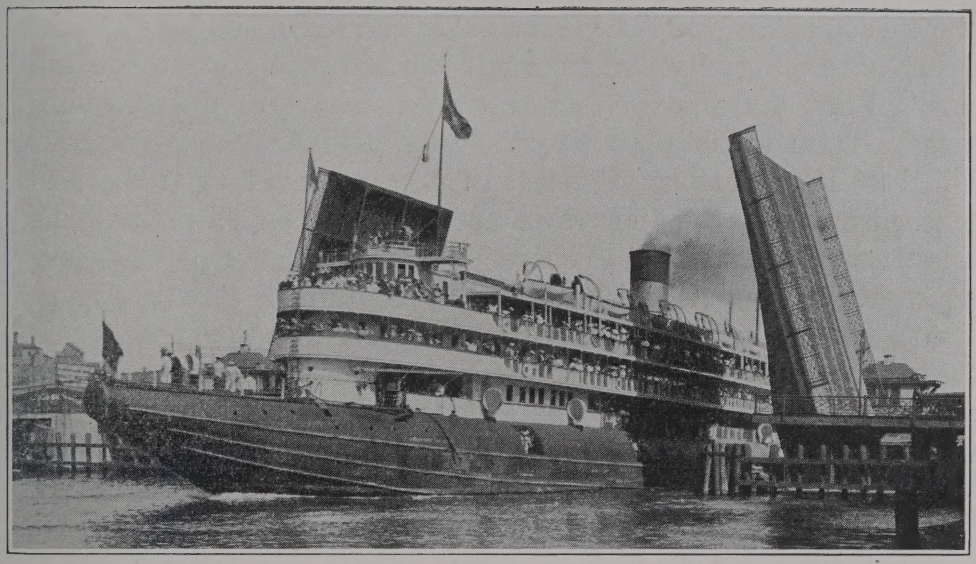
Due to a combination of circumstances which could not have been foreseen, resulting in the costly injury of the whaleback excursion steamer *Christopher Columbus* with loss of sixteen

lives, was an accident happening in the river at Milwaukee on the 30th of June, 1917, while that gallant craft was on her way from her docking-place toward the lake on a return trip to Chicago. There were on board at the time some four hundred passengers, mostly teachers and pupils in Chicago summer schools. The *Columbus* was nearing East Water Street bridge, which had been opened to let her pass through, but before she entered the north draw she was carried by a powerful current so close to the shore that her projecting prow struck the support of a large steel water tank, the tank crushing down upon the steamboat, flooding her with water and at the same time carrying away part of her pilot house and the two upper decks. In addition to those killed outright, a number of the passengers and crew were injured, and the injury to the ship necessitated its withdrawal from service during the remainder of the season while undergoing repairs. The water in the Milwaukee River was remarkably high at the time, as a result of heavy rains, and the current stronger than it had been at any previous time for many years. The captain, familiar with the river under ordinary conditions, had no suspicion of the danger until the accident occurred.

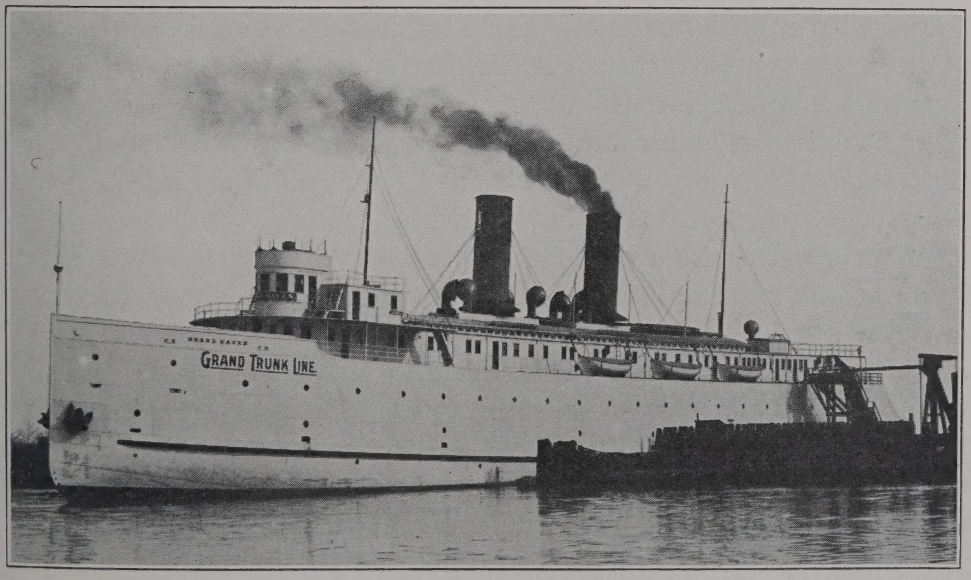
Long after the dangers of lake navigation had been minimized by the improvement of harbors and vessels, stirring incidents of old-time peril and disaster in the water approach to Milwaukee were vividly recalled by aged residents of the city who, as dwellers on shore had been eye-witnesses of what took place along the waterfront in days of the past.

Mrs. Louise E. Linebarger was one of the earliest white girl babies born within the present limits of Milwaukee. Late in life, while residing with her son, Judge Paul E. Linebarger, at 1539 Kinnickinnic Avenue, she had much to tell of the old Estes home at Estes Street and Beulah Avenue, which, like many another antiquated structure, it must be conceded, was claimed to be the oldest building in Milwaukee. Here is the substance of an interview with Mrs. Linebarger in the spring of 1909:

"In 1835 my father, Elijah Stone Estes, came from North Carolina and took up 159 acres where my house in the new city park now stands. A few years later he married, and my mother and father lived in a log house till he built the seven-room brick house I have rented to the Elmore Club, composed of Bay View



THE STEAMER CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS PASSING THROUGH BROADWAY BRIDGE



THE CARFERRY GRAND HAVEN OF THE GRAND TRUNK LINE, ENTERING THE HARBOR

boys who study and spend their evenings there. The place where the old log cabin was is now several hundred feet out in the lake. When I was a girl we had seven rows of apple trees there, and now all but three have washed away. I have seen many shipwrecks from the bluff where the new Seventeenth Ward Park will be. It used to be higher than now, as much of it has been washed away by the storms. Our homestead ended at the bluff, and we were careful not to keep the lake side of our house lighted at night, for fear of misleading ship captains. It was claimed the wreck of the *Boston*, in 1846, was caused by the captain mistaking the lights of a residence for those of the harbor. Several years later the *Sebastopol* was wrecked off the bluff, and its bulk lies buried in the sand off the beach. Eight lives were lost in that wreck.

"Our place was home to many travelers. Jefferson Davis stopped with us in the '30s while he was paying court to my aunt. At that time he was just out of West Point. He was stationed at Chicago, and had been sent up to Wisconsin to look after the Indians. The Linebarger home was considered a mansion in its day. Indians camped on the beach while they were waiting to be paid by the Government, and they would gaze on the house with amazement. In May, 1894, the schooner *Cummings* floundered off the harbor entrance, in sight of our home, with a crew of five, four men and a woman. All perished save a sailor named Patterson, who was rescued through the heroic efforts of a member of the Government life-saving crew."

At about the same time when Mrs. Linebarger recounted the recollections recorded above, Mrs. David Jenkins, long a resident of the South Side, observed:

"James M. Jones, my uncle, came to Milwaukee from Buffalo in the early '40s. My father, Albert C. Jones, came with him. My uncle started a shipyard and sawmill on the island. It was then a piece of waste land, useless for anything else. In 1857, when the Government built the straight-cut, the peninsula was made useless for shipbuilding and became the island which it is. Previous to this time there was a strip of land about 10 feet high and 150 feet wide extending from the opposite end of Florida Street to where the old harbor entrance was, at the foot of Railroad Street, now Greenfield Avenue. Inside of this strip of land

was the Milwaukee River. In the middle of the river, near its mouth, was a large island. Here was where my uncle built ships. Hence the name Jones Island. It was soon after he left the island that the squatters came there. My father used to go through the State buying standing timber. In the winter-time, after it was cut and brought here, they would take it over to the island on the ice to the sawmill, where it was made suitable for shipbuilding. The last boats launched from the island were the *Hans Crocker* and the *Alleghany*, in 1857. There was nothing in the way to obstruct the view. When the first locomotive came up from Chicago over the Northwestern road I watched it from my window at home. When the *Sebastopol* went ashore I think there were fifteen on board. Capt. William Taberner, an Englishman who was rooming with my uncle, went out in a small boat and rescued the men. He was a hero. I recall when the bark *Tanner* went ashore in the '70s. We watched the men from the rolling mills make a human chain and go out into the waves to the ship. They saved some lives, but a number were drowned."

Another well-remembered South Sider, Mrs. Rycraft, whose maiden name was Charlotte Williams, was brought to Milwaukee by her parents from New York when she was eight years of age. Her father was Joseph Williams, and it used to be said that she was the third white child in the city. Her mother was accustomed to tuck her away on a shelf in the cupboard when the Indians were unusually boisterous in their nightly firewater parties along the lake shore. The place became 295½ Graham Street in later days. She lived to be over eighty-eight. The home originally was a log cabin, and her father at one time owned 100 acres of land. After traveling as far as Buffalo with a horse, the animal died, and Mr. Williams boarded a sailboat in which the family took passage for Detroit, coming thence to Milwaukee by team. The recollections of Mrs. Rycraft were corroborative of those of her neighbors whose early life had been passed in the portion of Milwaukee overlooking the entrance to the original mouth of the river.

In 1915, at the age of eighty-eight, a Sheboygan woman who had spent her girlhood in Milwaukee gave the following account of high prices and how they were circumvented with the aid of lake navigation in the famine winter of 1837-8:

"Flour was very scarce, and so was money. The neighboring country had not been settled, and supplies were brought from farther east. It was found that all the stock of flour was owned by a Government official, who had bought it up at $9 a barrel, and then raised the price to $20. Some of the leading men of the settlement took matters in hand and arranged with Captain Pickering to make a trip to Cleveland for a cargo of flour. It was a dangerous voyage considering the lateness of the season, but conditions were exigent, and he went. The evening before Thanksgiving day his vessel hove in sight. A number of flatboats belonging to Samuel Brown were manned and the flour safely landed. While en route for Chicago, where he was to lay up for the winter, Captain Pickering encountered a terrific storm, but got safely into port. The flour broke the famine in Milwaukee."

As late as 1910, Mrs. Louise H. Bright died at the age of ninety-three in the home at 193 South Water Street where she had lived since 1842. From her windows she could look out over the harbor and watch the coming and going of the ships. She had seen the South Side rise out of the marsh. When she had come to the end of her days the house stood in the midst of grain elevators and great manufacturing concerns. "When I was married my husband owned a lumber yard near by, and he wanted to be near his place of business. I have never wanted to move from the place which was full of the memories of a happy life. When I first came to this house the river where the Broadway bridge now stands was only a tiny stream. I used to cross it on a plank. There were very few houses and streets as we have them now. Every one had a patch of ground about the house, and everybody was neighborly."

Comedy mingled with tragedy in the recollections of old-time Milwaukeeans dwelling in the neighborhood of the lake. In the City Directory of 1863 is an entry indicating that Michael Haley, a laborer, lived on the lake shore south of Michigan Street. Glancing casually through the old Directory, as long as forty years ago, a former resident of the Third Ward observed:

"In the old times Mike Haley was in the habit of giving dancing parties at his shanty, which was located on the beach between Buffalo and Chicago streets. All the boys and girls were sure

to be on hand when Mike announced a dance. The whisky was down in the cellar, and when the bottle became dry, Mike would take a light and go down for a fresh supply. The rest of us would go out for a chance to breathe. On one occasion one of the boys who had stepped outside came rushing back with the cry, 'Holy smoke, come out and see what's come to the party!' Out we rushed, and there, within half a stone's throw of the shore, was a big schooner, her jibboom projecting almost over the shanty. From on board we heard a voice crying 'Ahoy there. Where am I?' Some one replied, 'You're at Mike Haley's party, and you'd better come ashore and take a hand in the dance.' 'What's become of the harbor light?' 'Ye blithering idiot, it's down there, nearly a mile away.' 'What's that light I saw flashing back and forth?' 'It's Mike's candle; he's going down into the cellar for more whisky.' The schooner was the *Junietta Patton*, bound up for Milwaukee. The skipper and his crew accepted the invitation to come ashore. Afterward the *Patton* was got off."

Prof. Ray Hughes Whitbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, writing in 1921 of the importance of the lake to early Milwaukee, observed:

"For nearly a quarter of a century following 1840, the vast majority of Milwaukee's goods came by lake. Taking the year 1858 as an example, of general merchandise 53,000,000 pounds came by lake against 18,000,000 by rail. Practically all of the 45,000,000 feet of lumber came by lake; the iron, salt, machinery, shingles and scores of other commodities came by water. Only farm products from the interior came by rail. Shipments out of the city were more nearly balanced between rail and water—rail leading somewhat. In 1875, out of about 85,000 cords of wood received by Milwaukee, 79,000 came by lake. Of 16,255 cords of tanbark received, 15,389 came by lake. Of 132,000,000 b. f. of lumber, 106,000,000 came by lake, a large part of that received by rail coming in the winter months when the lake was closed."

Professor Whitbeck did not underestimate the importance of the railroads, but went on to assert that "had not the city been made the focal point of many radiating lines of railroad, it would never have been the Milwaukee of today."

WASHINGTON MONUMENT, WISCONSIN AVENUE

CHAPTER XXVII

WHEN FEELING RAN HIGH

RISE OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN MILWAUKEE—THE FIRST "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD" INCIDENT—TERRITORIAL LIBERTY ASSOCIATION—A BIT OF CHURCH HISTORY—THE GLOVER RESCUE AND WHAT FOLLOWED—COLONISTS FOR "BLEEDING KANSAS"—ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S VISIT—CAPTAIN BARRY AND THE UNION GUARDS.

The first election held in Milwaukee, which took place in the fall of 1835, was marked by an incident indicating freedom from prejudice against members of the race at that time held in slavery at the South. One of the ballots, received and counted without protest, was cast by a colored man employed as a cook by Solomon Juneau. Ambition to swell the poll in the interest of real estate speculation might have operated as a factor outweighing devotion to the principle of political equality; yet the circumstance is interesting and to some extent significant in the light of history.

When the first Baptist society in Milwaukee was organized in November, 1836, at the residence of D. S. Hollister, on what is now S. Third Street and the site of a breathing-space public park, the fifteenth article of the covenant entered into by its members was as follows: "The church shall not countenance the holding, buying or selling of human beings as property."

As early as the summer of 1842 a trio of Milwaukeeans, two of them prominent Democrats, went to considerable trouble to effect the escape of a runaway slave. The object of their benevolent intervention was Caroline Quarlles, who had escaped from her owner, a resident of St. Louis, and contrived to make her way to Milwaukee. Expecting sympathy and assistance from people of her own race, she sought the advice of the colored barber at one of the hotels, a man named Titball, to whom she handed over for safe-keeping the sum of $85. Titball took the money and

promised help, but proved to be a greedy scoundrel. Giving her temporary shelter in his home, he revealed her whereabouts to a lawyer who had come from St. Louis as the representative of her master. The lawyer, distrusting public sentiment in the North, thought it well to enlist the coöperation of a brother attorney, and for this purpose went to H. N. Wells, who, however, declined to be connected with the case, and mentioned the circumstances to Messrs. Asahel Finch and William Pitt Lynde. Mr. Finch's sympathies were aroused. He sought the refugee and effected her temporary concealment by heading her up in a barrel, which stood for the best part of a day on a public thoroughfare without attracting attention. Under the cover of darkness he spirited her to the residence of Deacon Samuel Brown, that well-known Abolitionist managing to keep her in hiding during a week in which her would-be captors were vainly endeavoring to find her and keeping watch on roads leading out of the city in the direction of Prairieville, now Waukesha. Yet to Prairieville, when vigilance was relaxed, Deacon Brown conveyed her, and thence she was smuggled to Detroit, through which open door to Canada and freedom she finally passed in safety.

It was in 1842 that opponents of slavery organized the Territorial Liberty Association, Milwaukee members of which were Edward D. Holton, Eliphalet Cramer, John Ogden, the Rev. J. J. Miter and Asahel Finch. The association published and distributed anti-slavery tracts and in other ways promoted agitation throughout Wisconsin. In 1842 C. C. Sholes was publishing the *Milwaukee Democrat.* Like all the other newspapers in Wisconsin at the time, it was a weekly, and was engaged in a hard struggle for existence. Disliking the course of the Democratic party with reference to the slavery question, Mr. Sholes changed the name of his paper to the *American Freeman.* In September, 1844, he sold the paper to the Territorial Liberty Association, entering into a contract to publish it at Prairieville during the ensuing three years, solely in the interest of the abolition movement. The paper passed into the ownership of C. C. Olin, and after a year or so Mr. Sholes retired from its editorial chair, the Rev. Ichabod Codding becoming his successor. Mr. Codding in turn gave way to Sherman M. Booth, who in 1848 brought the publication back from Waukesha to Milwaukee, making it the

nucleus of a daily newspaper, the *Free Democrat*, which flourished from the start, enabling its conductor to wield an influence affecting the course of politics for many years, hastening the break-up of old alignments and contributing to the combination of Free Soilers, Liberty Party men and old-time Whigs which under the name of the Republican party swept into control in Wisconsin and the West during the decade preceding the Civil war.

In the winter of 1844 Milwaukee was the meeting-place of an anti-slavery convention, at which one of the speakers was the Rev. Ichabod Codding. The convention adopted resolutions condemning the sinfulness of slavery and affirming it to be the duty of every citizen to use his influence against that institution socially, religiously and politically. Remaining in the city after the convention, Mr. Codding delivered a series of six lectures against slavery, to audiences assembled on alternate evenings in the First Congregational Church and the First Presbyterian Church. The discussion produced results in two directions, attracting fresh adherents to the Abolitionists, but arousing apprehension on the part of church people averse to politics in the pulpit. Two years later Mr. Codding was denied the use of the churches which had been opened for him on the occasion of his former lectures. The trustees of the First Presbyterian Church had adopted a resolution introduced by the following preamble:

"We think it inexpedient to allow the use of our church for any meeting whose action is political, or any party whose organization is political in part, although the course of such party, or the action of such meeting, may be founded in justice and humanity, and the end professed to be had in view meet with our warmest approval."

February 10, 1847, witnessed the organization of the Free Congregational Church, whose original membership was made up largely of offended champions of Mr. Codding. The meeting at which the expediency of organizing the new church was debated and approved adopted these resolutions:

"Resolved, That slavery being a great sin against God and man, a palpable outrage on human rights, the duty, safety and interests of the whole country require its immediate abolition.

"Resolved, That duty requires of all churches, institutions and benevolent associations in any way connected with or affected by slavery, in the name of the Lord, God of Hosts, to lift up a standard against it.

"Resolved, That we will not receive into this Church of Christ, nor invite to its communion table or pulpit such persons as are guilty of slaveholding, or who take sides with oppressors."

The new church society was incorporated in December, 1848, the papers being drawn up by Gen. James H. Paine. One of the trustees was E. D. Holton. Among those who joined the congregation in the first decade after its organization and remained attached to it to the end of their lives was Deacon Samuel Brown. Prosperous and influential during the greater part of its long career, though there were fluctuations in its fortunes at the start, the organization continues in flourishing existence as the Grand Avenue Congregational Church.

"Many men of many minds" were intermingled in the Milwaukee of those early days. Not a few were the questions concerning which there were radical differences of opinion. That such differences should exist was generally accepted as a matter of course. Individuals who might assist a runaway slave were not always ready in social intercourse to challenge defenders of slavery. New Englanders and New Yorkers in Milwaukee had been holding reunion dinners. Tuesday evening, January 15, 1851, the "first anniversary dinner of Sons of the South" was participated in by a number of leading citizens at Gardiner's Hall. Colonel Walker was in Madison at the time, and wrote a letter, which was read by direction of Mayor Upham, who presided in his stead. Caleb Wall was third vice president. Among the guests were Judge Mortimer Jackson of the State Supreme Court and Major Schley, recently from Maryland. Dr. James Johnson was one of the speakers. Among the toasts proposed and drunk was one to Colonel Walker, "absent on duty and from necessity;" another to the memory of Patrick Henry and John Adams—"the former set the ball of the Revolution in motion; the latter imparted to it resistless impulse." T. Hood, who was one of the diners, offered the following: "The peculiar institution of the South; if right in the days of Washington, Adams and Jefferson, it is right at this day, and will continue to be right whilst love of

liberty and union shall animate the breasts of the American people."

In his "Pioneer History of Milwaukee," Vol. III, P. 357, recording events of 1851, James S. Buck observes: "There was great excitement about the kidnaping of a colored boy named George Wells by some one unknown, his captor taking him on the *Arctic* to New Buffalo. So far as I know he was never recovered."

Ten years were to elapse before the outbreak of the Civil war. The realignment of parties at the North was still in the future. Slavery was on the eve of becoming, but had not yet become, the overmastering political issue. The Fugitive Slave Act would hasten a crisis, but this was not foreseen in the opening days of 1851.

The foundation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was a clause of the Constitution of the United States found in Section 2 of Article IV, which says:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due."

The first law based on this provision was passed in 1793, and imposed on magistrates duties which led to complications. An attempt to amend it in 1818 failed. The Compromise of 1850, proposed by Henry Clay—a measure also familiar under the name of the Omnibus Bill—was responsible for the Federal statute known as the Fugitive Slave Law. By this enactment the refusal of a United States marshal to execute writs drawn in conformity with its provisions subjected him to fine. He was also liable for the value of slaves escaping from his custody. Citizens were required to aid the marshal in apprehending and retaining runaway slaves, and fine and imprisonment were specified as punishment for obstructing an arrest or attempting a rescue. Moreover, the testimony of a person claimed as a slave was not to be taken. Kidnaped under this law, a free man could not accuse nor expose those who had wronged him. Presumably for the purpose of encouraging zealous coöperation with kidnapers, the fee of the commissioner before whom a captured

negro was taken was $10 in case the prisoner was adjudged a slave, but only $5 if he was declared free.

Under this law the kidnaping of free blacks at the North became more frequent, and cases of inhuman cruelty occurred. Several of the Northern states passed personal liberty laws to counteract the effect of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the South considered this a breach of faith. Thus the gulf between the North and the South grew wider. Thus eventually came secession and the Civil war. The Glover affair in Milwaukee conspicuously contributed toward bringing to an issue the conflict between the institution of human slavery and the principles of freedom and justice.

Early in the year 1854 there was in the city of Racine a colored man named Joshua Glover, an orderly, industrious member of the community, who supported himself by working at odd jobs. He was on the lookout for steady employment. After a time he succeeded in finding a place among the operatives in the sawmill of Rice & Sinclair, about four miles out of town. He lived in a lonely shanty, and had a habit of keeping his door fastened while he was at home. The reason for this precaution was that before his arrival at Racine, Glover had been "held to service" in Missouri as the slave of a white man named Benammi W. Garland, and had managed to make his way into the free North without Mr. Garland's permission. He did not deem it prudent to acquaint the world with his personal history, nor did he neglect circumspection to avoid surprise. No wonder that he locked his door. Glover had a Racine acquaintance of his own race, one Nelson Turner, who had lived at St. Louis during the preceding winter, but had not mentioned this fact to Glover. Late in the afternoon of Friday, the 10th of March, 1854, Glover and Turner, together with William Alby, another colored man, were playing cards in Glover's humble home. The door was fastened as usual. Glover had no suspicion that Benammi W. Garland of St. Louis was in Wisconsin looking for a runaway slave. He was unaware that Turner had been in conversation with John Kearney, United States deputy marshal at Racine. He was blissfully unconscious that a vehicle containing seven white men was making its way from Racine in the direction of his cabin. So he went on chatting and playing cards.

Shortly before dusk there was a knock at the door, and voices were heard outside. Turner got up to answer the knock. Glover said, "Don't open till we know who they are." It was Glover's house, not Turner's; but, paying no attention to the warning, Turner pushed back the bolt. Immediately a crowd of white men rushed in. One was Charles Cotton, United States deputy marshal from Milwaukee, and another was Kearney. Four were assistants to these officers. The remaining man was Garland of St. Louis, who was looking for his runaway slave.

There was no parley. Kearney rushed at Glover with a bludgeon, dealing him a blow on the head which knocked him down, while another of the posse covered him with a revolver. Though taken at immense disadvantage, the betrayed refugee showed no disposition to surrender. A desperate scuffle followed, in which Turner and Alby took no part. At length Glover was overpowered and manacled, and, to use language afterwards employed by one of his sympathizers, was "dumped, mangled and bleeding, into a democrat wagon, and, with a deputy marshal's foot on his neck, brought to Milwaukee to be thrust into the county jail."

Northern sentiment in general was hostile to the Fugitive Slave Law, but opposition to its enforcement elsewhere had produced no serious clashes comparable to that which was the sequence of the attempt of the Federal authorities in Wisconsin to restore Joshua Glover to his owner. Throughout the southeastern corner of the State anti-slavery sentiment had been growing, and in more than one instance had resulted in help for runaways from the South. Racine contained many inhabitants who became greatly incensed when the facts relating to Glover's seizure were noised about the town. On the morning of the 11th one of the largest assemblages ever witnessed in that place gathered in its courthouse square and adopted resolutions protesting against the undertaking to make the free soil of Wisconsin an arena for slave-catchers. Meanwhile, the mayor of Racine sent a telegram to Sherman M. Booth, notifying him of the apprehension of Glover and asking him to ascertain if a warrant for that purpose had been issued.

Glover's captors had quietly placed him in the Milwaukee jail at 8 o'clock. When Booth questioned Cotton, that official denied

any knowledge of the affair; but Booth was not so easily put off. He went to United States Judge Andrew G. Miller, and repeated the questions he had propounded to the deputy marshal. Judge Miller said a warrant had been issued, but whether Glover had been arrested, or, if arrested, would be brought before him for trial, he could not tell. The Judge went on to speak of the liability of the marshal if the captured slave should escape from his custody, and expressed hope that there would be no excitement. To this Mr. Booth responded by observing that he hoped there would be a fair and open trial, and that Glover would be permitted representation by counsel. Then the editor proceeded to pursue inquiries elsewhere, and was not long in discovering that Glover was lying bruised and bleeding in the jail.

The Milwaukee County Jail at that time was on the west side of Jackson Street, near Biddle [East Kilbourn Avenue], occupying part of the ground now covered by the east wing of the old courthouse. Booth hastened to his office, from which he issued an "extra" apprising the public of the facts. He also passed word to men of anti-slavery sentiments to watch the jail, the marshal and the court, as he feared the next move would be to spirit Glover away without a trial. Judge Charles Jenkins of the Milwaukee County Court was applied to for a writ of habeas corpus in Glover's behalf, and the writ was issued, but the sheriff, Herman L. Page, refused to serve it and take the custody of the captive from the United States marshal, as he feared the penalty prescribed in the Fugitive Slave Law.

At noon Booth received another telegram from Racine, advising him of the meeting and the resolutions of indignation. Having put matters in train for the publication of a second "extra," he mounted a horse and rode about the city, stopping at every corner while he rose in his stirrups and shouted the news that slave-catchers were plying their calling in Milwaukee, also announcing that a public meeting to act upon the situation would be held at the courthouse at 2 o'clock. Booth's own account of the part he played on this occasion, made in a public address a few years before his death, was as follows:

"I did not cry, as was reported and sworn to, 'Freemen, to the rescue!' A forcible rescue was never my purpose. I aimed simply to secure for Glover a fair trial and competent counsel.

THE OLD COURTHOUSE AND JAIL IN THE EARLY '60s

In calling the meeting, I used but two forms of speech—namely, 'All freemen, or all free citizens, who are opposed to being made slaves or slave-catchers, turn out to a meeting in the courthouse square at 2 o'clock!'—the only variation being that I sometimes used the word 'men' and sometimes the word 'citizens.' I counseled against violence, publicly and privately. Yet in all the histories of this case—in newspapers, pamphlets and books—I am represented as riding through the streets of Milwaukee shouting 'Freemen, to the rescue!' I respectfully decline the honor of a deed which I never performed. The only responsibility attaching to me for the rescue of Glover is that I helped create a strong public sentiment against the Fugitive Slave Act and called the meeting to protect the legal rights of Glover and give him a fair trial. If, when assembled for peaceful and lawful purposes, the course of the judge and his bailiffs excited the people to take Glover out of jail against my advice, I was guiltless of the rescue."

At 2 o'clock fully five thousand people were assembled in Courthouse square in response to Mr. Booth's call, the gathering organizing with Dr. E. B. Wolcott as chairman and A. Henry Bielfeld as secretary. Booth read the dispatches from Racine, and, as chairman of a committee appointed for that purpose, reported resolutions, which were adopted, reciting the facts of the seizure and pledging the utmost efforts of those present to secure for the kidnaped man the benefits of a writ of habeas corpus and a fair and impartial trial. A vigilance committee of twenty-five was named, and also a committee of two to wait upon Sheriff Page and ask if he would obey the writ of habeas corpus. Then the meeting adjourned, after agreeing that the signal for reassembling should be the ringing of bells.

At 3 o'clock the sheriff made return that Glover was not in his custody but in that of the United States marshal. A writ of habeas corpus was served on Deputy Marshal Cotton, and a committee waited upon Judge Miller to see if the writ would be obeyed. The Judge replied in the negative, as he was obliged to do in compliance with his duty to enforce the laws of the United States. Glover, he said, would remain in jail until 10 a. m. on Monday, when he would be brought before him for a hearing.

The excitement in the city was not allayed by Judge Miller's reply nor by the arrival by boat at 5 o'clock of a hundred dele-

gates from Racine, headed by the sheriff of Racine County, with a warrant for the arrest of Garland and Cotton for assault and battery on Glover. As the Racine people marched from their landing-place to the jail the bells rang out for the reassembling of the Milwaukee meeting.

Again Courthouse square filled up with citizens. C. K. Watkins reported Judge Miller's declaration that the writ of habeas corpus would not be obeyed and that no earthly power should take Glover from jail till the following Monday. He expressed the opinion that it was an outrage to keep Glover in durance over the Sabbath, and that there were times when the people must take the law into their own hands. Whether this was such a time, he added, he would leave the people to judge. It was a point on which he would give no advice.

The members of the vigilance committee as originally announced were as follows: Herbert Reed, Moritz Schoeffler, Sherman M. Booth, John S. Fillmore, John Furlong, James Nugent, E. Essellen, Avery Hill, F. Peacock, Frederick Fratney, E. Wunderly, F. Neukirch, A. J. Langworthy, L. Comstock, Byron Paine, R. E. Gillett, S. H. Martin, G. G. Dousman, G. F. Oakley, U. F. Briggs, J. Baker, Timothy O'Brien, Edwin Palmer, John Rycraft, R. J. Jacks. On motion, C. K. Watkins, L. Kennedy, S. E. Foote, Hiram Bond and others whose names are not of record had been added to the committee.

Mr. Booth came forward with the announcement that the members of the vigilance committee and of the Racine delegation would proceed to the American House to take tea and to settle what was the best course to pursue. Hardly had he ceased speaking, however, when the crowd made a rush for the jail, broke open the door, and put Glover into a wagon in which he was borne away at a speed that under ordinary circumstances would have provoked arrest for fast driving.

The forcing of entrance to the jail and the rescue of Glover occupied less than fifteen minutes, the climax arriving just at sunset. The fugitive was placed in a light express wagon, driven by Frank Raymond, George Bingham and C. P. Foote riding in the box, and was hurried to East Water Street bridge, where John A. Messenger took him in his buggy, behind one of the fleetest horses in Milwaukee County, and conveyed him with all

possible speed to Waukesha. There was hot pursuit, but it was ineffective. At Waukesha Mr. Messenger handed Glover over to the care of Winchell D. Bacon, a prominent Abolitionist, who, with the assistance of friends, kept him concealed until arrangements were made for his disguise and safe removal to Racine. Chauncey C. Olin accompanied him to the latter place, and there he took passage on a boat bound for the opposite shore of the lake, eventually making his way without mishap to "Canada and freedom."

Referring to the gathering at Courthouse square, in its issue of the Monday following the rescue, the *Milwaukee Daily Wisconsin* said:

"The persons who were engaged in these proceedings were sober, and included Americans, Germans and Irishmen. It is stated that the military refused to arm, and Jennings, O'Brien, McManman, and others (officers in those companies) refused to call out the military companies unless every form and requirement of law were strictly complied with. We learn that six captains of vessels were on the ground, armed with revolvers and prepared to use them."

On the evening of the rescue Sheriff Morris of Racine arrested Garland the slave-owner on a warrant charging assault and battery committed upon Glover. Garland would have been removed to Racine for trial, but Judge Miller issued a writ of habeas corpus for him, returnable on the following Monday. The result of the hearing was Garland's discharge, the Judge holding that until he had executed his warrant and obtained his slave he could not be interfered with by any legal process from the State, and that in the execution of his slave warrant he was justified in using any violence, even to the taking of life, if necessary to secure his slave, and that no State process could interrupt such violence. However repugnant these findings may appear to people reared in the period since the Civil war, they were in compliance with the obvious language and intent of the Fugitive Slave Law, and that statute was a federal enactment valid at the time—harmonious with the Constitution until the Constitution had come to be interpreted in the light of the Civil war.

On the 15th of March Sherman M. Booth was arrested and taken before United States Commissioner Winfield Smith, who

postponed his examination till the 21st. Announcing his apprehension in his newspaper, Mr. Booth wrote:

"We have the honor of being the first person in Wisconsin who has been arrested by the federal courts for alleged disobedience to the Fugitive Law, and for obedience to the Higher Law. Our crime, if the averment of 'the President of the United States,' as set forth in the warrant, is true, is that we have helped a human being to escape from bondage. And if the government can make out its case, and this Fugitive Law stands, we are liable to be fined $2,000 and be imprisoned six months. We cheerfully meet the issue."

The examination occupied three days. Booth's speech on the afternoon of the second day was noteworthy for lucidity, dignity and eloquence. He denied the charge against him, but admitted that he sympathized with the rescuers of Glover and rejoiced at the unfortunate bondman's escape. He added:

"I rejoice that in the first attempt of the slave-hunters to convert our jail into a slave-pen and our citizens into slave-catchers they have been signally foiled, and that it has been decided, by the spontaneous uprising and sovereign voice of the people, that no human being can be dragged into bondage from Milwaukee. And I am bold to say that rather than have the great Constitutional rights and safeguards of the people—the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury—stricken down by this Fugitive Law, I would prefer to see every federal officer in Wisconsin hanged on a gallows fifty cubits higher than Haman's."

This climax was followed by loud cheering, which elicited from the Court the remark that if it was repeated the room would be cleared of spectators. At the conclusion of the hearing, Booth was held in the sum of $2,000 to answer any bill of indictment prepared against him at the July term of the United States District Court. Dr. Charles E. Wunderly went on his bond. On the 25th of March Garland brought suit against Booth for the value of his slave, claiming damages in the sum of $2,000.

The first skirmish of the long legal battle growing out of these suits was a victory for the defendant. Booth having been surrendered by his bondsmen, Judge A. D. Smith of the State Supreme Court granted a writ of habeas corpus, and after listening to arguments ordered Booth's discharge on the ground that

the commitment was insufficient, and that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was unconstitutional. Judge Smith's decision rested upon the opinion that Congress had no power to legislate for the recapture of runaway slaves, as well as upon the fact that the law annulled the writ of habeas corpus and the right of trial by jury. At the July term the case was appealed to the full bench of the State Supreme Court, which unanimously affirmed the order for Booth's discharge. All the justices agreed that the commitment was insufficient. Justice Crawford dissented from and Chief Justice Whiton concurred in the opinion of Justice Smith that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional.

But the triumph of Glover's sympathizers was short-lived. The United States District Court and the federal grand jury were in session. While the State Supreme Court was occupied in the proceedings set forth above, the federal grand jury found bills of indictment against Sherman M. Booth, John Rycraft and John A. Messenger. Mr. Booth was arrested on the day after his return from Madison. Dr. Wunderly, whom he offered as his bondsman, and who stood ready to qualify in twenty times the sum demanded, was rejected by the judge, for the reason that when bondsman for Booth on the previous occasion he had surrendered him. Booth declined to give any other bail, and was sent to jail. Application to the State Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus proved unsuccessful, the justices holding that the United States jurisdiction had attached, and that comity required the State court to presume that the Federal District Court, on hearing, would pronounce the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional, and discharge the prisoner.

Great popular excitement followed the announcement of refusal of the writ, and fears of another jail delivery were entertained. In the emergency, Marshal Ableman went to the jail and said he would accept the bail Judge Miller had rejected. Booth did not jump at this chance of securing freedom, but Ableman urged the course in the interest of public order and offered to go after Dr. Wunderly himself. Thereupon Booth consented, and was released after having been in jail ten days and six hours.

At a special term of the United States District Court held in November only Rycraft's case was tried. Messenger had died in August, his friends affirming that his involvement had so

preyed upon his mind as to throw him into a decline, with fatal result. Booth's case was postponed, for the reason that he was ill with typhoid fever, and could not be produced in court. The trial of Rycraft resulted in conviction, but an appeal taken to the State Supreme Court secured his discharge on a technicality. George W. Lakin, who had represented Grant County in the Constitutional Convention of 1847, and served in the State Senate before removing to Milwaukee in 1854, was the attorney who conducted this successful appeal.

At the January term of the United States District Court five days were consumed in the trial of Booth. One of his personal and political enemies appeared against him, as assistant of the district attorney. The judge charged the jury that the single circumstance that Booth had drawn up and presented to the meeting in Courthouse square the following resolutions was sufficient to convict him:

"As citizens of Milwaukee, we declare that every person has an indefeasible right to a fair and impartial trial by jury on all questions involving personal liberty;

"That the writ of habeas corpus is the great defense of freedom, and that we demand for this prisoner, as well as for our own protection, that this writ shall be obeyed;

"That we pledge ourselves to stand by this prisoner and do our utmost to secure for him a fair and impartial trial by jury."

The jury deliberated seven hours. Then it brought in a verdict of not guilty as to the first three counts of the indictment, which charged the defendant with resisting United States process, and guilty on the last two counts, which charged him with aiding Joshua Glover to escape. Three of the jurors signed the following statement, which was presented to the judge with the verdict:

"Resolved, That while we feel ourselves bound by a solemn oath to perform a most painful duty, in declaring the defendant guilty of the above charge, and thus making him liable to the penalties of a cruel and odious law, yet at the same time, in so doing, we declare that he performed a noble, benevolent and humane act, and we thus record our condemnation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and earnestly commend him to the clemency of the Court."

Motions for arrest of judgment and for a new trial were overruled, and on January 23, 1855, Booth was sentenced to imprisonment for one month and to pay a fine of $1,000, together with costs amounting to $461.01. Rycraft was sentenced at the same time to ten days' imprisonment and $200 fine. Both men were on the same day lodged in the county jail.

These sentences produced a profound impression upon the public in Milwaukee and throughout the State. Numerous meetings were held pledging sympathy to the prisoners and assistance to indemnify them against pecuniary loss. Nor were legal measures for their relief neglected. The expedient of application to the State Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus was successfully resorted to. On Monday, January 29, at sunrise, there was presented the spectacle of a procession moving through the streets of Milwaukee, preceded by a band of music, while ringing church bells and the boom of cannon bespoke an unusual event. The processionists paraded from the jail to the railroad depot, acting as escort to the prisoners, who, in charge of the sheriff, and accompanied by their counsel, were on their way to take the cars for Madison. There, on Saturday, February 3, after a full hearing, the State Supreme Court ordered their discharge, on the ground that no offense was charged against them in the indictment, Justices Whiton and Smith reaffirming their former opinions holding the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional and void.

Nearly all the Republican press of the State and not a few of the Democratic newspapers expressed hearty approval of the action of the State Supreme Court. Innumerable public meetings adopted resolutions applauding it in the strongest terms. A mass convention held in Milwaukee appointed a rescue fund committee "to raise money for defraying the expenses of slave trials past and future." Notwithstanding all the efforts to collect money by popular subscription, and notwithstanding the number, the sincerity and the fervor of the friends of freedom in Wisconsin, the total sum in dollars and cents contributed for the purpose of indemnifying Booth and Rycraft amounted to barely two-thirds of the expenses of their trials. The remainder of the expenses was paid by the prisoners, who also suffered heavy contingent losses, occasioned by their imprisonment, the

time consumed in their attendance upon court, and the breaking up of their business.

But the narrative of the litigation consequent upon the Glover rescue is not yet concluded. Having released Booth and Rycraft, the State Supreme Court instructed its clerk not to send up the papers in the case to the United States Supreme Court, as it denied the right of that court to review its decision. A writ of error was handed down from the United States Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court of Wisconsin still refused to send up the papers. In the winter of 1858-9 the United States Supreme Court assumed jurisdiction of the case of Booth, without the papers, and without a certified copy of the record, and sent down its remittitur, requiring the Wisconsin Supreme Court to review its judgment discharging Booth from imprisonment, and to remand him into federal custody. This the Wisconsin Supreme Court refused to do, denying the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court over its proceedings.

In March, 1858, the Legislature of Wisconsin adopted a joint resolution denouncing the action of the United States Supreme Court, sustaining the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, and recommending resistance as the rightful remedy when federal authorities attempted the usurpation of powers not conferred upon them by the Constitution. Prior to this the Legislature had passed an act making it the duty of district attorneys in all the counties of the State to use all lawful means to protect, defend and procure to be discharged every person arrested or claimed as a fugitive slave. At the State judicial elections in 1855 and 1859 the issue was the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, and at both elections the popular majority was on the side of candidates for Supreme Court justiceships who held to the unconstitutionality of that law.

Booth had still to answer to the suit brought against him by Garland in the United States District Court for recovery of the value of Glover. On the first trial of this case, which consumed four days, the jury disagreed after having been out fifty-two and one-half hours. On the second trial, which occupied three days, a verdict was rendered against Booth for $1,000 and the costs of the action. In February, 1859, the United States marshal

levied upon Mr. Booth's cylinder press and steam engine, to satisfy the judgment. They were sold for $175. In the following April the marshal made another levy upon the printing office of Mr. Booth to satisfy the judgment against him, but Booth secured a writ of replevin from the State Circuit Court. Garland appealed to the State Supreme Court, and Booth lost his property. But this was not the end of his martyrdom by reason of the part which he had taken on behalf of the unfortunate Glover and in defense of human freedom. On the 1st of March, 1860, he was arrested by United States Marshal Brown. This procedure was had on an order procured from the United States District Court by United States District Attorney Upham, under the unexecuted sentence of January 23, 1855. The sentence was that Booth should be imprisoned in the county jail or such other place as the court might direct. The State Supreme Court had released him from the county jail. The district attorney's motion was that the prisoner be recommitted to the custody of the marshal and confined in the custom house at Milwaukee.

Promptly upon the carrying out of this order friends of Booth once more appealed to the State Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, but Justice Byron Paine, who had been his counsel in earlier proceedings, was on that account disqualified from acting. The remainder of the court was equally divided, Judge Dixon being committed to the opinion that the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional. Therefore the application failed. On the 1st of August eight men went to the custom house, seized the guard in charge of Booth, and walked off with the prisoner after locking the guard in the prisoner's room. Booth went to Ripon, where he was received with enthusiasm, and a public meeting was held in his honor. A United States deputy marshal who attempted to arrest him was driven off, and a resolution that Booth should not be arrested while in Ripon was adopted by the meeting. Edward Daniels, formerly State Geologist of Wisconsin, who was a citizen of Ripon, had participated in Booth's rescue at Milwaukee. Daniels was subsequently arrested, taken to Milwaukee, and fined $25 by order of the United States District Court. Paying the fine, he returned to his home.

On the 8th of October Booth went to Berlin, at which place he was taken into custody. Hurried back to Milwaukee, he was

again confined in the custom house, where he remained a prisoner till the 2d of March, 1861, when he was released by order of President Buchanan, on the recommendation of Judge Miller, endorsed by United States Attorney-General Jeremiah Black. The President's order of release was not a pardon, but a remission of Booth's fine and the costs. Mr. Booth had more than served out the term of imprisonment to which he had been sentenced.

Booth was worth $60,000 when the Glover rescue occurred, and found himself bankrupt when he gained his freedom. He said that years afterward he learned that while he was undergoing imprisonment wealthy people in Milwaukee discussed a plan to raise money for the payment of his fine and procurement of his release, the idea being abandoned because one of the number, entirely without authority, gave assurance that Mr. Booth would under no circumstances consent to the payment of the fine. Had the plan been carried into effect, Booth probably would have been spared his long struggle with the law and the impoverishing expense which it entailed. It was a matter of common report that Franklin J. Blair, W. A. Prentiss and E. D. Holton lost six thousand dollars as sureties for Booth in the civil suits brought by Garland to recover the value of his slave.

Old Milwaukeeans recall the demonstration which occurred on the morning when Booth was taken from the Milwaukee jail to Madison, where his application for a writ of habeas corpus was to be argued before the Supreme Court. It was winter, and there had been a heavy fall of snow during the night. Before daylight cannon boomed and the music of a band was heard. Residents in the vicinity of the jail hurried into their clothes and rushed out to find the band acting as escort to a sleigh with gaily caparisoned steeds. In the vehicle were the United States marshal, George F. Oakley; Sherman M. Booth with his counsel, Byron Paine, and John Rycraft with his counsel, George W. Lakin. Preceding the sleigh was a man carrying a bright new American flag. It was early in the morning, but sixty people had gathered to form an escort, ploughing their way down Jackson Street through ten inches of snow. Windows were thrown open and women waved handkerchiefs while men cheered as the procession passed. By the time the railroad station was reached

the crowd augmented to a thousand people. Cries at the station for speeches from Booth and Rycraft brought responses, both men climbing up the snow-covered ladder at the side of a freight car to reach a position where they could be seen by the crowd while they bowed and expressed their acknowledgments. The train that bore them away was preceded by another carrying men with snow shovels, for it was necessary that the heroes of the affair should be in Madison at the time set by the court, and the snow was very deep at some places along the line of the railroad.

During the time of Booth's imprisonment in the custom house he played a joke on his jailor, John Burke, deputy marshal. When Burke came into the room used as his cell Mr. Booth slipped out and locked Mr. Burke in. Burke climbed out of the window and made his way along a narrow stone coping to the window of another room of which he had the key in his pocket, but while he was doing this a pipe which he carried in his vest pocket caught on one of the stones, nearly causing him to lose his balance. His face was very white when a moment later he emerged into the hall and encountered Mr. Booth on his way back to assume the role of a prisoner.

A circumstance in the history of Mr. Booth which might well have been recalled to his credit by those who two years after its occurrence were called upon to decide the degree of responsibility attaching to him for the breach of law involved in the release of Glover was the stand in defense of public order which he took on Thursday, March 11, 1852, when popular indignation seethed after the failure in the Radcliffe-Ross murder trial to bring in a verdict of guilty. At that time an excited crowd gathered in Market Square and was on the point of marching to the jail and lynching the acquitted prisoner, but was dissuaded from this desperate course by the eloquence of Sherman M. Booth. That Mr. Booth had no fear of the final judgment of the community in which he had carried on the fierce battle of his early life he showed in his old age by directing that when he died his remains should be brought to repose in the Forest Home Cemetery at Milwaukee where in 1849 he had laid those of his first wife.

The part played by Byron Paine in his conduct of the Booth case attracted attention from anti-slavery men in every section

of the Union. Among those who wrote to him commending him for his masterly arguments in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law were Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner. Mr. Sumner recurred to the subject again and again. In a long letter which he addressed to Judge Paine in May, 1859, from Rome, where he had gone in the hope of recuperating his health, seriously impaired as a result of the brutal violence of "Bully Brooks," Senator Sumner said:

"I have been gladdened and strengthened by the news that the people of Wisconsin have elected you a judge of the Supreme Court on the issue distinctly presented that it is the duty of the State to throw the protection of its process around all within its borders. Better news for freedom never in the long line of history reached this ancient capital. Wherever I go I feel the new influence, and the venerable monuments about me flash for the moment with the brightness of youth. God bless the people of Wisconsin, who know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain! God bless the champion they have chosen! God bless the cause! To the people, to the champion and to the cause an American citizen far away in a foreign land sends the best wishes of his heart. In this event I hail the certain beginning of a new order of things in our country. Trial by jury, habeas corpus, and other safeguards of the rights of all, struck down by the preposterous, tyrannical pretensions of slavery under the national Constitution, will again become realities. The occupation of the slave-hunter will cease. A happy day it will be for the peace and good name of the republic when this is achieved. Meanwhile Wisconsin has nobly set the example which older states must follow. The end cannot be doubtful. I congratulate you, my dear sir, on the distinguished position you have been called upon to occupy. But permit me to add that honorable as it is to you to be a judge, the cause you represent gives you a better glory."

To this enthusiastic attestation of admiration from Senator Sumner it is fitting to add an eloquent tribute to the ability and character of Judge Paine which was bestowed by his great antagonist at the bar in the litigation growing out of the Booth case. After the death of Judge Paine, in January, 1871, the State Supreme Court paid respect to his memory by exercises in the course of which Edward G. Ryan, not long afterward to be

called to the bench of that tribunal as chief justice, speaking in his own behalf and for the bar of Milwaukee, said:

"When I first met Judge Paine at the bar he was a very young man, but he had already given unmistakable evidence of the power that was in him. The first opportunity I had of forming an estimate of his high ability was in the famous case under the Fugitive Slave Act, in 1854 and 1855. He was employed for the defendant, I for the United States. We both brought to the case not only ordinary professional zeal, but all the prejudices of all our lives. He was a frank and manly Abolitionist; I was as decidedly what was called pro-slavery. We were both thoroughly in earnest. The case was attended with great popular excitement; it was one of many muttered sounds of troubled elements foreboding the great storm which since has passed over the country. He died undoubtedly believing that the results had justified his views. I shall probably die believing that they have justified mine. I thought him a fanatic; he undoubtedly thought me one. Possibly we both were. But in all that antagonism and excitement I could not fail to see, I could not fail to do justice to, the integrity of his motives or the ability of his conduct. I then conceived an estimate of the beauty of his character and of his great professional ability which never since has changed, and which will probably be among the last and dearest memories of my professional life."

John Rycraft said the men who deserved most credit in connection with the Glover rescue were Thomas Mason, C. B. Foote, Henry Bielfeld and George Bingham. However, Mr. Rycraft, who was a contractor at the time, and was putting up a building near the courthouse, was accused at his trial of shouting "Come on, boys!" and taking a heavy timber to batter the jail door. After being arrested he received no financial aid. He possessed fourteen hundred dollars in bank. When this had been expended in payment of costs of litigation, he had recourse to other means, all his own. It cost him twenty thousand before all was over, he said, and he never got a cent of the money back. As late as the summer of 1897 he informed a newspaper reporter who had called upon him for an interview: "I did not have more to do with it than any other of two-thirds of the Committee of Seventy which was appointed to see that the slave was not spirited away

from the city. One of the men summoned as witnesses against me swore he saw me chopping down the jail door with an ax, although a lot of others proved I was not near enough to do any such thing, and the door showed no marks of having been chopped. George Bingham and C. P. Foote were two fine young men, neither of them married, and both determined to do what we had planned. I believe that between them they hustled the negro into the buggy that was waiting outside the jail and took him off to where he was safely kept until started for Canada. Charles Watkins and Edwin Palmer had a good deal to do with it too." Mr. Rycraft died December 5, 1899.

A very energetic part in the delivery was taken by some of the men who came up from Racine, and who, being strangers to the bystanders, were able to slip back into the crowd and escape identification. Nelson Reynolds, who came to Wisconsin from Courtland, N. Y., in 1840, and died at Mauston, June 1, 1901, was one of the last survivors of the delegation from Racine which was present during the Glover riot. When Glover was released after the breaking in of the jail door, Reynolds gave him a silver dollar and wished him a safe escape. All the members of the Racine party were able to get away from the scene of the disturbance and take passage on the boat for their home town without arrest as participants in the delivery of the fugitive. In his old age Mr. Reynolds referred to his part in the Glover rescue as the most heroic episode of his life. He served in a Wisconsin regiment during the Civil war.

One of the witnesses of a part of the spectacle furnished by the Glover rescue was a lad less than fourteen years of age employed in the *Sentinel* office as a printer's apprentice—John E. Rastall—who long after he had grown to manhood gave the following account of the affair:

"The jail was a little building, and the mob gathered in front of it and broke down the door with a battering ram. There was not much resistance on the part of the authorities, and the negro was placed in a buggy and taken out of town. I ran down to Walker's Point bridge to see the crowd go by, and just as the buggy came up some one pointed out that the black man had no hat. In an instant fifty hats were flung through the air. I guess they lay about two feet deep about the negro's feet."

Within two years of the rescue Rastall himself was concerned in an undertaking which illustrated the depth of feeling in Milwaukee on the subject of slavery. The following account of this is in Mr. Rastall's own words:

"The South was sending into Kansas large parties of settlers to carry the election in that new territory in favor of slavery. A number of Milwaukeeans, headed by E. D. Holton, came to the conclusion that this city should do something for the cause of freedom. The foreman of the *Sentinel's* composing room at that time was Edmund G. Ross, an energetic and patriotic young man, who heartily agreed with Mr. Holton, and volunteered to lead a party of colonists to the scene of strife for the purpose of strengthening the Abolitionists already on the ground. I was a youngster, working for Mr. Ross. He asked me to go with him, and I jumped at the chance. The citizens fitted up the caravan. It consisted of six wagons drawn by double ox-teams, and in each wagon was a family. As early as possible in the year 1856 we started—that is, we paraded through the town and climbed to the top of Spring Street hill, where we pitched our camp and spent a week or so getting used to camp life. We were taught how to make campfires and take care of oxen, and we practiced at shooting, and so on. Then one day we started on our journey to the Southwest, driving slowly down through the town, expecting to make something of a sensation; but there happened to be a Fire Department parade on for that day, and as we were going down, we met the firemen coming up, and were unceremoniously pushed to one side. I remember that I thought this an affront, and didn't like it.

"It took us three months to get to Kansas. We had to cut down the banks of rivers in order to ford them, as for 160 miles we made our own road. We suffered from the heat and especially from a scarcity of water, and often we went days and days without anything 'fresh.' I can still remember the peculiar sensation I always had when after such a time we came upon a creek. I used to throw myself down beside the water and dabble in it with my hands, in sheer delight, before I took a drink. We rode through the Indian country and had some little trouble with the redskins, but not a great deal. We were always prepared for attacks, however, and when we made camp we used to arrange

the wagons in a circle, constituting a sort of fort, into which we could have retreated in case of necessity.

"When we got to Kansas we found things lively. The border ruffians were flourishing, and men were ready to cut each other's throats on the slightest provocation. Pretty soon after our arrival I joined Company B, Second Regiment, Kansas Free State Volunteers, and took a hand in fighting the border ruffians. I assisted in sacking five different towns which were ruled by that element. We used to take the town and then loot the stores, putting their stock into wagons, and sending the stuff to the families of the Abolition settlers, who were being prevented from getting supplies from the river, and who would have suffered if we had not taken this means of supporting them. In one aspect it was lawless, but we had to do it, and I took part in it because I believed I was doing what was right. I remember particularly one incident that occurred at this time. A man had been killed near Topeka, and one of the other side had insulted the corpse by spitting tobacco juice in its face. We started out to punish the man who did it, and undoubtedly would have killed him if we could have found him. As it was, we razed every building and fence on his place, and killed all his livestock."

Mr. Rastall finally was taken prisoner by the United States marshal, and kept at Lecompton for some time, suffering many hardships. He managed to escape and work his way back to Topeka, but he had been mixed up with so much of the trouble that his friends advised him to return to the North. He chose an adventurous method:

"I fell in with a party of nigger-stealers, as the people who were engaged in getting the blacks up north were called. There was a negro to be run off, and three of us undertook the job. We put the man into a light wagon, burying him under a load of straw, and two men drove, while I rode behind. When we got to the Kansas-Nebraska line we came square upon a troop of United States soldiers. You can imagine we were a little worried for fear a death penalty was attached to anyone caught 'running niggers.' But we put on brave fronts, and rode up, and though the soldiers inspected us pretty well, they never thought of poking about in the straw. And so we got through and went to Oska-

loosa, where we turned over our man to an agent of the Underground Railroad, and I started for home.

"On that trip we had nothing to eat but flour and sugar—no salt nor pepper, nor anything else. We used to make a pancake with flour and water, and after baking would pour over it a syrup made out of the sugar. It wasn't such bad food to travel on as you might think."

When Mr. Rastall got back to Milwaukee, he went into the *Sentinel* office again, remaining there till the war broke out, when he joined the Milwaukee Zouaves, afterward Company B, Fifth Infantry, his first work being in the bank riot. Later he was detached, made a clerk in the headquarters of Maj. John E. Dix, and promoted to the rank of adjutant, serving in that capacity with a Maryland regiment till the close of the war. Again returning to Milwaukee, he married Fannie Hawley, one of the girls who had learned to set type under the instructions of Mrs. Bloomer. Accompanied by his wife, Mr. Rastall returned to Kansas and started a newspaper. He was sent to the Legislature, and helped to make Kansas a Prohibition State. Still later he resided in Chicago. Mr. Rastall died at Washington, D. C., November 21, 1927, at the age of eighty-eight. He was survived by three sons and a daughter.

One of the Milwaukeeans in that expedition to save Kansas for freedom was younger than Mr. Rastall—Harry G. Lathrop, who in March, 1904, contributed an account of the enterprise to the *Milwaukee Journal*, in which he said:

"I was one of the company of 'Free State' people who left Milwaukee on the 19th of May, 1856, for the then new and disputed territory of Kansas. I was only six weeks old. My father at the time had one other child, my elder sister, then seven years of age. An uncle by marriage, E. G. Ross, who was afterward Major Ross, of Lawrence, Kansas, and later a member of the United States Senate, was captain of the train when it left Milwaukee. Captain Ross was a printer, and had been employed on the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. My father was a bookkeeper for Robert Haney & Co., wholesale hardware merchants. It would seem like a great and hazardous undertaking for men with families of little children to start on such a journey, but they were enthusiastic and full of hope, and were doubtless borne up by the

feeling that they were doing a great work for humanity. The irrepressible struggle was on between the monster slave power and the growing and persistent opposition of the Northern people. Kansas was the bone of contention for the time being.

"The company was composed of a number of families, to each of which was attached one or more young single men, who were mounted, and served as scouts and outriders. It took this train three months to reach Topeka. How hard it is at this time for younger people to realize the life that was led by these emigrants! The journey by rail from Milwaukee to Topeka can now be made in a day and a night.

"I think I can do no better than to copy here some notes from my mother's diary, which was written daily during the trip, and describes better than I could the life of these adventurers while on the way.

DIARY OF MRS. LATHROP

" 'During the spring of 1856 there was much excitement all over the country in regard to Kansas. The South wanted to make a slave state of it, and the North was just as determined to make it a free state. Both sides began to rush in settlers. Excitement ran high, public meetings were called, and there were offers of teams and wagons to those who would go. We studied the matter over, and decided to join the expedition. The company furnished us a good, substantial wagon and one yoke of oxen, and we bought the second yoke. As my husband had made the trip to California overland, he knew what we would need for our journey. He went to a foundry and found a pattern for an old-fashioned bake kettle, and we had one cast. We took cooking utensils of all kinds, also tin cups and tin plates for the table. We carried all these things in the back part of the wagon. The cooking apparatus was put in a box and the tableware in a clothes-basket. The table was some thin boards screwed together and slipped under the wagon-bed. We carried tents, but did not pitch them except when we were stopping for some days. When driven into the ground, the tent-pins made good table legs.

" 'May 19, 1856, we finished loading, and went into camp on the fair grounds, on Spring Street. People came in that evening in crowds, to see us in camp. They even followed us until the

second night out, and held an enthusiastic meeting, which was closed by the singing of the doxology to the tune of 'Old Hundred.' I never hear it sung but it brings up that scene in camp.

" 'The grass being poor and the cattle weak, we traveled very slowly at first. We went by way of Janesville. Wednesday, June 4, found us camped on the Pecatonica River. Stopped at 10 a. m. and did some washing and baking. There were two wild geese killed and brought into camp. Thursday, June 5, left camp at 7 a. m. Weather warm and roads bad. Passed through a small village called Wyota. Made fifteen miles and camped one-half mile from Shullsburg. The children brought in some beautiful roses. Weather warm. Baby is three months old today, and stands the trip well. Saturday, June 7, hot and dusty. Made thirteen miles. We had a poor camping-place and had to go on in the morning till we found one better. June 8, came three miles before breakfast and found good feed and water for our teams. Put short clothes on baby. We camped nine miles from Dubuque.

" 'Monday, June 9, weather warm, and so dusty we could hardly see. Had sick headache. Camped near Dubuque, a place of 16,000 inhabitants. June 10, did not leave camp. Stopped to lay in supplies. Thursday, June 12, left camp at 7 a. m. The wind was blowing when we started, and increased to such a gale by noon that we were obliged to stop for the day. Friday, June 13, the cattle were gone, and we did not get off till 9 o'clock. Made thirteen miles, and camped on the bank of a small stream. Saturday, June 14, left camp at 7 a. m.; made fourteen miles and camped on the banks of Buffalo Creek after the heat and dust of a week. Saturday, June 21, busy day in camp, washing, ironing and cooking.

" 'Sunday, June 22. This morning some of us got together and held a prayer meeting. In the afternoon we gathered the children and had a Sunday school. Monday, June 23, passed through a small village called Millersburg. We were treated to lemonade by the people; gave three cheers for Kansas, and passed on.'

"Thus the record goes on from day to day. June 30 they crossed the Des Moines River. The following entry occurs for July 5: 'Jim Lane's party came up with us today; also Captain

Shombey and company, from Indiana.' At this time, the record says, the party numbered 200 men. For July 10 the following is of interest: 'After tea scouts brought in word that there was a camp of 200 Missourians four miles away. Captain Shombey said he would go with some men and see if they were enemies. If they were, he would make a certain signal when he came in sight on his return. In the meantime the oxen were hitched up and wagons moved into line, and every preparation made for a fight. When the scouts got in they said it was a false alarm. We were glad, for we were a helpless party, with many women and children. Captain Shombey took occasion to get us together and give us a rousing speech. He said he was glad we had had the scare, as it showed what stuff we were made of, and he thought the women had the pluck of their Revolutionary mothers.'

"August 5th the train consisted of fifty-three wagons and 250 men, according to the record. August 7, camp No. 55 was made, and Kansas entered. Sunday, August 10: 'Had to travel today, as there was danger of getting out of provisions.'

"August 11 the company separated, part going on to Topeka and part remaining. It was proposed to lay out a town, each man to have a lot and a farm in the vicinity. The town was to be called Holton, for a Milwaukee man [E. D. Holton,] who did much to aid the expedition. It was thirty miles north of Topeka. We were not happy there, as we feared an attack from the Border Ruffians who were so bitter against Northern people.

" 'Thursday, August 21, we left Holton for Topeka. While we lay at Holton there was quite a stir in camp one morning at daylight, caused by the appearance of a person who proved to be Jim Lane, getting out of the country in disguise, dressed as an old farmer, and riding an old white mule. When he and his boys left us they had gone down in the State and had a brush with the Border Ruffians, and now he was getting out, as there was a price on his head. In the fight Captain Shombey had been killed, which caused much sorrow among us, as he was a general favorite. We gave Lane his breakfast. Then he mounted his old mule and was off.'

"It would seem from what I can gather that the company from Milwaukee was met by others on the latter part of the journey, and that after these came together Jim Lane was in

command. The people bore the hardships of their long, dusty journey with patience, and had their good times, withal, and plenty of singing. In the following lines I have introduced the chorus they sang lustily to the tune of 'A Life on the Ocean Wave:'

'A life on the Kansas plains,
A home 'mid the prairie flowers,
Where broad and fair domains
And lovelit homes are ours!'

"Soon after reaching Topeka our family settled on Waukarusa Creek, some twelve miles west, where my father took up a homestead. We lived there seven years, until 1863, and my earliest recollections are of the beautiful flower-clad prairies of that part of the State."

As Senator Ross was a Milwaukeean for several years before he cast his lot with "Bleeding Kansas," it will not be out of place to say a few words relating to his personal history additional to what is noted in the citations from Messrs. Rastall and Lathrop. One of the most dramatic incidents in American history was the attempt to impeach President Andrew Johnson, which was defeated in the Senate of the United States by a single vote. Senator Ross was one of the Senators who voted against impeachment, seven other Republicans, one of them being Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin, voting with him. For this act—anti-Johnson sentiment being rampant in Kansas—Senator Ross was driven from public life. At the close of his term in the Senate he went back to the printer's case. President Cleveland many years later appointed him governor of New Mexico. After holding that office, however, he returned to setting type, and remained a printer till the time of his death, May 8, 1907.

Among the various memories connected with the locality where the Milwaukee encampment of Kansas colonists pitched their tents preparatory to departing for their perilous journey southward is one in which the central figure is Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln came into Wisconsin when it was a part of the Territory of Michigan, in 1832, as a captain of volunteer settlers whose mission was to protect the whites whose lives and property were menaced by the invasion of Black Hawk. The only white inhabitant of Milwaukee in 1832 was Solomon Juneau, and the

Indians at this place took no part in the disturbance. Lincoln did not come to Milwaukee at that time. There is a story to the effect that five years later he had some thought of establishing himself at Port Washington, and journeyed there on foot, spending several days with "General" Worcester Harrison, who had been an early inhabitant of Walker's Point and was then engaged in building up a settlement at "Sauk Washington." It is possible that he passed through Milwaukee. A visit of Lincoln to Milwaukee which is abundantly attested was made in the fall of 1859, when he came by invitation to deliver an address at the fair of the State Agricultural Society of Wisconsin.

The fair of 1859 was held on the grounds west of Tenth Street, bounded on the north by the Wauwatosa plank road and on the south by Spring Street, now Wisconsin Avenue. Exhibits were on view from the 26th to the 30th of September, and Lincoln's address was delivered on the final day. John W. Hoyt was secretary of the Association in 1859 and David Atwood was treasurer. It is said to have been Hoyt and Atwood who induced Mr. Lincoln to come to Milwaukee and make a speech to the farmers. As compensation for his time and trouble he received a check for one hundred dollars. Omnibuses of the Davis Line, leaving the Walker House at intervals of five minutes, carried people from the center of the city to the fair grounds. There was no speaker's stand. Mr. Lincoln was asked to mount upon a wagon so that the crowd might have a view of him while he delivered his address. The only seats available were occupied by people making themselves comfortable as possible by sitting on the poles of the wagon. The attendance at the fair sufficed to pay expenses and leave a balance in the treasury.

Lincoln in those days was not the national figure he shortly afterward became. It was the year following that in which his debates with Douglas had brought him into notice in the West, but the Cooper Union address, which sent his name ringing through the East, was an event of five months later. Speaking to farmers, he did not make politics the subject of his remarks, but spoke in a broad way of agriculture, delivering a thoughtful and eloquent discourse which gave his hearers something to think about when they returned to their homes.

He began by describing the value of agricultural fairs as a

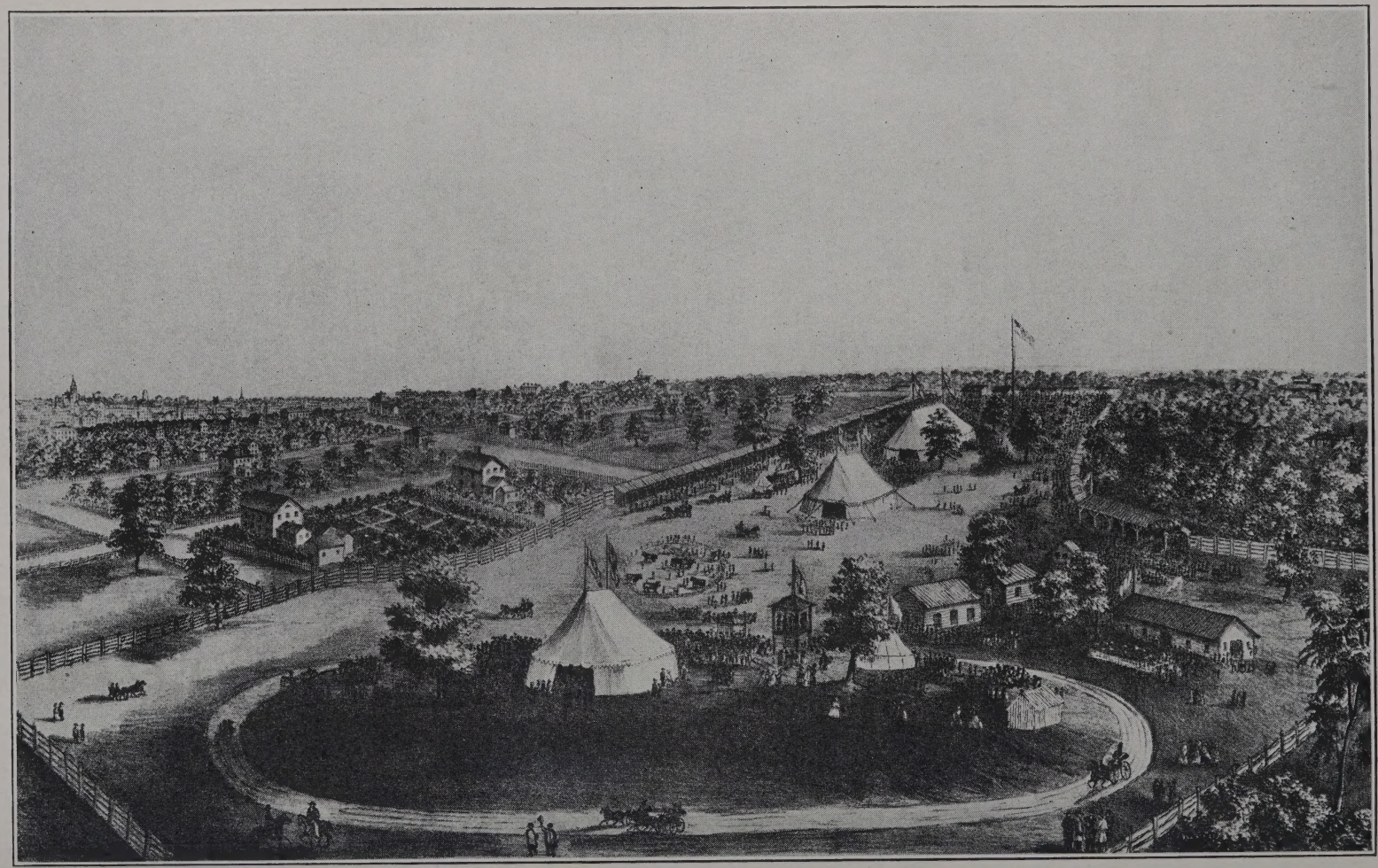
means of bringing farmers together and enabling them to witness improvements adopted and results achieved by their neighbors, making for "a mutual interchange of agricultural discovery, information and knowledge." As an indication of the practical character of his talk, the following extract may well bear witness:

"My first suggestion is an inquiry as to the effect of greater thoroughness in all the departments of agriculture than now prevails in the Northwest—perhaps I might say in America. To speak entirely within bounds, it is known that fifty bushels of wheat, or one hundred bushels of Indian corn, can be produced from an acre. Less than a year ago I saw it stated that a man, by extraordinary care and labor, had produced of wheat what was equal to two hundred bushels from an acre. But take fifty of wheat and one hundred of corn and compare it with the actual crops of the country. Many years ago I saw it stated in an agricultural report that eighteen bushels was the average crop throughout the United States; and this year an intelligent farmer of Illinois assured me that he did not believe the land harvested in that State this season had yielded more than an average of eight bushels to the acre; much was cut and then abandoned as not worth threshing; and much was abandoned as not worth cutting. It is true that heretofore we have had better crops with no better cultivation; but I believe it is also true that the soil has never been pushed up to one-half of its capacity."

From this point he went on to argue in favor of "a little farm well tilled" as an object of ambition for practical farmers. Then he indulged in a glance at the future, and predicted the development and general employment of machinery to supplement the expenditure of human toil upon the farm. The steam plow was a possibility of which he confessed to entertaining great expectations. Of course he did not look forward to the tractor and to gasoline engines for the supply of power. While he was speaking mineral oil was running to waste in Pennsylvania. The utilization of kerosene and kindred products was still to come.

Finally he entered into a common-sense discussion of the relations between capital and labor and the part that education might be expected to play in raising the earning capacity and ameliorating the condition of the average man.

One of his auditors at the fair was Franklin Johnson, of Bara-



WHERE ABRAHAM LINCOLN SPOKE
Fair of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society at Milwaukee in 1859.

boo, who many years later recalled incidents of the occasion as follows:

"The fair officials made no secret of the fact that they had to pay Mr. Lincoln a hundred dollars to secure him. No action of the Agricultural Society was ever more sharply criticized. 'Unheard-of extravagance! One hundred dollars for a single hour!' However the address was a thing of life, and elicited tumultuous applause.

"After the speech some one took Mr. Lincoln on a tour of the sideshows operating in connection with the fair. Twenty or thirty young fellows rushed along with them. When the two came to a sideshow the young men would pay their dimes and follow in, not for the sake of seeing the show, but to note what 'Abe' Lincoln would say or do. As they reached one of the tents, Mr. Lincoln followed his guide within and then quickly stepped out again, before his young followers had time to buy admission tickets. Evidently a glance had sufficed to apprize him that the show was something he did not want to encourage. The next tent was owned by a big Irishman, who was shouting himself hoarse telling of a most wonderful animal within, with two heads and six legs. What he really had was the stuffed skin of a little deformed calf, the show being 'a sell,' but not demoralizing. Outside was a picture of this wonderful creature, exaggerated, but not likely to deceive, as the picture was much larger than the tent. The Irishman had seen what happened at the adjacent tent, and was alarmed lest the party should pass him in the same manner; but his wit proved equal to the emergency. Rushing to the side of the gentleman acting as Mr. Lincoln's guide, he begged, 'Take him in here! Take him in here! It won't cost you a cent! Take him in here!' The guide hesitated, but looked at Mr. Lincoln, who cast a searching glance over the outfit and stepped within the tent. As soon as he was in, the young followers on Lincoln's trail paid their dimes and passed behind the curtain, after which there was a lull of patronage, till the Irishman began to shout: 'This way, gentlemen! This way to see Abe Lincoln! Abe Lincoln is in this tent. You can see Abe Lincoln for ten cents!' Soon the tent was packed. Quietness reigned for a moment. Then there were peals of laughter, and everybody came out, Mr. Lincoln smiling broadly. Bowing to the ground, the son of Erin thanked him,

and as he went away, called after him, with much fervor, 'May God bless you, sor-r!' The humor of the whole situation, as well as Lincoln's good-nature, made an impression on all by whom the incident was witnessed."

Thirty-six years after the Lincoln visit to Milwaukee, while talk about it was going on in a group of old Milwaukeeans who had been present, E. W. Chafin of Waukesha, remembered as Presidential candidate of the National Prohibition party in the campaigns of 1908 and 1912, observed: "I wonder if any of you is aware that there was an occasion when a man who came to be a leading figure in Milwaukee ran against Abraham Lincoln and beat him at an election." Nobody could remember anything about it, and there were calls upon Mr. Chafin to explain.

"It was Isaac P. Walker," he said, "and the year was 1840. At that time Walker, a brother as you all know, of George H. Walker, founder of the South Side, was a resident of Danville, Illinois. That was the year when William Henry Harrison was the Whig candidate for the Presidency, running against Martin Van Buren. Lincoln was a candidate for Presidential elector on the Whig ticket in Illinois and Walker on the Democratic ticket. In Illinois the Democrats carried the day; so Lincoln was defeated, while the Whigs were victorious in the country at large, and Lincoln's Presidential candidate was elected." When Wisconsin was admitted to the federal Union in 1848, Isaac P. Walker was chosen by the Legislature as one of the first two United States senators from Wisconsin.

Following his address at the fair, Mr. Lincoln remained overnight in the city, stopping at the Newhall House, which at that time was the principal hotel in Milwaukee. Not long after "tea," as supper was called in those days, the lobby of the Newhall filled up with citizens, and Mr. Lincoln was busy shaking hands with people who wanted to be introduced. Calls were made for a speech on the issues of the day. At first Mr. Lincoln said there was no platform for him to stand upon. This objection was immediately overcome by Peter Van Vechten and another of his admirers, who brought forward a box which he could use as a rostrum. The platform being thus provided, Mr. Lincoln acquiesced, and made a characteristic address on the slavery issue. He spoke calmly and temperately and logically, with con-

vincing force, as was his wont. A. M. Thomson was one of his auditors, others among them being John R. Goodrich, John Johnston, William A. Prentiss, John H. Tweedy, Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Asahel Finch, James H. Paine, Byron Paine, Harrison Ludington, William Strickland, C. L. Sholes, Cicero Comstock, Rufus King, Josiah A. Noonan, E. D. Holton, John J. Orton, Daniel Newhall, W. W. Coleman, S. S. Merrill, John Plankinton, Edward Sanderson, Alexander Mitchell, Hans Crocker, the Rev. C. A. Staples, E. H. Brodhead, T. A. Chapman and James A. Bryden. Many years thereafter Mr. Thomson wrote the following description of the occasion:

"I see him now, as he stood there under the gaslight, on his improvised rostrum, his tall, gaunt form trembling with suppressed emotion as he depicted the dangers to the country which he felt to be imminent; and the look of inexpressible sadness that at times overspread his swarthy, homely features no one who witnessed it will ever forget. I never saw that benignant countenance again till I looked on it in the casket as the remains lay in state at Chicago.

"Perhaps if a stenographer had been present on the occasion I am trying to describe he would have lost his head and made no record for the use of the future historian. I only remember that Mr. Lincoln followed closely along the line of argument he had used in some of his speeches in the great debate with Douglas, though of course it was more of a summary than an elaboration. I remember that he closed his remarks with the famous declaration which he made at Springfield in June, 1858, in the notable discussion with Douglas, when he enunciated the startling doctrine that the federal union could not permanently endure 'half slave and half free.' The scene was intensely dramatic, and after the lapse of forty years the picture in my memory, though somewhat dimmed by the dust of time, is still so well preserved that it can never be effaced.

"There stood the man of destiny, as unconscious of his own great future as any of his auditors, and around him were grouped many of the prominent men of the city, whose serious faces reflected the solemn utterances of the inspired seer who had given voice to their own convictions. All felt that coming events were casting shadows before, and that we were on the verge of civil

war. Many of those present pondered deeply upon Mr. Lincoln's solemn prediction as they walked homeward that drizzly September night, 'I do not believe that this union can permanently endure half slave and half free.' "

Another man in Milwaukee at the time who many years thereafter wrote an account of his recollections of Lincoln's visit was Charles Caverno. Mr. Caverno was then a young lawyer, and one of the few Wisconsin Republicans who had conceived that Lincoln would be the strongest candiate the new party could nominate for the Presidency. His narrative, too long for reproduction here in its entirety, is condensed, in his own words, as follows:

"On the morning of the day of the address I went to the Fair Grounds as early as 9 o'clock, and stayed outside to watch for the coming of Mr. Lincoln. With him were John W. Hoyt, secretary of the Agricultural Society; General Rufus King, and, I think, E. H. Brodhead. They alighted outside the grounds. Being on good terms with the gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Lincoln, I was introduced to him at once. General King made a pleasant remark about the reliability of my politics. This brought out the noted smile, a hearty handshake, and some pleasant words of greeting, and I was installed among the company of personal attendants for the day. We spent an hour looking over the exhibits. Mr. Lincoln now and then made a remark which showed he had a farmer's eye for good points in stock, tools or machinery.

"When the time came for the address, there were two hundred, possibly three hundred persons assembled. People came and went during the delivery of the address as they took passing glimpses at any other part of the show. One may wonder now at this lack of interest in Mr. Lincoln, but it must be remembered that then, to Democrats—one-half of the peeople of the State—Mr. Lincoln was a beaten, discarded Illinois politician, and to the other half—Republicans—Mr. Seward was the only possible candidate for the Presidency. No ray from the glamour of what was to be fell upon Mr. Lincoln as he delivered the address on that day. He read it, holding his manuscript in his hands. There was no notable rhetoric in the address and no effort of oratory in its delivery. It was the plain speech of a plain man to plain men. Mr. Lincoln had a fine command of his sentences and of his voice.

He could give a clear, sharp emphasis to a word that would impart to it the force of a whole argument.

"When the address was finished we sauntered down to the gate, where Mr. Lincoln and friends took the carriage back to the city. After dinner he was taken on a drive about the city, and I did not see him again till about 4 o'clock. It was the understanding so far as the word could be passed about (I think there was no notice in the papers) that Mr. Lincoln should have a Republican reception at 4 o'clock in the Newhall House parlors. I was promptly on hand. Mr. Lincoln came on time from his room to the parlors, in dress suit of faultless black broadcloth. Its loose fit did not seem ungraceful on his large frame. His necktie was of the black silk kerchief order, the ends pointing in no particular direction. That was the only evidence of negligence about his dress.

"General King acted as marshal for the occasion. The General requested Captain Bowns of the Scott Guard and myself to act as ushers. There was no special interest in this reception for Mr. Lincoln. One or two hundred people may have dropped in in the course of an hour—probably nearer one hundred than two. A score or so of ladies came in. Mr. Lincoln greeted them very pleasantly and with ease of manner. Indeed, I do not see why Mr. Lincoln should have been called awkward and ungraceful. He was large, and had to have room for his motions, but I do not see how he could have handled his great frame more gracefully than he did. Every lady to whom he was introduced received the token of a low bow, and that indescribably sweet smile, the sweetest I have ever seen on the face of man. At 5 o'clock the reception seemed to be over, and then those who were left fell to and had a free-for-all political interview. We asked him questions about everything that was in the air at the time. The slavery and free soil contest was at its whitest heat; Mr. Buchanan's administration was drifting on toward its pointless, helpless conclusion; the secessionists were lashing themselves into fury; the nominations for the presidency and the election were to come in the next year—and here was a political seer, and we plied him with questions about everything, from general principles to the significance of a town election in a remote State.

There was nothing with which he was not familiar, but his answers were often cautious.

"In this conference it was determined to have a political meeting in the evening and a speech by Mr. Lincoln from the balcony of the Newhall House. At 7 o'clock a band was brought out to play in the street in front of the house. At that hour Mr. Lincoln came down to the parlors to await directions. Toward 8 o'clock some of us went out on the balcony to look down into the street and see the assembly that was to be addressed. Mr. Lincoln started up from his chair before the fireplace and went out with us. There was no one in sight except the band and folks traveling up and down on the sidewalk intent upon their own affairs. Mr. Lincoln peered over the railing of the balcony, discovered the situation, and, with a light laugh, said, 'Well, we can't call that a crowd, can we?' We then started to go back into the rotunda.

"There was disappointment among us over that failure, but a little consultation developed the plan to have Mr. Lincoln speak right there in the space between the office and the parlors. There were enough present to make an audience of respectable proportions for the space. So a chair was brought for him to speak from. He did not like that foundation. There was a radiator just north of the office which had a wide marble cover. Mr. Lincoln's attention was directed to it and he said, 'Yes.' The chair was placed beside it. Several men gave hands to steady him as he stepped from the chair to the top of the radiator. It was a narrow platform, but it answered very well. From that place Mr. Lincoln spoke to us for nearly or quite an hour on the political issues of the day. I am not going to report that speech. I can only say that we had here in Milwaukee substantially the Cooper Institute speech which was delivered two or three months later in New York.

"When the speech was over, Mr. Lincoln was assisted down from the radiator, there was a general all-round handshake with him, and we went our way and he his to rooms in the hotel. He took the earliest train the next morning for Racine, thence to Freeport, and thence to his home.

"I had never seen Mr. Lincoln before, and I never saw him afterward."

In October, 1928, under the auspices of the Old Settlers' Club

of Milwaukee County, George W. Ogden, chairman of the Historic Monuments Committee, officiating, and Mayor Hoan appearing on behalf of the city, a boulder with a bronze tablet inset appropriately inscribed was unveiled with impressive exercises, to mark the spot on the west side of Thirteenth Street between Wells and Cedar streets near which Lincoln stood during the delivery of his Wisconsin State Fair address.

On the 21st of June, 1858, the newspapers of Milwaukee published the announcement that on the following day the steamship *Lady Elgin* would sail from Dousman's dock (at the foot of Erie Street), with passengers and freight for ports on Lake Superior, and that this would be the first of eleven trips which she would make during the season. This was the vessel which little more than two years later was to figure in one of the most shocking tragedies in the history of Milwaukee.

The loss of the passenger steamship *Lady Elgin* occurred in the early morning hours of September 8, 1860, when she was sunk by collision with the schooner *Augusta*, on her return trip from Chicago to Milwaukee with an excursion party composed of the members of a Milwaukee military company, the Union Guards, and their friends, besides a number of casual passengers.

The Union Guards was a militia organization commanded by Capt. Garret Barry, a graduate of West Point, who had served in the Seminole war, performed garrison duty at Fort McHenry, been employed at West Point as instructor in military tactics, during which period the future generals Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Rosecrans and McDowell were members of his classes, and then had been assigned to duty first at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and later at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. While at Fort Crawford Captain Barry frequently was engaged in convoy service for surveyors, and purchased from the government many eligible tracts of land in various counties of this State. In 1845 he was assigned to Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, and in the two following years he served with distinction in the Mexican war, resigning in March, 1847, and coming with his wife, whom he had married in 1839, to Milwaukee, which thereafter was his home. Here he engaged in business for ten years or more, most of the time as a member of the firm of Barry & Burke druggists, and in 1859 was elected to the office of county treasurer, of

which he was incumbent at the time of his death in the *Lady Elgin* disaster.

It was in 1858 that Captain Barry came into command of the Union Guards, which had been organized ten years before by Captain McManman, and known for a time as the Milwaukee Guards. The members were mostly young men of Irish birth or descent. Captain Barry brought the drill of this organization to a high state of efficiency. The company won honors on visits to Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago. Milwaukee was proud of it, and also of Captain Barry. In his history of Captain Barry and the *Lady Elgin* disaster Charles M. Scanlan says, "No Milwaukee Irishman attained high standing in love or politics until he was enrolled under Captain Barry. The boast of an Irish old settler of Milwaukee is that he once belonged to 'Barry's Guards.' "

Those were tempestuous times in Milwaukee, owing to the clash of authority between the State Supreme Court of Wisconsin and the United States Supreme Court growing out of the prosecution of Sherman M. Booth for his part in the Glover rescue. The United States Supreme Court had reversed the order of the State Supreme Court and ordered the United States marshal to take Booth in custody. By federal authority the prisoner was confined in the Custom House under a strong guard. A resolution had been introduced in the State Legislature calling on Governor Randall to use the power of the State to effect Booth's release. Secret service men were sent out by order of the State adjutant-general to ascertain whether the officers of the militia would support the State or the United States in case of a clash of arms. One of these agents interviewed Captain Barry and reported to the Governor that the Captain said he would not call out his company on the order of the Governor to oppose the authority of the United States. This led to an official correspondence in which Captain Barry very clearly indicated that he would not obey an illegal order and refused to assume that such an order would be issued. The name of his company was the Union Guards. His motto was that of Andrew Jackson, "The Union and the Constitution—they must be preserved." The rectitude of his position is clear enough today. At that time, however, factional spirit ran high. With authority obtained from the Legislature,

the Governor disbanded the Union Guards and took away their arms.

The Guards were reorganized as an independent unit. Congressman Larrabee tried to obtain guns for them from the federal government. It was for the purpose of raising money to purchase equipment for the Union Guards that the excursion on the *Lady Elgin* was arranged.

Wisconsin developed wisdom, and never has gloried in its nullification episode. The correspondence on this subject disappeared from the State files. With painstaking labor, Mr. Scanlan recovered it from the newspapers of the time, and produced a vivid account of the whole affair which forms an interesting and instructive chapter of the history of Wisconsin.

At the time of the loss of the *Lady Elgin* the Presidential campaign which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln was in full swing. Milwaukee Republicans had made great preparations for a mass meeting on Monday, September 10th, at which the principal speaker was to be William H. Seward. A large attendance was in prospect from outside, and the Wide Awake Club of the city had charge of the arrangements. When Mr. Seward arrived, on the evening of the 8th, he was to have been met with a torchlight procession and escorted to the Newhall House; but the loss of the *Lady Elgin*, throwing a pall over everyone in Milwaukee, led to the abandonment of political demonstrations. Governor Seward was met at the depot by a committee which took him quietly in a carriage to his hotel. The whole population of Milwaukee went into mourning with the afflicted.

On five occasions Milwaukee has been represented in the lower house of the Legislature by a man named Palmer—in 1853, 1860, 1862 and 1873 by Henry L. Palmer; in 1907 by Lucian H. Palmer. Henry L. Palmer was Speaker during his first term, and was a member of the State Senate in 1867 and 1868. In 1863 he was candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket, but was not elected. Lucian H. Palmer was the only man of African blood who ever sat in the Legislature of Wisconsin. Other coincidences than the identity of their surnames were involved in the history of these Assemblymen from Milwaukee. One was that the district from which Lucian H. Palmer was elected in 1907 was part of the district from which Henry L. Palmer was elected in 1853.

Another was that one of the precincts in this district was in 1865 the scene of a famous controversy over the right of colored men to vote, and that when this controversy occurred Henry L. Palmer was one of the inspectors of election, and as such united with his fellow inspectors in refusing to receive a ballot offered by a colored man, thereby laying the foundation of the complaint in litigation which was brought to put the matter to a test.

The plaintiff in the test case was Ezekiel Gillespie, a colored man who in the last year of the Civil war tried to register and afterward to vote at the polling-place near his residence in the old Seventh Ward. In the stand which he took against Gillespie's eligibility to exercise the privilege of suffrage Henry L. Palmer was guided by what he believed to be the law. The Constitution under which Wisconsin entered the Union in 1848 conferred suffrage upon whites and upon "civilized persons of Indian descent not members of any tribe," and provided that "the Legislature may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein enumerated," stipulating, however, that "no such law shall be in force until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election, and approved by a majority of all the votes cast at such election." The State had been organized for less than twelve months when the Legislature provided for submission to the people of a law extending the elective franchise to persons of African blood. Sentiment on the subject was not confined within party lines. In the Constitutional Convention Horace Chase, a sterling old-school Democrat, had been one of the advocates of a liberal provision regarding negro suffrage. the same Legislature that submitted this law to the people had elected a Milwaukee Democrat, Isaac P. Walker, to the United States Senate, yet within three months after electing him had called upon him to resign because he worked for the admission of California to the Union with a Constitution which did not prohibit slavery. The measure that submitted the negro suffrage problem to the people contained, like the clause of the Constitution upon which it was founded, ambiguous phraseology. This occasioned misunderstanding on the part of most of the friends as well as the opponents of the proposed extension of the suffrage. At the general election on the 7th of November, 1849, there were duly cast in the State of Wisconsin 5,265 votes in favor of the

law and 4,075 against it, the total vote on the subject being less than 10,000, while the vote for governor at the same election totaled 30,000. The State Board of Canvassers construed the ambiguous language of the Constitution in accordance with the assumption that the majority cast for the law was not "a majority of all the votes cast at the election," and no one came forward to dispute the correctness of the assumption till 1865, when Gillespie did so, instigated, it was said, by Sherman M. Booth. Gillespie brought suit against the election inspectors, Henry L. Palmer, William H. Williams and Andrew H. McCormick, the case going up to the Supreme Court, Byron Paine appearing as counsel for the plaintiff and D. G. Hooker for the Board of Inspectors. The opinion of the Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the law, was concurred in by the full bench, the justices being convinced that "a majority of all the votes cast at such election" meant a majority of all the votes cast upon the subject.

The only lynching in the history of Milwaukee took place on the evening of September 7, 1861. Two colored men, Marshall Clark and James Shelton, had engaged in a scuffle on Michigan Street with two white men, Dabney Carney and John Brady, both of whom were stabbed, and on the following day Brady died. Rumors became current that friends of Brady would take into their own hands the punishment of his assailant, and this led to investigation on the part of the authorities, who could find no signs of organization for the purpose, and assumed that the rumor was unfounded. The negroes had been captured by the police and lodged in the jail. This was generally known. An alarm of fire, afterwards believed to have been the signal for the gathering of Brady's friends, brought together an excited crowd, many of whom carried revolvers, knives, hammers and other weapons to the place of rendezvous. Several hundred in number, they proceeded to the jail. Chief of Police Beck attempted to defend the entrance, but was overpowered. When Jailer Kendrick refused to open the door, members of the crowd procured a scantling and battered it in. One of the turnkeys, it was found, had on his person a key that would open the cell in which the negroes were confined, and this was used to unlock the cell door. It happened that Shelton, who was believed by the police to have inflicted the wound from which Brady died, had slipped from the cell preced-

ing the entry of the rioters, making his way out of the jail while the invaders were pouncing upon Clark. Under high nervous strain, the latter was dragged through the streets, subjected to kicks and cuffs on the way till he became insensible. At the corner of Huron and Milwaukee streets the mob halted under a gaslight to subject him to scrutiny and make sure that he was the man it wanted. Individuals who had witnessed the affray identified him, as they thought, and, thus reassured the crowd pressed on. At Engine House No. 3 the leaders of the throng took him in and held a self-constituted court, putting him through the form of a trial and adjudging him guilty of murder, for which they sentenced him to be hanged. By this time Sheriff Larkin arrived on the scene, but the avengers of Brady were not to be stayed. Near the intersection of Buffalo and East Water streets a pile-driver happened to be standing, and this was made to serve as a gallows. While Clark was still unconscious, a rope was placed about his neck, the free end thrown around an upper rung of the ladder, and the victim hauled up and left hanging. When taken down by the officers of the law, the body was limp and lifeless. Later Sheldon was apprehended and brought to trial, the proceedings resulting in his acquittal, which was in fact a partial vindication of the rude justice inflicted upon his companion, for that one of the two had killed Brady there was no dispute. Efforts to fix responsibility for the lynching were thwarted by conflicting testimony.

It may interest Milwaukeeans to know that their city was referred to by Wendell Phillips in his lecture on "Idols," delivered for the first time in Boston on the 4th of October, 1859. Unfortunately the distinguished Abolitionist brought Milwaukee into his discourse not to praise its citizens for their rescue of Glover but to hold them up to the world as "horrible examples" of illiberality. He said:

"My idea of American nationality makes it the last, best growth of the thoughtful mind of the century, treading under foot considerations of sex and race, caste and condition, and collecting on the broad bosom of what deserves the name of an empire, under the shelter of noble, just and equal laws, all races, all customs, all religions, all languages, all literature and all ideals. I remember, a year or two ago they told us of a mob at

Milwaukee that forced a man to bring out the body of his wife, born in Asia—which, according to the custom of her forefathers, he was about to burn—and compelled him to submit to American funeral rites, which his soul abhorred. The sheriff led the mob, and the press of the State vindicated the act. This is not my idea of American civilization. They will show you at Rome the stately column of the Emperor Trajan. Carved on its outer surface is the triumphal march of the Emperor when he came back to Rome leading all nations, all tongues, all customs, all races in the retinue of his conquest; and they traced it on the eternal marble, circling the pillar from base to capital. Just such is my idea of the empire, broad enough and brave enough to admit both sexes, all creeds and all tongues in the triumphal procession of this great daughter of the west of the Atlantic."

This outburst of indignation was too sweeping. It condemned a whole community for an occurrence in which only a fraction of the community was concerned. It imputed violence to an official confronted with responsibility for preservation of the peace who refrained from crude compulsion, effecting his object by amicable persuasion. It charged the press in general with upholding what more than one representative newspaper in Milwaukee deprecated at the time and what the sober second thought of the community disapproved.

As an incident in the history of Milwaukee which was the subject of much contemporaneous discussion and which after three-quarters of a century is still recalled by old residents, what is remembered as the Pfeil funeral pyre commotion commands attention from the chronicler. Gundar Pfeil, who was a Russian by birth, was a man of means and education. He spoke several languages fluently. He had traveled a great deal. He was a lover of literature and the fine arts. His wife was a Brahmin. Afflicted with the lingering disease at that time known as "consumption," and aware that her end was near, she secured from her husband a promise that her remains should not be put into the cold ground, but should be cremated, after the custom of the people from whom she sprang. The residence of the Pfeils was then a brick structure on the east side of Prospect Avenue. On the lake shore at the foot of the bluff in the rear of his residence, Mr. Pfeil piled up several cords of wood, to serve as a

funeral pyre. He had no idea of giving offense to his neighbors. His sole thought was to keep his promise to his dead wife. Other residents of the vicinity felt scandalized when they learned what was proposed to be done. Some of them had given little thought to the merits of the matter, permitting themselves to be controlled by their emotional impulses. The idea of disposing of a human body by cremation appalled them. They condemned it as unchristian and inhuman. They determined that nothing of the sort should disgrace Milwaukee. A crowd gathered about the house of Mr. Pfeil, while many went down to the lake shore. Word was sent to the sheriff, Samuel S. Conover, whose views regarding cremation coincided with those of the crowd. When this official and his deputies appeared on the scene several of Mr. Pfeil's neighbors were expostulating with that gentleman concerning the course he had undertaken to pursue, some of them employing a tone which was loud and angry, while others, sympathizing with his grief, contented themselves with quiet insistence on the propriety of conformance with the custom of the country. Naturally broken in spirit by the deprivation he had sustained, Mr. Pfeil was in no mood for aggressive assertion of what he deemed his right. When the sheriff suggested sending for an undertaker to assume charge of the remains, the bereaved man assented, and finally the gathering about the house dispersed. Mr. Pfeil explained to the sheriff that he had no intention of shocking the community, and that under the circumstances which had developed he had no doubt it would be best to give the remains of his wife to the earth instead of to the flames.

The following is from the *Daily Wisconsin* of October 18, 1855:

"Funeral Pyre in Milwaukee.—We learn that a Russian living on the lake shore, whose wife died last night, attempted to burn her body today. For this purpose he had collected several cords of wood; but the neighbors prevented him from executing his intent."

On the 19th the *Wisconsin* reverted to the matter editorially, and this is what it said:

"The Funeral Pyre.—The *American* of this morning has a leader of a column or so in reference to the attempt of a Brahministic Russian to burn the body of his deceased wife, to which we

referred yesterday. Its feelings are naturally shocked, for this is a religious rite unknown in our country. Yet we find it difficult to adduce conclusive reasons why the Russian had not a perfect right, under our laws, to dispose of the body in that manner, and, in a country boasting of its tolerance of all religions, there is certainly no great danger to be apprehended from Brahmins. We consider the attempt of any one to excite prejudice against the mass of our foreign-born citizens because of the folly of a superstitious Russian as not only injudicious, but as altogether wrong."

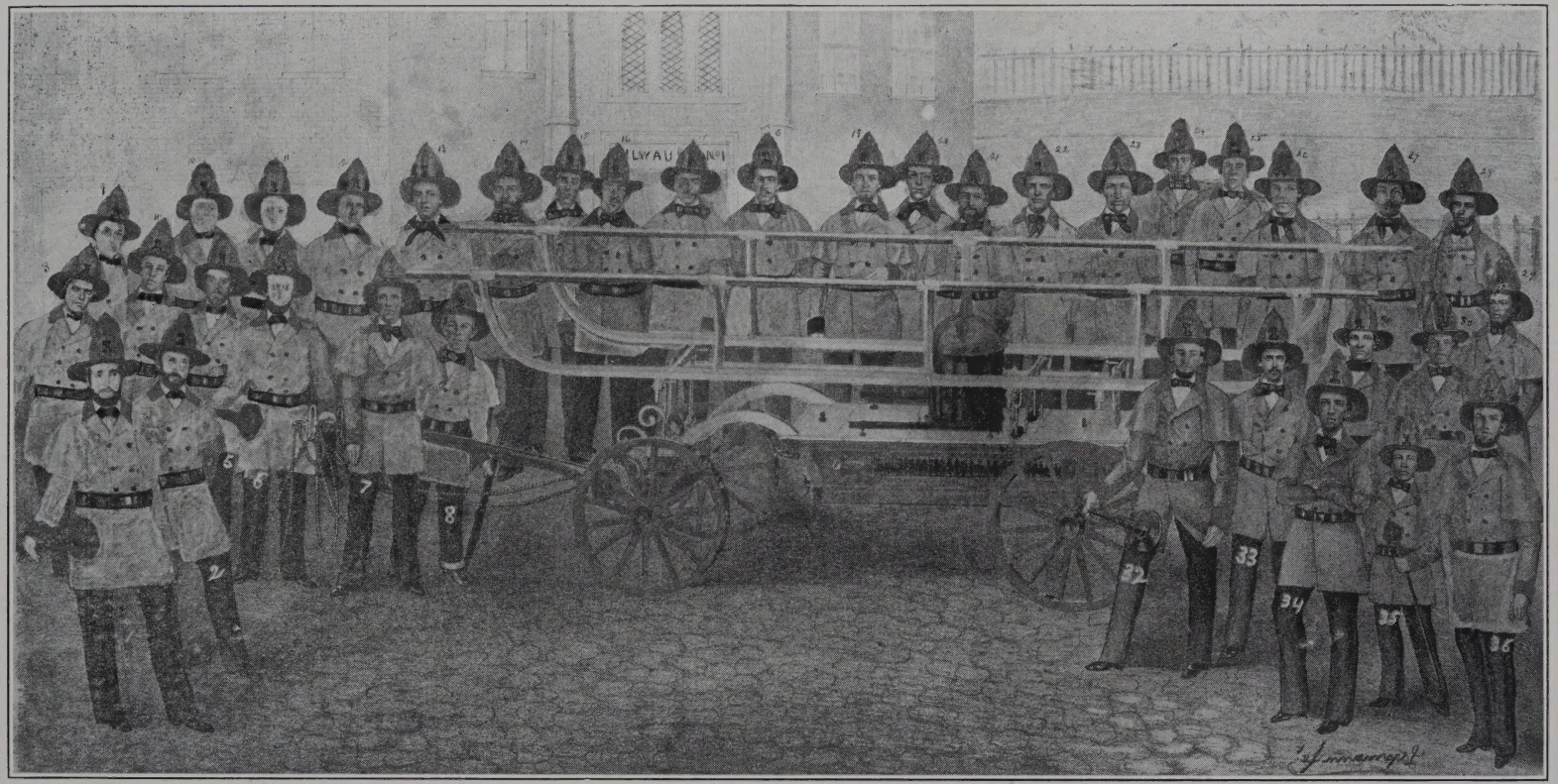
The *American* was an organ of the Know-Nothings, and had descanted on the incident with the evident object of arousing prejudice against immigrants in general. Milwaukee in 1855 probably was no more intolerant than the rest of the country, and was far less intolerant than most of the countries of Europe at that time.

It is a curious fact, not generally known, that before public consternation at the undertaking of Mr. Pfeil had entirely subsided, a well-known Milwaukeean used the method of cremation for disposing of the remains of his daughter, a beloved child of four. The father of the child was Professor Durege, favorably known in the community as a member of the Musical Society and a talented violin virtuoso, whose suburban residence during the middle '60s was at that time well out of town, being located on the tract which later became the residence of A. W. Rich, on the road to Whitefish Bay. Many years afterward Dr. Frederick Brendecke, who was familiar with the circumstances, although not a witness of the cremation, gave the following account: "Professor Durege was an enthusiast on the subject of cremation, which I am not. I am in favor of it, but not so much so as to feel inclined to say anything on the subject in my last will and testament. After I am dead, if my friends will make sure of the fact, I shall not care what disposition they choose to make of my remains. Cremation commends itself to me because it is a more speedy way than burial of arriving at the same result. The body will be resolved into its constituents whether it be cremated or buried. In the former case the operation takes an hour, and in the latter it takes say ten years. Burying the dead endangers the living if the cemeteries are too close to the haunts of men; but the

burial grounds in American cities generally are sufficiently far removed. Here there is little danger to the water supply, as water from graveyards becomes cleansed by soaking through gravel before it reaches the wells. In old countries, the conditions sometimes are different. There the danger of poisoning the water supply of the living might be an objection to the practice of burying the dead. When professor Durege cremated his little daughter's body there was no witness. He had constructed a funeral pyre by piling up cordwood on the shore of the lake. The body was laid tenderly on the combustible pile and the torch applied. The father, with the stoicism of an Indian chief, then sat himself down to watch the progress of the consuming flames. Afterward, in the fading light, with the aid of a candle, he gathered up the ashes of his loved one and placed them in an urn." Later Professor Durege departed from Milwaukee, returning to Europe and becoming professor of astronomy in the college at Zurich, Switzerland.

Like America as a whole, Milwaukee has grown more and more cosmopolitan with the lapse of years. Cremationists of later days have been able to avail themselves of modern facilities for the prompt reduction of human remains to ashes, provided by the trustees of one of Milwaukee's oldest and most beautiful cemeteries—Forest Home.

"OVER THE RIVER"
Looking east from Third and Galena Streets, 1866.



MILWAUKEE ENGINE COMPANY No. 1
Engine built by James Smith, New York, 1855. Lithograph by H. Seifert.

CHAPTER XXVIII

VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENS WHO IN VILLAGE DAYS AND LONG THEREAFTER PERFORMED A FUNCTION LATER TAKEN OVER BY THE MUNICIPALITY—THEIR GENEROUS AND CHEERFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENERAL WELFARE—A DASHING AND HEROIC PHASE OF CIVIC SERVICE UNDER CONDITIONS THAT SEEM PRIMITIVE TODAY—HOW THEIR ORGANIZATION SERVED AND FLOURISHED—HOW IT PASSED INTO OBSOLESCENCE AS THE CITY GREW.

Prior to 1837 Milwaukee had no organization for extinguishing fires. In that year a volunteer hook and ladder company was formed. Benjamin Edgerton was the first foreman and Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy the first secretary. Apparatus was purchased and stored in a shed on Wisconsin Street. In 1838 a house was built for it on the east end of the lot now occupied by the Wells Building, which at that time was part of the residence premises of George D. Dousman, who generously allowed its use for the benefit of the public. In the fall of 1839 a fire engine, the first of any description ever seen in Milwaukee, was acquired by the volunteer firemen and stored in the Dousman warehouse at the south end of East Water Street. In 1840 the hook and ladder house was enlarged for the reception of the engine, and a company known as Engine Company No. 1 was organized, with George D. Dousman as foreman, which position he held till 1842, when F. B. Otis was elected as his successor, the following officers being chosen at the regular election of 1843: Foreman, Nelson Soggs; assistant foreman, L. J. Higby; secretary, Lester B. Rockwell; treasurer, Alexander Mitchell.

The men who thus voluntarily banded together for the benefit of the community were representatives of the best element in the population. All were in the prime of young manhood. Several were pioneers, in this category being Albert Fowler, who had

arrived on the ground in 1833, and next to Solomon Juneau, was the oldest white resident of the future city. Benjamin Edgerton was a civil engineer. Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy, nephew of the noted novelist, was at the outset a druggist, later a school principal, and finally superintendent of the Milwaukee public schools, of which position he was incumbent at the time of his death in 1870. L. J. Higby, beginning in the drug business, branched out into other undertakings on a large scale for the early days, and did much to lay the foundations of Milwaukee's importance as a grain market. Alexander Mitchell, who had arrived in 1839, was the city's first banker, destined to take a leading place among the financiers of the West. Elisha Starr was a printer and publisher, chosen afterward under President Taylor for the position of postmaster of Milwaukee. John Pixley was a capitalist, engaged in handling business problems of various descriptions with ability and success that commanded the respect and confidence of the public. A. O. T. Breed was a merchant, George Vail a hotelkeeper, Nathaniel Prentiss a brother of William A. Prentiss, the latter being a leading spirit in the young community, which later selected him for the mayoralty. Henry Miller was a forwarding merchant, John G. Bellangee was a mason and brickmaker; one of his long fashionable residence blocks still survives in the center of the city. Ira E. Goodall was a partner of E. D. Holton in the dry goods line. Harrison Ludington, then a leading merchant, lived to be mayor and governor. P. C. Hale was in partnership with Silas Chapman in the book business—an upstanding citizen to the end of his days. John S. Fillmore was one of the publishers of the *Sentinel*. Ambrose Ely was a boot and shoe dealer, father of Mrs. Lydia Ely, the artist. Paul Juneau, afterward accidentally killed in Dodge County, was a son of Solomon Juneau, and a general favorite. Dr. F. J. Noyes was a physician interested in real estate development. Nelson Soggs was a blacksmith, with a shop on the site afterward occupied by the Newhall House. George D. Dousman was a member of the famous Dousman family prominently identified with the early history of the Northwest, and contributed manfully to the beginnings of Milwaukee. This by no means exhausts what might be said of the men whose names were in the list of volunteer firemen, but indicates that they were choice and master spirits, whose talents were devoted to matters

of moment in addition to protecting their property and that of their neighbors from the menace of fire.

During the early years of its existence the volunteer fire department proved its readiness to turn out at the call of duty, but Milwaukee was exempt from important fires till Monday morning, April 7, 1845, which date is memorable as that of a blaze destroying the recently remodeled Cottage Inn, on the west side of Main Street, now Broadway, between Michigan and Huron streets, together with some thirty other wooden buildings in the neighborhood. The fire originated on the west side of East Water Street. Soon after it started there was an explosion, injuring several persons and inspiring others, including the firemen, with prudence that kept them from near approach to the flames during the remainder of the conflagration, which continued till it had "burned out," leaving in ashes the northern half of the block in which it began and all of the block across the street, bounded by Michigan, Huron, East Water and Main streets.

One of the results of this fire was alert public sentiment against the storage of gunpowder where it might become a menace to life and property. Another was the conclusion that the "gooseneck" engine, of which the firemen had been exceedingly proud till it was brought into crucial test, was little better than a garden-sprayer in the face of a roaring conflagration. A more powerful engine was purchased, to which was given the name of Neptune, No. 1, the old favorite being degraded to the rank of Neptune, No. 2. The fire department was enlarged. Promptly following the cooling of the ashes, the burned area was rebuilt with structures superior to those they superseded, notable above others being the United States Hotel, erected by James H. Rogers, famed in its day as the equal of any hostelry west of New York. An incidental outcome of the fire was the free advertising of Milwaukee in the Eastern press, and this stimulated a flood of immigration.

In his history of the volunteer firemen, which is one of the sources of information on many matters relating to old time Milwaukee, Peter Van Vechten, Jr., observes:

"Prior to this fire woe would have betided any man who had possessed the audacity to assert that the Neptune was not the best machine in America. After that it was safe to remark that

the old tub could positively throw water through 150 feet of hose and a seven-eighths nozzle on the roof of a story-and-a-half house, if the whole company manned the brakes, provided the pipemen stood on a chair, enabling them to reach up the whole length of the pipe. After this fire, when business had been resumed, the company thought a more perfect organization could be effected by practice in working the new engine and familiarizing themselves with its capabilities. All the companies—there were several others now, in different sections of the town—were required to meet twice a month and man the brakes. That there might be no mistake as to who were members, they adopted a uniform, consisting of the 'Boston rig,' with a leather fire hat and a long flannel shirt or frock that came down to the knee, being confined at the waist by a black belt."

On the 28th of October the new engine was taken out for trial, the place of test being at the southwest end of Spring Street bridge. Three hundred feet of hose were attached, through which a stream was thrown over the Birchard block of that day, which stood at the southwest corner of Spring and West Water streets. The machine was named "Milwaukee, No. 1," though destined at a later date to be referred to colloquially as "the Hunneman tub." That age as well as this was one when mechanical progress was at work, superseding ingenious contrivances that were marvels in the beginning by others more marvelous still and better adapted to the purposes for which they were designed, resulting in relegation of earlier marvels either to the background or the scrap heap.

Meanwhile important additions were making to the population of the city and new names being added to the roster of the volunteer fire-fighters. Among the accessions to the ranks of No. 1 in 1845 were Gen. Rufus King, the new editor of the *Sentinel;* Fred Wardner, who opened a store with a general stock and quickly became known as a prosperous merchant, afterward being elected to the office of comptroller; Sidney L. Rood, a bookseller and wide-awake citizen widely esteemed for geniality, generosity and public spirit; James Clinton Spencer, J. A. McClure, James Duane Wilson, F. G. Tibbetts, and others, among them C. B. Davis, noted in his day as one of the proprietors of the

Davis & Moore stage line. Peter Van Vechten, Jr., also was one of the company's accessions at about this time.

Milwaukee became a chartered city in January, 1846. One of the provisions of the legislative act providing for its incorporation was as follows:

"The Council shall have power to authorize the formation of fire engine, hook and ladder and hose companies, providing for the due and proper regulation of the same, and to disband such companies at any time and prohibit their meetings as such when disbanded; each company not to exceed forty able-bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, which companies shall be officered and governed by their own by-laws, provided such by-laws be not inconsistent with the laws of this Territory or with the ordinances and regulations of the city, and shall be formed only by voluntary enlistments. Every member of each company shall be exempt from highway work and militia duty; and whenever a member of any company shall have served therein seven years he shall receive a discharge signed by the mayor, and shall thereafter be exempt from militia duty except in case of insurrection or invasion."

Mantle Marsh, Abner Kirby, Norman J. Emmons, A. J. Langworthy, Daniel Schultz, J. S. Fillmore, Walter Burke, J. B. Hunt, Joshua Stark, Charles T. Bradley, Elias Friend, Alanson Sweet, Nelson Ludington, Menzo Newbery, John A. Dadd, Percy Williams, William Allen, Nathan Pereles, Charles Bierbach, H. S. Mack, Henry Buestrin, John T. Wallis, Caleb Harrison, Victor Schulte, Fred D. Adler, A. R. Chapin, Joseph T. Bradford, Caleb Wall, Henry Fess, J. H. Crampton, Christian Preusser, Philip Casper, A. Caspari, William Goodman, George A. Treyser, D. C. Reed, J. C. Goodrich, Thomas H. Eviston, John Esch, Ferdinand Shurr, James Bannen, John C. Starkweather, John R. Goodrich, E. L. H. Gardner, J. A. Dutcher, John Nazro, Fitch J. Bosworth, W. J. Denny, Peter Webber, Henry Waldeck, J. B. Smith, C. P. Foote, Albert Bade, Dr. J. P. Greves, Herman Schwarting, Herman Haertel, J. M. Durand. These were all well-known names in the Milwaukee of the '50s, and many of them are remembered still. All of them were those of men who belonged to the volunteer fire department. So did John Laubenheimer, William Peterman, Henry Claymeier, William H. Decker, W. H. Perrigo, Jobst H.

Buening, Louis Auer, Charles Maas, Timothy O'Brien, Joseph Deuster, Jacob Ihmig, George C. Foster, Henry Trayser, Frederick Trayser, Rufus Allen, Christian Dexheimer, Arthur J. Dadd and Avery Hill.

In 1852 the volunteer fire department of Milwaukee consisted of four engine companies and a hook and ladder company. On the tops of the engines then used there were seats for the men to sit facing each other while working the handles or brakes backward and forward. An alarm of fire shouted with might and main brought the volunteers rushing from their homes or places of business. When a sufficient number had collected the drag ropes were manned and the engines hauled to where they were needed. When working the engines it was customary for the firemen to sing a chanty. One of the chanties was as follows:

God bless the pot that my mammy boiled the taters in.
Ranzo, ranzo, raz!
She sent it to New Orleans to boil the alligators in.
Ranzo, ranzo, raz!

Firemen were not always serious. There grew up at times rivalry between the companies which found expression in various ways. There were brushes between the Irish and the Germans, and sometimes between the Americans and the Germans, as well as disagreements between the Americans and the Irish. It was conceded on all hands, however, that the men of all nationalities were earnest and efficient in fighting fires. It also became apparent that there must be order at fires, as well as discipline for the firemen, that would preserve respect for the authority of recognized leaders and obedience to their commands, and that would assure protection for property.

On the 24th of February, 1846, the firemen were called out by a blaze at the dry-kiln of Locke & Richmond, on the canal. The hour was 2 o'clock in the morning, and the weather intensely cold. When the scene was reached, there was frost in the cylinders of the engine, and a messenger was dispatched to the Washington House for a supply of whisky to thaw it out. Instead of having the desired effect, the stuff that was poured into the engine froze up like so much water, and the firemen, unable to render aid, went back to their house with the machine. When the pro-

prietor of the hotel put in a bill of 50 cents for the ardent spirit, it was scornfully disallowed, on the ground of the inferior quality. He retorted that it was "the best in the house," and that if it did not thaw the ice in the engine it must have been because it was not used for that purpose, but was drunk up by the man who acted as messenger to procure it. Suspicion attached to the alleged culprit, but the matter was never brought to trial.

Now and then frisky members of fire companies turned the hose on comrades, instead of confining their activities to the extinguishment of fires. Once the suction pipe of an engine was discovered to have been plugged with a blanket, presumably by envious members of a rival company. But these departures from discipline were exceptional, and measures were adopted for their discouragement which proved substantially effective.

June 18, 1850, a fire broke out in the Temperance House on lower East Water Street. The house and barn and several buildings were burned. The boys had a little fun at this fire. The stream of No. 4 wet the pipeman of No. 1, and No. 1 retaliated. The fire was neglected, and each company received word to "shake it lively." No. 1 pipeman had the best position, having hid behind a stall. Chief Engineer Eldred thought he would go to the back of the building and see why the fire had brightened up so much. When he came in sight with his white hat and coat a quietus was put on the horse-play. The No. 4 boys took all the blame, and it never was known who it was that paid them back with a second stream.

The following is from the report of July, 1850, by Anson Eldred as chief engineer of the Fire Department:

"Although our firemen have conducted themselves with activity and energy, and are worthy of all praise as the defenders of our property and our lives, yet it must be apparent to everyone acquainted with the fire departments in other cities that ours is decidedly deficient in numerical strength and force, and in the number of engines, only three of which can be relied upon. For a city of twenty thousand inhabitants, spread over an unusually large surface, these are entirely too few for our protection. Even if we had cisterns supplied from water works at every corner of the streets, as in New York, Boston and Detroit, it would be impossible for them to cope with a dangerous fire. Our depart-

ment has not kept pace with the rapid progress of the city, and we find our buildings going up more rapidly than we have been able to furnish means for their protection. Away from the vicinity of our lake and rivers, we are entirely destitute of resources for water, except from private cisterns, which are of little avail. In case of a fire in many parts of our city we would not have sufficient hose to reach from the river or lake, and if hose were abundant, the engines would be forced to form a line, and thus but one, or two streams at most, could be brought to bear upon the flames."

Mr. Eldred went on to suggest the decreased danger of fire-loss and the probable reduction in insurance rates which would result from the appropriation of adequate funds for the enlargement of the Fire Department and improvement of its equipment. Like many other progressive projects of the time, the strengthening of the Fire Department was obliged to wait, because money was wanted for other things at the time, and was not a plentiful commodity in Milwaukee or the West.

Lieutenant Wright was a recruiting officer for the United States Army stationed in Milwaukee at the time of the Mexican war. On Washington's Birthday, 1848, he acted as marshal of the procession in which the firemen and militia companies of the city took part. On the 3d of March in that year a fire broke out at 6 A. M. in the store of David Merrill in the Fifth Ward. Snow had fallen the day before and during the night to the depth of eighteen inches. It was hard pulling for the firemen trying to get the engines through, but Lieutenant Wright's soldiers buckled on the drags and helped the firemen through the drifts. At that time military men and soldiers mingled in a spirit of fraternity, but in later years there were occasions of rivalry and dispute over precedence in the line of march at holiday parades. Notwithstanding this, some of the individuals most prominent in volunteer fire service were also conspicuous in local militia activities, notable examples being Gen. Rufus King and John C. Goodrich, both of whom were popular and enthusiastic firemen, while at the same time leaders in the "crack" militia companies of the day. There had been so much disagreement between the military companies and the fire companies in 1858 and 1859 that in 1860 it was deemed useless to try to get up a Fourth of July parade,

and that year Milwaukee went without one, the firemen declaring they would never march behind the military again.

The 24th of August, 1854, was a date long remembered by reason of the most destructive fire which up to that time had occurred in Milwaukee. Originating in the Davis livery stables, it swept the entire square block bounded by Huron and Michigan streets on the south and north and Main and East Water streets on the east and west, and crossing East Water Street burned the stores on the west side of that thoroughfare occupied by Bosworth & Sons, Haney & DeBow and J. Gardiner. The building at the southeast corner of East Water and Michigan streets, occupied by the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank and the *Daily Wisconsin* newspaper, was one of those swept away by this fire, which consumed property valued at $381,900, on which there was only $233,000 of insurance. So fierce was the blaze that the puny apparatus of the Volunteer Fire Department was powerless to stop its progress. One of the five hand-engines, that of Company No. 1, which had been manoeuvered into what had been deemed a post of vantage for directing a stream upon the Bosworth Building, became itself endangered as the fire progressed, and the only way to save it was to push it into the river, from which it was not recovered till late in the afternoon. At the height of the conflagration, Mayor Kilbourn telegraphed to Racine for help, two hundred sturdy citizens of the neighboring city responding to his appeal; but when they arrived the flames had ceased to spread, and there was little to be done but watch the fire burning itself out in the mass of ruins that showed where it had raged.

In the Milwaukee City Directory of 1856-7 is the following, showing the organization of the Fire Department at that time:

"John C. Goodrich, chief engineer; John Lowther, first assistant engineer; Henry Verkins, second assistant engineer; N. B. Brooks, third assistant engineer; Daniel Schultz, president Board of Trustees; D. C. Reed, vice president; J. Albert Helfenstein, secretary; John Nazro, treasurer.

"Engine Company No. 1—P. Van Vechten, Jr., foreman.

"Engine Company No. 2—Daniel Schultz, foreman.

"Engine Company No. 3—A. J. Langworthy, foreman.

"Engine Company No. 4—Caleb Harrison, foreman.

"Engine Company No. 5—Thomas Bohan, foreman.

"Hook and Ladder Company No. 1—P. Weber, foreman.

"Hose Company No. 1—J. C. Starkweather, foreman.

"Sack Company No. 1—J. B. Smith, foreman.

"Fire wardens: First Ward—N. Ludwig, W. H. Holland. Second Ward—A. J. Langworthy, H. Moore. Third Ward—Frank Davlin, Theo. Bilty. Fourth Ward—Priam B. Hill, C. W. Bierbach. Fifth Ward—August Mayer, Emil Schneider. Sixth Ward—L. House, T. H. Greenleaf. Seventh Ward—R. C. Jacks, Lewis Fuchs.

"Gross number of firemen in the city, 600."

A singular mishap occasioned the calling out of the Fire Department on the afternoon of March 3, 1860. The bank of Arnold, Spink & Co. was at the northeast corner of East Water and Huron streets. A high wind had been blowing all day, becoming especially tempestuous at 2 o'clock, when the opening of the front door as a customer came in made way for the entrance of a powerful gust that blew out the windows on the Huron Street side, which, instanter, was followed by the blowing out of the windows on the East Water Street front. Confusion and consternation reigned among the attaches while the gale made a clean sweep of everything on the tables and desks, carrying memoranda, bills and miscellaneous documents of every description out of the building and strewing them along the length of Huron Street and up and down the whole Third Ward.

A moment after the disaster the bank was "a sight to see." Large panes of glass had been reduced to fragments, the litter covering the floor. Curtains were rent to shreds. Clerks and others were in a panic, rushing hither and thither with the feeling that every scrap of paper might be of inestimable value and must be gathered and examined with care, while realizing that checks, drafts, bank notes and miscellaneous negotiable papers might find their way into the waters of the river or the lake or fall into the hands of unscrupulous persons who would not hesitate to turn the misfortune of others to their own account.

The firemen, together with casual passers-by, helped to chase and capture as much as possible of the wealth which had taken wings. As news of what had happened spread through the neighborhood, multitudes joined in the work of recovery. Honest people

—and the incident proved them numerous—restored what they found. Undoubtedly some who were not honest came across five and ten dollar bills which they calmly put into their own pockets. As soon as the streets in the vicinity had been cleared of what looked like papers of value the firemen returned to their engine houses, while the bank's attaches began to take inventory. If accurate figures were arrived at indicating the value of property carried off by the wind and not recovered, the result was never communicated to anybody outside of the bank.

There was no police department in the Milwaukee of the early days. On the 17th of April, 1851, the mayor, D. A. J. Upham, called out the members of the Volunteer Fire Department to act as special policemen. On the preceding evening an itinerant lecturer named Leahy, representing himself as an ex-priest, had been roughly interrupted while delivering a discourse in the Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of West Water and Spring streets. So serious was the scuffle in the church at the breaking up of the meeting by outsiders, that several people jumped from the windows, and furniture and fixtures were damaged to the extent of $150, the city subsequently being obliged to pay the bill for repairs. Catholic clergy joined with Protestant clergy and law-abiding people generally in condemning the disturbance of the peace, and there were loud demands for action on the part of the authorities that would uphold the principle of freedom of speech. Responding to the call of the mayor, the firemen formed a hollow square about the lecturer, marching with him to the old church on Main Street which afterward for many years did duty as the central fire station. There he was guarded while he spoke to all who wished to hear him, after which he left the city without molestation. In 1853 the services of the firemen were brought into requisition for the quelling of a disturbance caused by laborers who had come into the city to demand their pay from one of the contractors engaged in the construction of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad. The last time firemen were called upon to render organized assistance in upholding civil authority was during the bank riot in the summer of 1861, when they dispersed a portion of the mob by turning their hose upon it at the corner of East Water and Michigan streets. Turbulence on this occasion was widespread. While the firemen were affording first aid

at the summons of the authorities, formal application for help had been made to the governor, and the arrival of troops on the scene was the recourse which prevented further spasmodic demonstrations and restored order.

Sometimes men in charge of the engines at fires were approached with offers of money to work for the protection of buildings in the vicinity not involved in the conflagration at the moment, but likely to become so if it failed to be brought under early control. Sometimes impatient operators in real estate suggested that it would be better to let old structures be burned down, making way for substantial improvements.

Mr. Van Vechten's account of the historic fire of March 20, 1860, which is condensed as follows, will be read with interest:

"The one-and-one-half story buildings that stood on East Water Street from the southeast corner of Wisconsin Street down to No. 180 (now 380) East Water, had been an eyesore for years. It was the best business property in the city. The block opposite was all brick buildings, good stores and offices, and the block south was of solid brick or stone buildings. Men who were willing to make improvements if they could get the real estate often exclaimed, 'If it would only burn out!' There had been fires in that block many times, but they had been extinguished at the start. Many old croakers predicted that it would never burn. They also observed that the owners of the property would never die, and, so long as they could secure high rent for their decrepit shells, would never rebuild. On the 20th of March, 1860, the wind was blowing a gale from the northwest. About 11:30 there was an alarm of fire. On such days the volunteer firemen were always on the lookout. The cause of the alarm was a blaze in the upper story of the frame building owned by Elisha Eldred, on the southeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, where the Martin Iron Block now stands. Engine No. 1 was the first to respond. It was run down to the fire and stopped in the street. That was all its crew could do, for their suction hose had been sent to New York on the 11th of March to be covered with gutta percha. They were obliged to wait for the arrival of some other engine that could give them water. There were no water works in Milwaukee, and there was no steam fire engine.

"When we stopped in the street, J. B. Martin came up and

MILWAUKEE HOOK AND LADDER COMPANY No. 1, OCTOBER 16, 1865

whispered to me, 'Let it burn.' I replied, 'I can't stop it. We have no suction hose.' Then he said, 'That's right—that's right. Don't get any.'

"Hiram Auchmoody, an old exempt member of No. 1, came up and cried, 'Quick, boys; get to the river, and rush it out in good style!' To him also I explained, 'We can't get water—no suction hose!'

"Next came J. H. Crampton, who had a real estate and insurance office at No. 12 Wisconsin Street, and who shouted, 'Hurry up, boys. Get water quick and put it out!' I pointed to the engine, and said, 'We can't get water if we do go to the river.'

"Everyone who saw us and heard this conversation believed we had left our suction hose in the house, in order to burn the block. The fire was so near the river, and water so handy, that the men of each engine that came to the ground wanted to play on the fire instead of supplying any other engine.

"Rough and Ready Engine Company, No. 4, was the next to arrive. Her crew ran the hose up a ladder to the roof, and the pipeman turned his stream of water down the chimney, intending, no doubt, to fill up the house with water from the top, and drown the fire out. But as the Hook and Ladder boys neglected to stop up the flues, the water ran out at the first floor into the street. The pipeman stayed at his post till the fire had got past him, and then came down. Fillmore Engine Company, No. 6, ran its hose through the store of C. R. Maltby & Co. into the alley, and wet down the back yard so that it would not take fire. Ocean Engine Company, No. 5, came next, and as No. 1 had been standing idle, Chief Engineer T. H. Eviston ordered the men of that company to give No. 1 water.

"When all was ready to carry out the order of the chief engineer, No. 1's men ran their hose through Linderman & Hansen's tailor shop into the alley, and kept up a lively stream. S. S. Daggett and J. A. Helfenstein were here, calling upon George Staff and William Fleming to put water on the fire, but these lively firemen were in no mood to take orders from outsiders, as evidence of which they turned the hose on the insurance men, and were giving them a ducking when their foreman came to the scene of the disorderly fun and put a quietus on it in short order. The pipemen remained in the store until driven out by the prog-

ress of the fire overhead. Meanwhile not all of the other companies were working judiciously, and the fact became evident to the firemen themselves and citizens generally who were watching the blaze, that serious attention must be given to controlling the flames or they would spread to valuable property—the brick building at the end of the block, and Marble Hall and the Newhall House at the southeast corner, fronting on Michigan and Main streets.

"By this time the wooden buildings were blazing like a furnace and filling the air with cinders. Crossing the alley on Wisconsin Street, the flames had communicated to the buildings on the east. The Newhall House had the benefit of a line of water-pipe from the river to a reservoir in its cellar, and by means of a steam force-pump this had been drawn upon to fill a tank on the roof. Moreover there was a steam engine with a fire supply attachment which formed part of the equipment of the hotel, and this was used to wet down the roof of that structure and the buildings near by, preventing them from taking fire.

"But for the foolery in which the firemen had indulged the destruction could have been brought to a close much sooner than was the case. By 5:30 in the afternoon smoking heaps of ashes were all that was left of the collection of relics which had occupied the major portion of the block, some of them dating back to 1835, like, for instance that old structure with basswood siding famous as the natal place of the first child of white parents born within the limits of Milwaukee—the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. U. B. Smith."

The first steam fire engine which came to Milwaukee appeared on the streets in 1859, having been brought from Chicago on a scow by its owners, in the hope that it would be purchased after the people of Milwaukee had been afforded a demonstration of its efficiency. The trial was made under unfavorable conditions, and Milwaukeeans declined to buy the machine; so it was returned to the scow, and the scow was towed into the lake to make its way back to Chicago. Before it had proceeded far one of the largest fires in the early history of the city destroyed the Young Block, at the corner of Wisconsin and Main streets. It was often remarked by old settlers that the illumination of the blaze must have been noticed by the people in charge of the engine

from Chicago, and that if they had returned and put out the fire they might have sold their engine to Milwaukee after all. But they continued on their way and lost the chance. It was at the fire in the Young Block that Patsy McLaughlin first won distinction as a fire-fighter. He was captain of the hose company, and he and his fellow pipemen acquitted themselves with such credit that they were presented with a silver trumpet by A. B. Van Cott, at that time the city's leading jeweler.

Costly fires followed one another in rapid succession at about this time. December 29th, 1860, was a bitterly cold night, and was remembered as such by the firemen who were called out by an alarm due to fire in Nichols & Britt's new mill on South Water and Ferry streets, near the south end of Walker's Point bridge. By the time they arrived at the scene the flames had made such headway that the structure could not be saved, nor could the Checkered Warehouse, which stood near by. The Axtell House was badly scorched, but hard work saved it from destruction. Some of the companies had not yet reach their houses after this fire when, at 1:30 A. M. on the 30th, Henry Middleton and Charles Morrow, of No. 1, making their way up East Water Street, discovered that the Cross Block, at the northeast corner of Huron and East Water streets, was on fire. It was five stories in height, the fourth and fifth stories being rented to the city and occupied as council room, city clerk's office, and comptroller's office; also serving as quarters for other officers of the city. The building contained municipal records which would have been used in proceedings against two officials charged with embezzlement. There was strong suspicion that it had been set on fire. Middleton and Morrow gave the alarm. They entered the building and aroused its occupants by crying "Fire!" and rapping on their doors. Mr. Sumner with his wife and three children lived on the third floor. They were rescued. Morrow went to No. 1's house and Middleton to Liberty Hose and No. 6 engine house. A general alarm was sounded, and the whole department was called out, but most of the engines were frozen up when they arrived. It was a long time before water could be thrown. Hot water and alcohol were poured into the cylinders of the engines, to thaw them out, but No. 1 was the only one that played upon the fire. The intensity

of the cold and the fact that the men had been at another fire the same night prevented them from doing efficient work.

Mr. Van Vechten quaintly remarks: "The city clerk, George G. Dousman, had moved most of his papers to the city hall, but had left behind about $200,000 worth of chattel mortgages that had been filed in the old city clerk's office, and they were burned. That was a godsend to many poor people."

The fire extended to the store next north of the Excelsior or Cross Block, occupied by George Dyer as a saddlery, harness and hardware store. People helping him to carry out his goods narrowly escaped being killed. The safe in the comptroller's office in the Cross Building weighed seven tons. After the fire had burned some time, the floor fell and the safe struck the heavy cross beam and tipped over the north wall of the Dyer Building, crashing through to the basement. Nathan Brick and Frank Davlin, who were helping Dyer, had a narrow escape. Brick crawled from under the debris and made his way to the street, his hands blistered and his hair, eyebrows and whiskers badly singed. Davlin ran as far as the door, when, hearing the bricks tumbling into the street, he crouched close to the column of the doorway till the clatter had ceased, and then emerged safely. There were people in the store besides Brick and Davlin who did not get out and were burned to ashes. There were also several killed in the other building—Wallace Caswell, son of Capt. William Caswell, Frank Baird of Rescue Hook and Ladder Company, No. 2; Charles McDermott, Robert Lundt, Zach Carnley and Lawrence Dempsey, all members of Rough and Ready, No. 4.

Steam fire engines more and more began to form a subject of conversation among the people. On the 4th of February, 1861, Francis Huebschmann, then acting mayor, made them the topic of a communication to the Common Council, which was presented by Alderman Plankinton. As a member of the Board of Aldermen, Dr. Huebschmann was chairman of the finance committee, and in this capacity, on the 12th of March, he reported on an application from Engine Company No. 7 for a new engine: "It is to be deprecated that the Legislature and the Common Council have not acted more promptly on the subject of reorganizing the fire department. By all who have given attention to the matter it seems to be admitted that the city needs three steam fire en-

gines, one to be located on the East Side, one of the West Side and one on the South Side of the river. After we obtain them only three hand engines should be retained in use, one to be located in the remote part of the First Ward, one in the Ninth and one in the Eighth Ward, where these petitioners are located." The report bore the signatures of W. A. Prentiss and W. P. Merrill as well as that of Chairman Huebschmann. In connection with the discussion relating to steam fire engines there were those who called attention to the condition of the streets. At that time Milwaukee had only one paved street—East Water Street—and the pavement was cobble-stone.

The last of the memorable conflagrations in Milwaukee before the advent of steam fire engines was that which destroyed the American House and the Spring Street Methodist Church and other buildings on the Fourth of July, 1861. About 11:50 A. M. fire caught in a shed back of Oakley's livery stables. It was a very warm day, and there was a high wind blowing from the southwest. Flames soon spread to the American House, a five-story frame building, with stables, burning both ways and crossing the street. The fire was caused by children playing with firecrackers in the shed where there was hay. Engine Company No. 5 was first on the ground, followed by No. 1 and Supply Hose, and very soon the whole department was on hand, though of little use on account of a high wind. The firemen succeeded in saving the Menomonee Hotel and barn, on West Water Street, and also Birchard's Block. The American House was an old building, filled with combustible furniture. It was owned and occupied by Kane & Sons. Very little was saved. From the American House the fire burned west. Charles H. Williams owned two brick stores east of the hotel. John Plankinton owned the livery stable and Clisbee & Armour owned the stock. A dozen or more other buildings, occupied by dwellers and business of various descriptions were laid in ashes by the fire, which communicated with the Methodist Church on the corner of Second and Spring streets, destroying that and several buildings toward the east. George F. Austin's brick block, afterward known as the Caswell Block, was damaged to the extent of a few hundred dollars, but the fire passed on to the destruction of the brick

building of John Fishbeck and several other structures on West Water Street north of Spring Street.

A steam fire engine ordered for the city in July from Manchester, New Hampshire, arrived on November 6, 1861, and was escorted to the house on Main Street by members of the Fire Department and a band of music. The engine weighed 6,500 pounds and cost $3,500—a more impressive sum in those days than it is in these. Put to a test the beautiful machine threw four streams perpendicularly to heights of from 80 to 110 feet. Great was the applause from onlookers witnessing the highest of the streams projected to the dizzy altitude of twenty-five feet above the roof of the Newhall House. The volunteer firemen were satisfied by this demonstration that modern mechanism with steam for motive power could outdo bone and muscle, and that a new era in fire-fighting had opened for Milwaukee. The engine was taken back to No. 1's house and left in charge of the company.

Wires had been laid among politicians for the appointment of an engineer and driver for the company, and the Council had authorized their appointment with the designation of policemen until the Legislature could change the city charter so that they could be appointed as paid firemen. The insurance men and the newspapers had heard the names of some who were to be so engaged, and began to enter protests, but were unable to prevent the appointment of individuals afterward removed on the ground of incompetency. The members of No. 1 ran with the steamer as volunteers till the end of the year. Till the succeeding session of the Legislature the law was dodged. Then the charter was amended to permit of the engagement of paid firemen.

Following is a list of the volunteer fire chiefs from 1845:

Under village government—Lester H. Cotton, 1845-6; Gideon P. Hewitt, 1846-7;

Under the charter—Gideon P. Hewitt. 1847-8; Allen W. Hatch, 1848-9; A. J. Langworthy, 1849-50; Anson Eldred, 1850-51; John S. Fillmore, 1851-6; John C. Goodrich, 1856-7; Daniel Schultz, 1857-9.

In December, 1861, Rescue Hook and Ladder Company, No. 2, passed a resolution placing on the honorary list members who had served seven years, the time required by law, and exempting all active firemen from fires or the obligation to run to fires. The

company resolved to continue as volunteer firemen as long as any other company remained in the department.

The best steam fire engine up to July, 1861, was the Latti, of Cincinnati, but its weight, seven tons, was too great for a city like Milwaukee with only one paved street.

The steam fire engine had one good effect. It lessened the fires. The war had taken many of the best men out of the Fire Department into the army. There was not at the start much for the new paid Fire Department to do, there being only one fire in December, 1861, two in January, 1862, and none in February. But the 1st of March opened with the big fire that destroyed Albany Hall. At this fire the weather was so cold that the water froze as soon as it touched anything. The loss by the burning of Albany Hall was something like $70,000. H. E. Dickinson had eleven billiard tables in the place, in charge of a man named John Bird, who was inclined to be philosophical and was capable of turning a phrase. The tables were worth $300 apiece. Only one of them could be removed before the flames obliged everyone to retreat. After the fire a reporter questioned Bird concerning the tables, and Bird replied, "We saved all but ten."

The last meeting of Engine Company No. 1 was held on the 3d of April, 1863. All members not previously granted certificates of discharge received them at that time. Resignations were signed by all the members and given to the mayor. The books and records were ordered to be packed in strong paper, sealed, and deposited in the vault of the city clerk. Some of the hook and ladder companies and hose companies held on to their organization for a longer time, but the Milwaukee Fire Department was a paid department practically from that date. Very few business men were connected with the department after 1862.

At the celebration of the semi-centennial of the City of Milwaukee, October 17, 1895, one of the incidents was the presence of surviving members of Excelsior Hook and Ladder Company, No. 2, which had been one of the last of the old volunteer fire companies to be organized and which was the only one that after the establishment of the paid Fire Department continued to preserve its organization for many years. The meeting at which this company was formally accepted was held in the old Martin

Block, southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, on the 25th of August, 1854, which was the day after the great fire that destroyed the United States Hotel. Previous to that the company had been mustered in informally, and its members had participated in the fighting of the great fire. The day on which the members had signed the company's roll was August 8, 1854. Nearly all the members of this company were Germans. In a photograph of the survivors taken at the time of the semi-centennial and preserved by Albert P. Yunker, son of John B. Yunker, who was the company's secretary, are to be seen the figures of Henry Lippert, who was foreman of the Excelsior Company and many years later was chief of the paid Fire Department; Ludwig D. Meyer, who was assistant foreman; also Hermann Kannenberg, Louis Busch, John Mohm, Matthew Hochstein, Henry F. Kasten, Adam Kunz, Christoph Coerper, Louis Holzhauer, Henry Tischaefer, Michael Fleck, Peter Alberts, Henry Arnheim, John Reiter, Philip Gross, John C. Schilling, William Noll, John Lauer, Nic Haerter, Henry Waldeck, John B. Yunker, Charles Doran, Valentine Mueller, Ernst Bruckman, H. Reimenschneider, John Winkler, Michael Kunz, Christoph Engel, Charles Ackermann, Fred Schuppner, A. C. Kuhn, Gottleib Reiss, Gustav Schustock, H. Ballerman and Henry Haerter. Henry Haerter became a member of the paid Fire Department when the business of combating conflagrations was taken over by the city, and continued in the service until advancing years led to his retirement on a pension, the first beneficiary of the existing system of pensions for firemen. He lived to a good old age, dying in 1923, respected by a wide circle of acquaintances and survived by a numerous family.

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, WISCONSIN AVENUE

CHAPTER XXIX

CITIZEN SOLDIERS

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE FLOURISHED IN MILWAUKEE SINCE 1844—THE WASHINGTON GUARDS, THE OLD LIGHT GUARD, THE SHERIDANS, THE LIGHT HORSE SQUADRON, THE FIRST LIGHT BATTERY, AND MANY OTHERS—TRAINING THAT HELPED IN TIME OF NEED.

David M. Keeler, who for a short time was one of the proprietors and editors of the *Sentinel*, and to whose enterprise was due the launching of the daily edition of that publication, the first daily newspaper in Wisconsin, undertook the organization of a military company in Milwaukee in 1844, of which he was chosen captain. The meeting place of the company was the *Sentinel* office. After several appearances in public, the departure of Captain Keeler from the city was followed by lack of interest on the part of the members, and the company faded out of existence. In January, 1845, a number of Germans, some of whom had received military training before coming to America, organized the Washington Guards, and quickly became noted for the precision of their drill. The first officers of the Guards were: Captain, David Georg; first lieutenant, Diedrich Upmann; second lieutenant, F. Hilgen; first sergeant, J. A. Liebhaber; second sergeant, F. Germann. Another company composed of men of German birth was the Milwaukee Riflemen, organized in 1845, and officered at the outset by Capt. H. Miller and First Lieut. H. Straub. In 1847 the officers of this company were: George Meffert, captain; G. Brosius, first lieutenant; H. Luers, second lieutenant; Christian Lufft, orderly sergeant. Sixty-five members were enrolled, and the organization boasted an excellent band of nine musicians. After a few years, the Milwaukee Rifles disintegrated, but their organization was revived in 1854, under the name of the City Rifle Company.

The Washington Guards erected on the south side of Oneida Street (East Wells), between East Water and Main (now Broadway) a wooden building known as Military Hall, which not only served as an armory and drill room and a dining and dancing hall for the company, but frequently was used by the general public for political and other assemblages, facilities for accommodating which were scarce in the Milwaukee of the early days. The officers of this company in 1847 were David Georg, captain; D. Upmann, first lieutenant; C. Geisberg, second lieutenant; John Thomssen, ensign; J. A. Liebhaber, orderly sergeant. Civil officers: Dr. F. A. Luening, surgeon; Moritz Schoeffler, secretary; Matthias Stein, treasurer. The German Brass Band, organized in 1841, was attached to the Washington Guards. It consisted of ten musicians under the direction of Charles Leuden.

The City Artillery was organized in 1846, with General Rufus King as captain; J. N. Bonesteel, first lieutenant; James Kneeland, second lieutenant, and William P. Lynde, quartermaster. Still another company composed of natives of Germany came into existence in 1847—the Milwaukee Dragoons, with Christoph Bast as captain and H. Nunnemacher as first lieutenant. By 1858 it had ceased to be active, but in 1860 it was revived as the Milwaukee City Dragoons.

When the Fourth of July was celebrated in 1847 the Washington Guards and the Milwaukee Riflemen participated in the exercises, together with what by that time had come to be known as the Mounted Artillery Company, which had charge of an iron cannon that had been presented to the city. Lieutenant Wright of the regular army, who was making enlistments for the Mexican war, joined the militiamen with fifty of his recruits. After the procession there was a dress parade on the grounds at what is now the southeast corner of Wisconsin Avenue and Fifteenth Street—so far as records show, the first exhibition of the kind in the history of Milwaukee.

When the first news of the Mexican war arrived in Milwaukee Captains Georg and Meffert offered the services of their respective companies to the Government. That was before electric telegraph wires had been extended west of Buffalo. An official response was so long in coming that before its arrival several Milwaukeeans anxious to enlist had hastened to Detroit

and other points, where they were duly mustered into the service. Later the Territory of Wisconsin was formally called upon to furnish a company, in which Diedrich Upmann and John Cady were made lieutenants, the captain being Gustavus Quarles, of Kenosha. Great was the demonstration when this company left Milwaukee on the steamboat *Louisiana*, on the 2d of May, 1847. Arriving at its destination, it was attached to Pillow's division of Scott's army. Forty of the Wisconsin men who went forth under the gallant Quarles never returned, though not all of them met death in the service. That was the fate of Quarles himself, who fell at Churubusco, Diedrich Upmann succeeding him as captain. After the war Captain Upmann came back to Milwaukee, becoming the original proprietor of the Saint Charles Hotel. His brother Herman, who, with Alexander Conse, Carl von Nekow and George A. McGarigle, had gone elsewhere to enlist, received a wound that left him lame for life. Von Nekow lost an eye, and Conse was killed at Buena Vista. McGarigle returned to lead a long and useful life as a citizen of Milwaukee. J. A. Liebhaber, who had risen from second sergeant to first sergeant in the Washington Guards, served in the Mexican war as first sergeant of Company F, United States Infantry. He was slightly wounded at Chapultepec, leaving the army after peace was declared and returning to Milwaukee. He died at Toledo, Ohio, in 1878.

In 1848 there was organized the Milwaukee Battalion, consisting of the Milwaukee Riflemen, Captain Miller; the Washington Guards, Lieutenant Geisberg, and the Milwaukee Dragoons, Lieutenant Gruenhagen, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Georg. By 1849 another company had been added to the Battalion—the Milwaukee City Guards. This, which was the first Irish company, had been organized originally by Captain McManman. Reorganized in 1854, the City Guards became the Union Sarsfield Guards, under Capt. John Jennings, with E. M. McGarry as first lieutenant and P. McDonough as second lieutenant. This company formed the nucleus of the Union Guards, organized in 1855.

Two Chicago organizations—the Flying Artillery and the Light Hussars—visited Milwaukee on the Fourth of July, 1849, and turned out on parade with the Milwaukee Battalion, the Mil-

waukeeans reciprocating the courtesy by making an excursion to Chicago on the Fourth of July, 1850.

The National Guards, tentatively organized in 1854, with Rufus King as captain and A. J. Langworthy as first lieutenant, disbanded during the following year, their membership entering the Light Guard, which came into being at that time.

The officers of the Light Guard received their commissions on August 22: Captain, Rufus King; first lieutenant, Cyrus Hawley; second lieutenant , J. P. Wood; third lieutenant, George B. Bingham. The Light Guard was destined to have a long career. On the 23d of November it held its first parade, which ended in front of the American House. Here arms were stacked while a committee of citizens, headed by Mayor Cross, escorted the soldiers to the dining room, where they were presented with a stand of colors, the Mayor and General King delivering addresses appropriate to the occasion. In May, 1856, the Light Guard accepted an invitation to participate in a military encampment at Chicago, which began on the 1st of July and lasted for a week. On the eve of its departure Lieutenant-Governor MacArthur presented the company with a silk flag, the gift of the ladies of Milwaukee. The Light Guard's excellent appearance and soldierly drill won recognition at Chicago which gave it prestige in military circles throughout the Northwest. After its return it held a target shoot and was reviewed by Gen. Thomas Stevens, inspector-general of the State. On the 28th of November, 1856, it was one of the organizations which appeared in line at the funeral of Solomon Juneau. The annual dress balls of the Light Guard came to be looked forward to by the ladies as important social events, the first of them taking place December 26, 1856, attended by delegations from military companies at Chicago and elsewhere as well as by the Governor of Wisconsin and a number of members of the Legislature. The cost of belonging to the Light Guard was "a pretty penny," which led to dissension, some of the members declaring it burdensome. Thirty-five who took this view had begun preparations to set up a rival organization, but contented themselves with constituting Company B of the Milwaukee Light Guard, under the captaincy of Edwin E. Townsend, a graduate of West Point who had resigned his commission in the regular army.

OLD MILWAUKEE LIGHT GUARD
Original photograph preserved by Old Settlers' Club.

April 4, 1857, witnessed the organization of the Light Guard Battalion, with Gen. Rufus King as major; Frederick B. Miles, paymaster; Dr. Lewis McKnight, surgeon; John M. Durand, commissary; John Nazro, quartermaster; Rev. J. P. T. Ingraham, chaplain, and John L. Hathaway, adjutant. The vacancy caused by the promotion of General King was followed by the election of John C. Starkweather to the captaincy of Company A. Like his predecessor, and also like Captain Townsend, the new commander of Company A was a stickler for proficiency, and kept his company in splendid drill. When the Civil war broke out he and most of his following enlisted at the call for volunteers and went to the front with the First Wisconsin Infantry.

The Washington Artillery was the name of a company of miners and sappers, organized in 1856, under the captaincy of J. A. Liebhaber. Its first lieutenant was L. Hess and its second lieutenant E. F. Herzberg.

The Milwaukee City Directory for 1856 shows the military organization of the First or Eastern Division, Wisconsin Militia, comprising the counties of Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Dane, Jefferson, Waukesha, Washington and Ozaukee: Major General, Sanford B. Grant; aides-de-camp, Maj. Robert Chandler, Maj. C. R. Austin, Maj. Andrew Ladue; division engineer, Lieut.-Col. J. L. Hathaway; inspector, H. W. Gunnison; paymaster, Maj. J. B. Boyd; quartermaster, Edward Bloodgood; judge advocate, Arthur MacArthur; surgeon, John E. Garner, M. D.; commissary, H. E. Dickenson. In civil life, Maj.-Gen. Sanford B. Grant was a well-known business man, at that time proprietor of a lumber yard at the corner of East Water and Chicago streets.

That martial ardor was not lacking in Milwaukee at the time is attested by the following list of military companies in Milwaukee taken from the City Directory of 1856:

Milwaukee Light Guard.—Organized in 1855. Composed of eighty men, rank and file. The officers are: Rufus King, captain; Horatio Hill, first lieutenant; C. C. Bingham, second lieutenant; E. P. Wood, third lieutenant; G. K. Kimball, fourth lieutenant. Staff: J. L. Hathaway, adjutant; John Nazro, quartermaster; J. C. Starkweather, paymaster; Dr. Lewis McKnight, surgeon.

Milwaukee City Rifle Company.—Organized in 1854. Composed of sixty men, rank and file. Matthias Mohr, first lieutenant; Jacob Knoll, second lieutenant; John Seviegard, ensign.

Black Jagers.—Organized in 1854. Composed of sixty men, rank and file. George Brosius, captain; L. Kurz, first lieutenant; J. Suetterle, second lieutenant.

Union Guards—Organized in 1855, and composed of seventy-four men, rank and file. E. O'Neill, captain; James White, first lieutenant; P. J. Bergin, second lieutenant; D. Haffner, third lieutenant; William Kennedy, ensign.

Milwaukee Artillery—Organized in 1854, is composed of forty men. J. A. Liebhaber, captain; A. Bade, first lieutenant; H. Schwarting, second lieutenant; E. Hertzberg, third lieutenant.

Eleventh Battalion Staff—Henry H. Nunnemacher, major; A. Bade, adjutant; John Cosgrove, sergeant major; A. F. Phillip, State Arsenal keeper.

Wisconsin State Rifle Company—Organized in 1856, is composed of sixty men, rank and file. Charles Knobelsdorff, captain; L. Hess, first lieutenant; L. Wunderlich, second lieutenant.

Milwaukee City Dragoons—Organized in 1847, and composed of forty men. Christoph Bast, captain; Christoph Rosch, first lieutenant; Phillip Best, second lieutenant.

Of the regrettable misfortune which befell the gallant Union Guards and the patriotic and devoted Capt. Garret Barry mention is made at length elsewhere in this work.

A martial event of 1857 was the military convention which opened in Milwaukee on the 14th of October in that year, its deliberations presided over by Gen. S. B. Grant, and Captain Townsend officiating as its secretary. Officers representing five Milwaukee companies were in attendance, as also were others from Mayville, Cedarburg, Racine, Kenosha, Grafton and Burlington. The object of the gathering was to induce the Legislature to take action that would perfect the military organization of the State, and the convention adjourned to meet at Madison on the 3d of the following month.

Company A of the Light Guard carried the name and fame of Milwaukee far afield as the result of an excursion on which it departed from the city on the 6th of June, 1859. Before it returned it had visited, giving demonstrations of its proficiency

in drill, a number of cities to the East, including Detroit, Buffalo, Albany, New York and Rochester, arousing enthusiasm wherever it went and inciting emulation which led to the organization in more than one of the places through which it passed of companies that enlisted in the Union Army at the outbreak of the Civil war.

President Lincoln issued his first proclamation for troops to defend the Union on the 14th of April, 1861, and this was followed two days later by the proclamation of Governor Randall. As Adjutant-General Utley afterward observed, "the call had not reached many parts of the State before the regiment was full." Four of the companies of that regiment were formed in Milwaukee, two in Madison, one in Beloit, one in Fond du Lac, one in Horicon and one in Kenosha, the Milwaukee companies being Companies A, B, D and H of the regiment, otherwise known respectively as the Milwaukee Light Guard, the Milwaukee Union Rifles, the Black Jagers and the Milwaukee Riflemen. As the enlisted men began to collect at Milwaukee they at first found accommodations in dwellings and other buildings, but on the 26th the Light Guard and the Union Rifles went into camp on "Spring Street Hill," where they were soon joined by their other companions in arms, and the camp began to be known as "Camp Scott," taking its designation from the name of the then lieutenant-general of the United States, Gen. Winfield Scott. They were without uniforms. Many of them were without arms. These were provided in due time. Meanwhile Camp Scott became the central point of interest to everyone in Milwaukee.

On April 27 Judge Advocate Edwin L. Buttrick performed the ceremony of swearing the soldiers into the State service. On the same day Colonel Starkweather issued a regimental order in the course of which he said: "In the name of Col. Rufus King, I have the honor of presenting to the regiment a piece of the flagstaff of Fort Sumter, cut by him from the same with the consent of Colonel Anderson, which I propose to engraft into the flagstaff of the regiment." On the 8th of May five thousand people assembled at Camp Scott to witness the presentation of a regimental flag by Mrs. George H. Walker, on behalf of the ladies of Milwaukee. The ceremony was accompanied with due military formalities, in the presence of Governor Randall, Gen. Rufus King and other Wisconsin military officers. After the regiment

AROUSE!

MILWAUKEE COUNTY

THE LAST CHANCE

For Volunteering before the Draft!

The Central War Committee now understand DISTINCTLY that no more Volunteers will be received

EXCEPT FOR THE OLD REGIMENTS NOW IN THE FIELD.

And with the view of filling them, all our efforts are to be directed We are informed by the Governor that the number to be furnished by the State has been increased by 5,900, in order to fill the old Regiments, hence the number to be furnished by the County of Milwaukee has been increased by about 500, making

For Milwaukee City,	962	
Town of Milwaukee,	112	
Town of Wauwatosa,	147	
Town of Granville,	116	
Town of Oak Creek,	97	
Town of Lake,	92	
Town of Franklin,	77	
Town of Greenfield,	110	2713

Some of the INDUCEMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERING for the old Regiments, are as follows

1st. The Volunteer gets an Advance Bounty from the General Government of	**$25**
2d. He gets the Government BONUS to the person presenting a Recruit, if he presents himself,	**4**
3d. He gets from the Central War Committee,	**25**
4th. He receives One Month's Advance Pay from the Government,	**13**
Cash paid on Enlisting,	**$67**

In addition to the above, the Volunteer will get, at the end of the War, SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS, making in all for

Bounties and Advance Pay, $142.

☞ The families of volunteers who enlist in the OLD REGIMENTS receive **$5 per Month** from the State.

Should the War be ended by next Spring, [of which there is no reasonable doubt,] each Volunteer will receive in money, besides his food and clothing, as follows:

United States Bounty,	$100
United States Bonus,	4
Citizens' Bounty,	25
Say Nine Months' pay at $13 a Month,	117
State pay to Families, say Nine Months,	45
Total for Nine Months, (and found,)	$291

☞ Drafted men receive NOTHING in money beyond the monthly pay of the regular soldier

☞ The volunteer who enlists in an old regiment can SELECT HIS REGIMENT AND THE COMPANY in that regiment, as will fully appear by the following extract from General Order No, 88

SEC. 3. Recruits for regiments now in the field will be permitted to select any company of the regiment they may prefer. Should the company thus selected be full when they join it, they will be allowed to select another.

SEC. 4. All men who desire, singly or by squads, to join any particular regiment or company in the field are hereby authorized to present themselves to any recruiting officer, &c.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L THOMAS, Adjutant General.

The volunteer who goes into an old regiment is sure to be with EXPERIENCED OFFICERS, and to be better taken care of, and as it is a fact that nine out of ten soldiers who lose their lives in an army die by disease, instead of being killed in battle, it is therefore, **vastly more for the safety of the soldier to go into an old regiment.**

We understand that our State [and of course our city and county] must furnish the men to fill the old regiments, no matter whether the State has furnished more or less than its quota under all the calls for new regiments. The Government is determined to fill the old regiments immediately, and if not filled by volunteering, it will be done by draft.

The volunteer who goes into an old regiment does so only for the unexpired term of the regiment, which will materially lessen the time of service.

We now MOST URGENTLY call upon EVERY citizen of the city and county of Milwaukee, to GIVE UP, if necessary, ALL KINDS OF BUSINESS for the purpose of recruiting, and if we ALL MAKE THIS OUR ESPECIAL BUSINESS for the week the CALL WILL BE FILLED

Let no one hesitate! This work must be done by the first of September.

E. H. BRODHEAD,
ALEX. MITCHELL, } War Committee.
C. F. ILSLEY.

Milwaukee, August 25, 1862.

Daily Sentinel Printing House.

COPY OF THE ARMY CALL ISSUED IN 1862

had been reviewed it was formed in hollow square, the officers in the center, and Judge Arthur MacArthur introduced Mrs. Walker to the troops. In a clear voice which could be heard by all she said: "The ladies who have prepared this beautiful standard have adorned its azure field with a star for each State of the Union, making thirty-four in all. We have made no distinction, selecting some and excluding others, but have embraced our whole country with all its luminaries shining, for we can recognize no secession from the glorious sisterhood of States."

The regiment was mustered into the Federal service May 17th, receiving marching orders on the 7th of June, and on the 9th of that month departing for Harrisburg, Pa. The day was Sunday. In the morning religious services at the camp were conducted by the Rev. James Cooke Richmond, a well-known Milwaukeean, who had become chaplain of the Second Regiment, then encamped at Madison. The troops had been finely equipped, and their six weeks of drill in camp, together with previous training on the part of those who had been members of militia organizations before enlisting, enabled them to present a soldierly appearance as they marched through the streets on their way to the cars. The number of men in line was 810. Seventeen passenger cars, two baggage cars and five freight cars were required to carry the regiment and its belongings. It left Milwaukee at 2 in the afternoon.

On the 2d of July, after performance of picket duty on the Potomac, the First Wisconsin received orders to cross the river into Virginia, which it did in company with the Eleventh Pennsylvania and fifteen hundred soldiers of other troops, all wading through water up to their knees, the Wisconsin boys in the lead. Picket firing began as soon as they were in "the enemy country," the Confederates retreating, however, toward Martinsburg; but after an advance of several miles began the battle of Falling Waters. The Confederates in this engagement—a battalion of the Fifth Virginia, and Pendleton's Field Artillery, under command of Stonewall Jackson—were strongly posted in a wood and behind houses, barns and fences.

Three brigades of Union troops, under Colonel Abercrombie, Col. (afterward general) George H. Thomas and General Negley, crossed the river; but only the First Wisconsin and the Eleventh

Pennsylvania took part in the action, the Wisconsin regiment, with Colonel Starkweather in command, leading the advance and approaching within three hundred yards of the enemy. The result of the engagement was that the Confederates retreated, carrying most of their killed and wounded, but leaving some of their equipage scattered along their route. They were pursued about four miles, but not overtaken. In his official report, General Patterson, in charge of the forces on the Union side, commended the Wisconsin troops. Colonel Abercrombie, who was a veteran of the Mexican war, expressed surprise and admiration at the coolness of the men from Wisconsin.

It was in this encounter that George Drake was killed—the first Wisconsin soldier to lose his life on the field of battle in the Civil war. He was only nineteen years of age, the son of William and Jane C. Drake, of Milwaukee, and was a private in Company A. Another victim of the engagement was Sergt. Warren Merrick Graham, Company B, nineteen years of age, the son of Mr. and Mrs. N. M. Graham of Milwaukee, who received three separate wounds, of which he died after great anguish on the 26th of the following month. Both Drake and Graham were young men of unusual character and promise. Graham had held the position of local editor of the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, and was a favorite on the floor of the Chamber of Commerce, where he had been a daily visitor in quest of material for his newspaper. To show the respect in which they held his memory, the members of the Chamber insisted on paying all the expenses of his funeral, which they attended in a body.

The engagement at Falling Waters was the outstanding event of the campaign. The members of the First Wisconin had gone to the front as three months' men. Their term of enlistment expired on the 14th of August, on which date, under order from General Banks, who had superseded General Patterson in command, the regiment departed for home, by way of Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago, reaching Milwaukee on the 17th, and receiving the popular welcome which their brief but creditable record had richly earned. The whole town turned out for the occasion. There was firing of cannon; there was a procession; there was a dinner; there was a patriotic and congratulatory address by Matt H. Carpenter.

Mustering out took place on the 22d. What followed can be best described by quoting from the report of Adjutant Utley: "This regiment, scarcely waiting to receive the congratulations of its friends, reorganized under the same commander, and, with full knowledge of the privations of the volunteer soldier's life, has again gone forth to battle for the right." When the First Wisconsin was reorganized, it was ordered to the western theater of the war, where, with other Wisconsin regiments, it was in the thick of hard and historic fighting. By this time it had become evident that the restoration of the Union would involve a mighty task, yet even now there was no one to predict that its performance would necessitate the enlistment from Wisconsin of ninety-two thousand men, of whom twelve thousand would be slain outright or die of wounds or diseases incident to exposure incurred in the service.

Three of the camps in which Wisconsin soldiers lived during the interval before their enlistment and their departure for the front in the crisis of the Civil war were located at Milwaukee. Their exact location is an object of interest to many of their relatives at the present day, as well as to residents of the city who, some of them without being aware of the fact, are dwelling on what is historic ground. For many years these localities, formerly on the outskirts, have been covered with buildings, and now they are indistinguishable from other busy haunts of men. Sometimes old soldiers who had lived in them during their recruiting days engaged in disputes as to exactly where they were.

In 1912 Department Commander Hiram J. Smith appointed a committee to ascertain the boundaries of tracts in the City of Milwaukee used as military camps during the Civil war. The members of this committee were Henry Hase, William H. Starkweather and Henry W. Bleyer, and their report was submitted at the forty-sixth annual encampment of the Wisconin Department, which was held at Antigo in June of that year. Camp Sigel, as everybody was aware, had been located in the upper portion of the old First Ward, not far from the lake; Camp Scott on Spring Street (now Wisconsin Avenue), west of Twelfth Street, and Camp Washburn on the old Cold Spring racing course, west of Twenty-seventh Street, which at the time of the war was outside of the city limits. The committee, however,

sought definite information as to the exact boundaries of each of the tracts, and for this purpose interviewed people who had resided in the neighborhoods at the time of the war. In regard to Camps Scott and Washburn less difficulty was encountered than with respect to Camp Sigel. Finally it was recalled that Charles C. Paine and his family had lived close to Camp Sigel during the war and for some time thereafter. Mrs. Paine and her son, Tracy L. Paine, put disputes at an end by furnishing a map of the camp, indicating the location of the streets which cross it now when it is a closely built-up section of the city. Two of the camp-sites—Sigel and Washburn—were parallelograms, while Camp Scott was irregular in outline, by reason of the southeastward trend of the ravine, with a watercourse at the bottom, which cut off its southwestern corner.

The northern boundary of Camp Scott was some sixty feet south of what afterward became State Street, and ran from Twelfth Street to Fifteenth Street, which formed the western boundary as far as Cedar Street, where a ravine running southeastward toward the Menomonee River crossed Spring Street some ninety feet east of Fourteenth Street. Spring Street formed the southern boundary and Twelfth Street the eastern boundary of the camp. The same tract had been used as a camp by Milwaukee's contingent of immigrants for "Bleeding Kansas," and as grounds for the State Fair of 1859 at which Abraham Lincoln delivered his famous address on "Agriculture." Wells Street and Kilbourn Avenue are the thoroughfares which cross the Camp Scott area today.

Camp Washburn was bounded on the north by Vliet Street, on the west by the present line of Thirty-fifth Street, on the south by Chestnut Street, now Juneau Avenue, and on the east by what is now the line of Twenty-seventh Street.

The boundaries of Camp Sigel were the line of what is now Lafayette Place on the north, Bartlett Street on the west, and Prospect Avenue on the east. Its southern boundary was a line running east and west through the middle of the blocks between Kane Place and Royall Place. Today the former site of Camp Sigel is intersected from east to west by Irving Place and Kane Place and from north to south by Oakland and Farwell avenues. Few of the people who use the Farwell Avenue street cars realize

that while passing from Royall Place to Lafayette Place they are traversing historic ground.

Notable organizations which occupied Camp Sigel included the Tenth Infantry, the Eighteenth Infantry, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Infantry and eight companies of the Twenty-seventh Infantry. The Tenth went into possession in the month of September, 1861. The Twenty-fourth was the regiment in which Arthur MacArthur went to the front as adjutant—a youth of eighteen, destined eventually to rise to the lieutenant-generalship of the army. The Twenty-sixth was known as the German Regiment. Its colonel was William H. Jacobs; its major Phillip Horwitz, its quartermaster F. W. Hundhausen, and its surgeon Dr. Francis Huebschmann. One of its captains was Frederick C. Winkler. When the Twenty-fourth left for Kentucky on the 5th of September, 1861, all Milwaukee was in the streets to watch its departure, a similar demonstration honoring the marching out of the Twenty-sixth, a month later. It was while the soldiers of the Twenty-seventh were at Camp Sigel that fire destroyed the barracks, on the 1st of January, 1863, three members of the regiment being victims of the flames.

Col. Cadwallader C. Washburn with the Second Wisconsin Cavalry went into camp at the Cold Spring grounds in October, 1861, and thus it was that the enclosure came to be known as Camp Washburn. Other cavalry organizations and infantry organizations, among the latter the Fifty-first Regiment, secured their first training at this camp. The Thirteenth Wisconsin Battery also found accommodations at Camp Washburn.

Without undertaking to pursue in this chapter the subject of Milwaukee's contribution to the suppression of the South's uprising against the Government, attention will now be directed to the history of militia and National Guard organizations which have flourished in the city at one time or another since the Civil war.

The first of these grew out of the reorganization of the Light Guard effected on the 16th of September, 1867, under the captaincy of George B. Goodwin, who during the war had served as lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-first Wisconsin, other officers chosen at the time of the reorganization being: First lieutenant, Thomas Gwynne; second lieutenant, John P. Goodrich, and first

sergeant, F. W. Cutler. On the resignation of Captain Goodwin, in December, 1869, he was succeeded by Capt. George R. Wright, who resigned in 1873 and was followed by Capt. J. M. Arnold, who served till 1875. Then William Bloodgood served as captain, and then Joseph P. Rundle. The Light Guard disbanded in 1876.

The famous Sheridan Guard, the Milwaukee Zouaves, the Milwaukee Cadets and the Milwaukee Light Artillery were organizations effected prior to 1870, all but the Sheridan Guard having disbanded by 1875, a new company of Milwaukee Cadets forming in 1879.

Officers of the military organizations then existent in Milwaukee met at the Light Guard Armory, July 29, 1870, and took preliminary steps for the organization of the First Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Militia. Staff and field officers of the organization were elected as follows: Colonel, John C. Starkweather; lieutenant-colonel, F. C. Winkler; major, George H. Walthers; adjutant, Patrick H. McCauley; surgeon, Dr. Francis Huebschmann; quartermaster, Fred W. Hundhausen; sergeant-major, Charles Richardson. The organization was completed when the adjutant-general of Wisconsin commissioned the officers who had been thus selected and assigned the following companies to the regiment: Cream City Guard, Milwaukee Light Guard, Sheridan Guard, Milwaukee Zouaves, Merchant Zouaves, Milwaukee Cadets, Milwaukee Light Artillery. After a few months Colonel Starkweather resigned, and each of the remaining officers was promoted to the office next above the one he had previously held, the vacancy left by the advance of Adjutant McCauley being filled by the selection of Robert J. Trumble. In 1872 the election of officers resulted in the choice of John L. Hathaway as colonel, Florian J. Ries as lieutenant-colonel, Richard Rooney as major, and Charles Osthelder as adjutant. The officers elected in 1873 were: Colonel, James M. Arnold; lieutenant-colonel, Charles Osthelder; major, Thomas G. Shaughnessy; adjutant, W. P. O'Connor. The regiment was disorganized in 1875.

The organization of the regiment had the immediate effect of stimulating interest in military matters, which had lagged since the war, and several new companies were formed, though not all of them continued long in existence. The following list

shows the names of the organizations, with the dates of their organization and disbandment:

Cream City Guard, organized July 26, 1867; non-existent in 1876.

Milwaukee Veteran Corps, organized April 15, 1867; disbanded in 1869.

Milwaukee Light Guard, reorganized December 8, 1867; disbanded in 1876.

Milwaukee Zouaves, organized July 11, 1868; disbanded in 1874.

Milwaukee Cadets, organized in 1869; disbanded in 1875.

Merchant Zouaves, organized June 4, 1869; disappeared in 1870.

Mechanic Zouaves, organized October 9, 1869; non-existent in 1870.

Milwaukee Battery of Light Artillery, organized April 23, 1870; disbanded in 1879.

Black Jagers, organized October 13, 1870; non-existent at the end of the following year.

Washington Guard, organized May 5, 1871; disbanded in 1873.

Germania Guard, organized August 8, 1871; had disappeared in 1876.

Juneau Guard, organized September 14, 1872; disbanded in 1877.

Emmett Zouaves, organized October 21, 1872; disbanded in 1876.

American Rifles, organized July 24, 1875; disbanded in 1877.

Two companies which came into existence before or soon after the organization of the First Regiment continued to flourish for many years after it had ceased to exist, one of them being the Sheridan Guard, organized June 23, 1869, and the other the Kosciusko Guard, organized September 2, 1874. The Pulaski Guard, organized in May, 1879, disbanded in August of the same year. The South Side Turner Rifles, organized June 5, 1879, was known for a time as one of the best companies in the State, as were the Sheridan Guard and the Kosciuskos. The Milwaukee Light Horse Squadron, organized in July, 1880, is still in

existence, with brilliant prestige undimmed during a career of fifty years.

In 1883, independently of State aid or sanction, the Sheridan Guard, the Kosciusko Guard, the South Side Turner Rifles and the Lincoln Guard organized a provisional battalion, with M. Almy Aldrich as major. On April 24 of the following year, having in the mean time taken cognizance of this action, the State military authorities reorganized it, commissioning Capt. C. S. Mower as its major. Major Mower appointed Rollin B. Mallory adjutant, Henry G. Rogers quartermaster, Oscar W. Carlson surgeon, and Joseph W. Sanderson chaplain. Following the death of Major Mower in 1885, Henry G. Rogers became major, appointing Capt. John F. Pennefeather quartermaster, but making no other change. It was in 1885 that the battalion went into camp for the first time. In January, 1886, Major Rogers resigned, being succeeded as major by Capt. George P. Traeumer, of Company C. At the same time Captain Mallory resigned from the adjutancy, leaving a vacancy which was filled by the appointment of Otto H. Falk as adjutant.

From what has been presented, necessarily in cursory review, the reader will have gleaned the justifiable impression that the organization of the Wiscosin National Guard found Milwaukee with a background of military history justifying the assumption that she would contribute her fair share toward the upbuilding and maintenance of that praiseworthy and patriotic institution of the State. A volume would be required to set forth in detail the steps by which what has been accomplished in that direction was attained, and to accord to all the individuals who aided in the accomplishment the credit which is their due. The magnitude of the task forbids its attempt. With outstanding particulars relating to two of Milwaukee's military organizations which came into being subsequent to the decade of the '70s and which, each in its way, is to a certain extent unique, this chapter must come to a close. One of these is Milwaukee's dashing cavalry troop, the other its famous battery.

The Light Horse Squadron was the outcome of a meeting of gentlemen at the Newhall House on the 6th of April, 1880, for the purpose of providing a mounted escort for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant on the occasion of the great soldiers' reunion at Milwaukee

in June of that year. Sixty-five members enrolled at the start. A picturesque uniform was chosen, details of preparation were carefully attended to, and when the Squadron turned out at the reunion it constituted an impressive feature of the display. For many years thereafter the Light Horse Squadron was a social as well as a military asset of Milwaukee, its balls being glittering events of every winter season. Its annual summer outings at Oconomowoc also were greatly enjoyed by the members and their friends. For many years at the outset the members were at considerable expense for their horses, the State supplying only arms and ammunition and a small sum for the rent of an armory. By private effort money was raised for the erection of the stone armory building on Broadway, next to the old central police station, which after functioning till 1906 for the purpose for which it was designed was purchased by the municipality and used in connection with the administration of the police department. Then the troopers bought land on Oakland Avenue, where a new armory was erected and a drill field was maintained. The expansion of Milwaukee made this an exceedingly profitable venture, for only recently the land has been sold for $385,000; so that after expending $70,000 to acquire a new site, the organization found itself in possession of more than $300,000 available for a building fund. It has provided itself with one of the finest riding halls in the country.

Robert Hill was the first captain of the Light Horse Squadron, and Albert Blatz first lieutenant, with George W. Peck as second lieutenant. George W. Schoeffel and W. J. Grant were among the early commanders who established precedents of devotion to the interest of the organization that have been lived up to through the years. Many of the best-known business and professional men of Milwaukee have at one time or another been members of the Light Horse Squadron. At the banquet to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the organization there were present, with Gen. John G. Salsman and others of long standing in the troop, the only two survivors of the original membership—Judge Lawrence W. Halsey, the dean of the Milwaukee bar, and Frederick D. Underwood, long renowned in railroad circles and for many years president of the Erie.

As years rolled by the Light Horse Squadron became Troop A,

First Wisconsin Cavalry. It expanded into two troops in 1916, and to an entire regiment during the World war, this regiment being the One Hundred Twentieth Light Field Artillery, which served with the Thirty-second Division, and which after the war was reorganized as the One Hundred Fifth Cavalry, commanded by Gen. J. J. Quill. Some of the details of the World war record of the Squadron will be gleaned from the history of the battery with which it was in intimate association during a long part of its career.

May 11, 1885, sixty-five young Milwaukeeans organized a battery, with Joseph B. Oliver as its captain, a veteran of the Civil war. They were mustered into the service by General (then Captain) Charles King, of the United States Army. Known as the First Light Battery, and later as Battery A, the organization was quartered for a time in the skating rink on Farwell Avenue. In 1890, when this property was sold, the Battery went into quarters with the Light Horse Squadron, at the armory on Broadway. The organization was ably officered and committed itself to a programme of serious work, as a result of which it earned a high place in the esteem of all familiar with the military history of Milwaukee.

With the Light Horse Squadron, the First Light Battery was in the force under command of Col. Charles King, A. D. C. at the time of the riots in Milwaukee in May, 1886. During this troublous episode the Battery was held as a reserve at the Squadron Armory. In consequence of a report that an attempt would be made to burn the home of Major Traeumer, who was in charge of forces at Bay View, a detail of twelve men under command of Sergeant Dally was sent to the Major's home to serve as a special guard, remaining till danger in that quarter was over. A few days later the Battery was relieved from duty, affairs in Milwaukee having been restored to a peace basis.

In 1888 Captain Oliver resigned his commission and was succeeded by Capt. Howard J. Gilson. Captain Gilson resigned June 21, 1890, and was succeeded by Capt. Jere M. Kinney, with George W. Dickens and Harry W. Ellis as first lieutenants, Benjamin H. Dally as second lieutenant and Ralph Chandler as assistant surgeon. In 1891 Captain Kinney resigned and was succeeded by Capt. Harry W. Ellis, who served with distinction

till 1895, when he resigned and was succeeded by Benjamin H. Dally, who also made a record for competency and devotion to duty. In October, 1892, under the captaincy of Harry Ellis, the Battery, with other troops stationed in the city, assisted the police and fire departments in the maintenance of order during the great fire in the Third Ward. It was on the 27th of June, 1894, that general orders were issued changing the designation of the organization from First Light Battery to Battery A, Wisconsin National Guard.

War with Spain was declared on the 25th of April, 1898. In June of that year the Battery, with the cavalry troop, was ordered to Oshkosh to assist the civil authorities in maintaining order during a strike. The apportionment of the State on the occasion of the first call for troops to participate in the war with Spain was three regiments of infantry. On the second call for volunteers, Battery A left Milwaukee for Camp Douglas, where on July 9 it was mustered into the United States service, with a strength of 109 officers and men—Captain, B. H. Dally; first lieutenant, George C. Simpson; second lieutenant, Charles F. Ludington. The Battery remained at Camp Douglas, in Camp of Instruction, until September 8, 1898, when it returned to Milwaukee. It was mustered out of service October 8, 1898, by Capt. E. P. Andrus, Fifth Cavalry, U. S. A.

After the release of Wisconsin National Guard organizations from the service of the United States in the war with Spain, the companies were asked to return to the service of the State, nearly all accepting the invitation, including the Battery, which was reorganized and mustered in on October 18, 1898, with sixty-five men and the following commissioned officers: Captain, Charles F. Ludington; first lieutenants, George H. Kennedy and Guy Armitage; second lieutenant, Harry J. Murphy. At an interstate artillery contest in September, 1901, at Camp Lakeview, near Lake City, Minnesota, the Battery was the winner, the score being: Wisconsin, 60; Minnesota, 21, and the prize a silver cup, to become the property of the team winning it twice in three contests. Minnesota won in the contest of 1902, and still retains the cup, as the third contest of the series has never been arranged. April 23, 1903, Philip C. Westfahl was commissioned second lieutenant of field artillery and assigned to Battery A. In 1907

Captain Ludington resigned and was succeeded by Philip C. Westfahl, whose commission as captain was dated from February 5, 1908. The War Department equipped the Battery with the then new and modern artillery material which was used for the first time in the Camp of 1908.

In 1906 the Broadway Armory was sold to the City of Milwaukee. The following is from the report of the Adjutant General of Wisconsin bearing date of June, 1908: "Battery A, First Regiment Field Artillery is now located on a tract of land of 19½ acres situated at Whitefish Bay, Milwaukee. Excellent stable facilities have been provided there, fine accommodations for the proper storage and care of all property issued to the Battery, and ample company accommodations. There is also a good house in which a sergeant of the command, who acts as caretaker, lives. This location has been procured by the use of funds accumulated by the Battery partially by State aid but principally through the efforts of Colonel Otto H. Falk in securing subscriptions and making liberal personal concessions on his own account." The expectation at this time was that the Battery would be able to maintain sufficient horses for the training purposes of a platoon, pay running expenses from its annual revenue, and still have something to apply on its indebtedness; and that under these encouraging circumstances it would attain as high a degree of proficiency as it was possible for a militia organization in its branch of the service to reach. As time progressed it justified this expectation.

In 1910 the Battery encamped for the first time on the United States Reservation near Sparta, with batteries of the United States Field Artillery and a battery from Illinois. In 1912 it participated in a field manœuver with the Second and Third Wisconsin Infantry and the Third Illinois Infantry, against the Provisional Regiment of War Strength of the regular army, conducting its part of the work in a manner that won praises from the regular army officers on duty with the National Guard. In August, 1913, the Battery participated in the Centennial Celebration of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, with two provisional regiments of infantry of nine companies each from the Wisconsin National Guard, the Troop, and a Sanitary Detachment. In 1914 and 1915 it took part in camp duty at the State Military Reserva-

tion, performing the usual work in preparation for active service should the call for such service ever come.

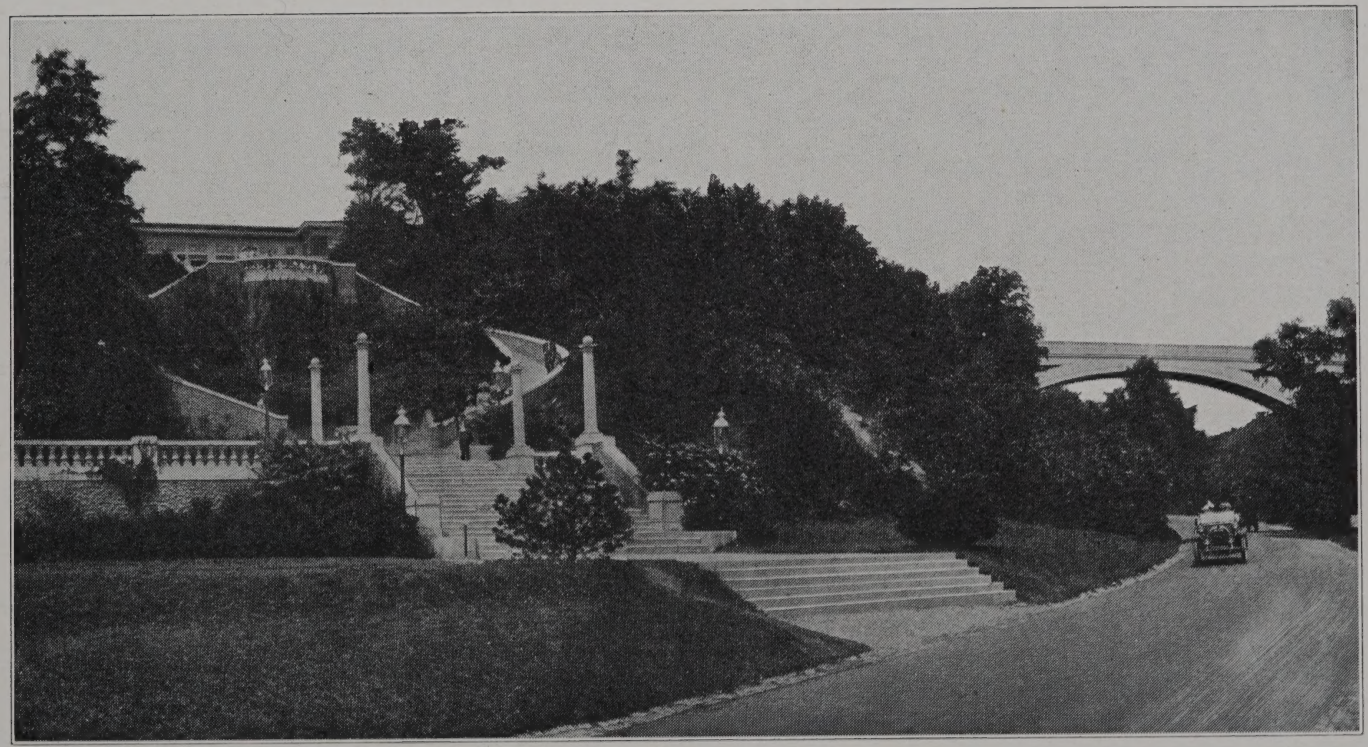
June 30, 1916, the President having ordered the army to the Mexican border, the Battery, with the other elements comprised in the Wisconsin National Guard, assembled at Camp Douglas, taking the new oath required under the National Defense Act of that year, and was ordered into camp near San Antonio, Texas, where it remained during the summer, undergoing training and instruction that culminated in the march to Austin and return. In the fall the Battery was back at Camp Douglas, where it was mustered out of United States service October 16, 1916, returning to the status of a State organization and resuming its occupancy of the armory at Whitefish Bay.

In 1917 came the World war. Under the requirements of the federal law of 1916 Wisconsin was to organize a regiment of field artillery. The Machine Gun Company, First Infantry, station Milwaukee, was transferred to the First Field Artillery as Battery D, First Field Artillery. Battery E was organized at Green Bay and Battery F at Racine. When after due inspection these batteries were recognized by the federal government, the organization of the First Regiment Field Artillery was perfected, with Philip C. Westfahl as colonel, Guy D. Armitage as lieutenant colonel, Alonzo J. Comstock as major—all these officers being from Milwaukee—and Major George W. Rickeman and First Lieutenant Frederick S. Penfold, chaplain, of Racine. The adjutant was Capt. Louis G. Fuhrman, and the battalion adjutants Capt. Alvin A. Kuechenmeister and Capt. Otto J. Langbecker, all of Milwaukee. Other Milwaukeeans with the regiment included Capt. John George Reed and First Lieut. Bernhard Ehm of the Headquarters Company; Capt. Arthur W. Walters and Lieut. William Lick of the Supply Company; Capt. William F. Fraedrich; First Lieuts. Richard T. Bennett and Charles F. Lafferty, and Second Lieuts. Gilbert J. Spence and Patrick E. Shea of Battery A; as well as Capt. Ralph R. Hibbard, First Lieuts. Frank W. Kemmer and Charles R. Loomis and Second Lieut. Charles C. Benson of Battery D. This is the organization that left the State, August 19, 1917, for Camp MacArthur, near Waco, Texas, where the Thirty-second Division A. E. F. was organized by combining the National Guard troops of Wisconsin and Michigan. On the other side of

the Atlantic, the regiment participated in all the actions of the Fifty-seventh Field Artillery Brigade of the Thirty-second Division, being credited by the War Department with participation in the following major actions: Aisne-Marne, July 20 to August 6, 1918; Oise-Aisne, August 18 to September 6, 1918; Meuse-Argonne, September 26 to November 11, 1918; Center Sector (Alsace), June 10 to July 22, 1918; Fismes, August 7 to 13, 1918. The regiment was awarded the French Croix de Guerre with Silver Star, the presentation being made at Milwaukee during the reunion of the Thirty-second Division in the summer of 1920, by a delegation of officers sent by the French government. The citation accompanying it was as follows:

"After having distinguished itself in supporting the American counter-offensive between the Marne and the Vesle, this regiment earned glory in the combats of August 28, 1918, around Juvigny, by accompanying the infantry of the Thirty-second Division in an attack which excited the admiration of the adjacent French divisions."

NATIONAL SOLDIERS' HOME, LOCATED WEST OF MILWAUKEE



GRAND TERRACE, LAKE PARK

CHAPTER XXX

MILWAUKEE CHURCHES

PROSPERITY OF RELIGION UNHAMPERED BY THE STATE—DIVERSE DENOMINATIONS FLOURISHING SIDE BY SIDE—INNUMERABLE GOOD WORKS OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS AUXILIARY TO THE CHURCHES.

In surveying the influences under which civilization has been established in Milwaukee, attention is commanded by the number and the generally flourishing condition of organizations for religious worship. Spiritual energy was a factor in the lives of the early settlers as conspicuous as their industry and their zeal for education and political freedom. Differing widely in race and creed and social antecedents, they were, broadly speaking, alike in devotion to high ideals of duty and conduct. Instances of individual gracelessness are everywhere to be found. They were not inexistent in early Milwaukee, but less numerous than usually is the case in frontier settlements. Order prevailed; a high standard of morals and manners was maintained, not by governmental compulsion, for of official surveillance there was next to none, but by virtue of qualities innate in the settlers themselves. At their annual banquet following the celebration of the city's semi-centennial, the members of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County listened with evident approval to a clerical eulogist of the pioneers who mentioned the trait which has been referred to and went on to assert: "It was this that induced Juneau, the founder of the city, to set apart a portion of land for God's service in the most prominent part of the new settlement. It was this that induced Protestants, Jews and Catholics alike to give a generous portion of their scanty earnings to build and maintain their respective churches, in which they might enjoy the privileges of religion and worship God according to their consciences without interference with the convictions of

others. It was this that gave Milwaukee her enviable reputation among the cities of the West for being conservative and law-abiding and for maintaining the high standard of morality which she enjoys today."

Closely following the first white men who penetrated the wilds of Wisconsin were ministers of religion. Wisconsin's pioneer discoverer was a layman. Jean Nicolet, though devoutly religious, came in 1634 on an errand of the governor of New France having for its primary objects exploration of the region and the extension of trade. Radisson and Groseilliers, the couriers de bois who were in Wisconsin in 1658 and 1659, were adventurers. But Rene Menard, who lost his life in the uncharted wilds of Northern Wisconsin in 1660, was a Jesuit priest, whose pious aim was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and the first establishments of white men within the borders of the state were the Jesuit missions of Father Claude Allouez on Chequamegon Bay, Green Bay and the Wolf River. The oldest relic of civilization in Wisconsin attests the piety of one of her earliest white inhabitants. It is the silver ostensorium now in possession of the State Historical Society, which Nicholas Perrot, a layman, gave to the mission of St. Francois Xavier in 1686, and which was plowed up at De Pere, on the site of the ancient mission house, in 1802.

The downfall of Gallic dominion in North America put an end to the activities of French missionaries among Wisconsin Indians. From 1745 to 1820 the figure of a priest was rarely seen. The members of the little colony at Green Bay preserved the faith of their fathers. In the memoir of Charles de Langlade by Joseph Tasse of Ottawa it is related that in 1784 or 1785 Pierre Grignon happened to be at Michillimackinac, where he learned that Pere Payette, a missionary, was about to visit the Indians. He thought it his duty to avail himself of the occasion to pay his respects to the apostle of God, and to ask him to baptize his children. Grignon immediately dispatched to Green Bay a messenger who in a birch canoe safely transported Mrs. Grignon and the little Grignons across the 240 miles which separate Green Bay from Michillimackinac, where their arrival gave great joy to the good missionary, who naturally was elated by this evidence of their attachment to the church of their fathers. The Catholic

Church at Prairie du Chien was organized in 1817 by Pere Priere, a priest from St. Louis.

Under French dominion the exercise of religion was largely dependent upon the patronage of the government. Under American rule it has been and is a matter independent of the state, and wholly in the hands of the people as individuals or as members of voluntary organizations. The Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River is the foundation of all the laws of Wisconsin and the four other states carved out of that rich domain. It was enacted by the Congress of the United States nearly two years before the adoption of the Federal Constitution and two months before that instrument had been even drafted. Article I of the Ordinance of 1787 is as follows: "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be arrested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory." Article III says: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The Constitution of Wisconsin begins with this devout preamble: "We, the people of Wisconsin, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, form a more perfect government, insure domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare, do establish this Constitution."

The first sermon preached in Wisconsin by a minister of a Protestant denomination was delivered at Green Bay early in July, 1820, by the Rev. Jedediah Morse, a celebrated Congregational divine, father of the inventor of electric telegraphy. Bearing a commission from President Monroe, Doctor Morse had come to select in Wisconsin a suitable site for the Oneida Indians who were about to be removed from the State of New York. The Rev. Eleazer Williams, who arrived with the New York Indians in 1823, and who afterward claimed to be the "lost Dauphin" of France, sometimes held services according to the ritual of the Episcopal Church, in the mess room at Fort Howard. In 1829, by an act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, to which Wisconsin then belonged, Christ Church parish (Episcopal) at Green Bay was incorporated, and the Rev. Richard F. Cadle was called to its rectorship, with a salary of $250 per

annum. Modest were the pecuniary compensations accorded to the clergy in the days of the pioneers, but the pioneers had little money themselves.

The Rev. Cutting Marsh came to Wisconsin in 1830 as a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians. He was probably the pioneer Congregationalist minister settled in the state. Dr. Henry Colman was authority for the statement that the first Protestant house of worship erected west of Lake Michigan was built at Kaukauna in the summer of 1832, as a result of the exertions of the Rev. John Clark, a prominent member of the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who was appointed in June of that year as missionary to Green Bay. He established missions along Green Bay and at Lake Superior, and as early as January 19, 1835, he was in Milwaukee, where he was "kindly entertained by Solomon Juneau." Mrs. Samuel Brown was one of the pioneer women in attendance at a Protestant service conducted by a visiting minister, for which Solomon Juneau, at Mr. Brown's request, gave the use of his store in 1835. The gathering attracted the curious as well as the devout. Indians who were present failing to preserve due decorum, Mr. Juneau admonished them sharply and drove them from the place, that the worshipers might proceed in peace.

In June, 1835, there was a Methodist service at the residence of Dr. Enoch Chase, near the mouth of the river, the minister being the Rev. Mark Robinson. The Rev. John Clark not long afterward officiated as leader of another congregation assembled for Christian worship at the same place. Cyrus Hawley was authority for the statement that in December, 1835, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church conducted a service in the residence of George D. Dousman, on Wisconsin Street. The Rev. Henry Gregory, of Homer, New York, was in Milwaukee early in January, 1836, and preached in the afternoon of the 10th of that month. In a letter to John W. Hinton, dated December 5, 1853, he said: "There was a Presbyterian minister who had held services in a schoolhouse, but on hearing of my arrival he desired me to officiate, which I did." Mr. Gregory entertained the impression that the service which he conducted was the first in Milwaukee according to the liturgy of the Episcopal Church, but in this he might easily have been mistaken. At the time of his

visit to Milwaukee he was in the West on a mission to the Menominee Indians at Lake Winnebago. In the spring of 1836, a number of gentlemen, including Hans Crocker, B. H. Edgerton, William N. Gardner, Joshua Hathaway, Mr. Hawley himself, and others, held regular services in the office of Cyrus Hawley on East Water Street, each in turn officiating as lay reader. McCabe's Directory for 1847-8 says that in July, 1836, the Rev. Seth W. Beardsley, of Onondaga Hill, New York, who was on a tour of the West, conducted a service according to the ritual of the Episcopal Church in a frame building on Main Street (Broadway), nearly opposite the Milwaukee House—in other words, not far from where the old Insurance Building now stands. He adds that the Rev. Richard Berry officiated at similar services for three Sundays in June, 1837.

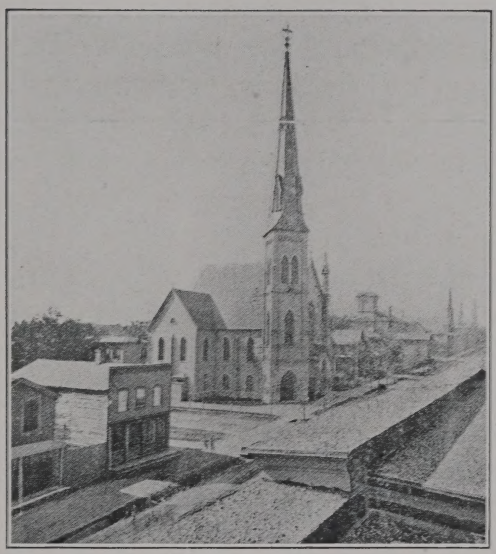
Baptists met at the residence of D. S. Hollister on Hanover Street, November 19, 1836, and effected an organization, at the same time adopting a ringing protest against the institution of human slavery. Soon thereafter the Baptists were meeting regularly in a schoolhouse near the present intersection of Walker Street and First Avenue [renamed South Street in the fall of 1930], under the leadership of Elder Griffin, who was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Mathews. During the depression succeeding the panic of 1837 so many of the members moved out of the infant city that the society languished and before the end of its third year became extinct. Subsequently the denomination made a new start, erecting a church at the corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets, which is the present site of the Chapman store. That was in 1844.

Early in 1837 the Methodists were holding regular weekly services in the carpenter shop of W. A. and L. S. Kellogg, on East Water Street, at the present intersection of Huron Street. The building was a one-story frame structure, standing on posts and surrounded by water, a little bridge affording access to the door from the street. Organized in 1837, the society came into possession of a building lot as a gift from Morgan L. Martin in the fall of 1839, but was not at the moment financially equal to the erection of a suitable edifice. In 1840 a frame structure, 50 by 35 feet in ground dimensions, was raised on this site, which was on the Main Street of that day, between Oneida and Biddle

streets. It was dedicated on the 28th of May, 1841. The society had a membership of eighty-six, and had been meeting in three divisions, one in each of the villages that eventually combined to form the city. In 1843 the membership had increased to 177, and business conditions had so greatly improved that a lot was purchased at the northwest corner of West Water and Spring streets upon which was reared, at a cost of $10,000, a stone-trimmed edifice of brick, with seating capacity for 600 people. This involved the contraction of a heavy debt, which it was hoped to pay from the rental of four stores in the basement. It was in one of these stores that Solomon Juneau was inaugurated as the city's first mayor and that the first Common Council qualified for its duties, this store serving for a time as the city hall.

The Rev. Fleurimont J. Bonduel celebrated Mass at the residence of Solomon Juneau on East Water Street in August, 1837. The first Catholic priest regularly stationed in Milwaukee was the Rev. Patrick Kelly, who arrived in May, 1839, and celebrated his first Mass in the courthouse. The summer of that year witnessed the erection on two lots, the gift of Mr. Juneau, of the first Catholic Church, St. Peter's, which stood on the north side of Martin [East State] Street, between Jefferson and Jackson streets. Here Father Kelly officiated till 1842, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Martin Kundig, who celebrated the Mass on St. Patrick's Day, 1843, in the presence of a congregation which the little structure was not large enough to accommodate. Buck, the pioneer historian of Milwaukee, who happened to be a witness of the impressive ceremony, says: "I shall never forget the spectacle of the people kneeling in the snow." It is interesting to note that this oldest edifice in Milwaukee dedicated to the purpose of worship is still in existence, having been removed to the west side of Murray Avenue, between Greenwich and Bradford avenues, on property adjacent to the Church of SS. Peter and Paul. Soon after his arrival in Milwaukee, in 1844, Bishop Henni enlarged St. Peter's Church. After the erection of St. John's Cathedral it was used for a school. St. Mary's was erected in 1846-7, and the construction of the Cathedral began in 1848. Until the completion of St. John's Cathedral, St. Mary's was the most imposing religious edifice in Milwaukee.

The Lutheran Church was introduced into Wisconsin Terri-



SCHROEDER HOTEL SITE IN 1870
Spring Street M. E. Church in foreground; Spring Street Congregational Church next; spires of Universalist, St. James' and Calvary Churches farther west.

GRAND AVENUE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

tory by immigrants from Prussia who, after landing at Milwaukee, settled at Kirchhayn, Washington County, and Freistadt, in what is now Ozaukee County, in 1843, the first pastor being the Rev. Mr. Kindermann, who divided his time between the two congregations, and, two years later, officiated also at services in Milwaukee, where the first Lutheran Church was organized in 1845.

What has been written serves to indicate the conditions under which organization for the practice of religion in Milwaukee began to function. Today Milwaukee is a city of 300 churches. A library of books would be required to record the history of all of them in detail. What follows must be confined to recital of interesting fluctuations of fortune through which some of them have passed, illustrative in a general way of the growth and progress of Milwaukee, as well as of the absolute independence with which Americans follow the promptings of their individual judgments in matters pertaining to religion.

The church of the Methodists at the corner of Second and Spring streets was destroyed by fire on the morning of January 14, 1854, and for six months thereafter services were conducted in Young's Hall, at the corner of Wisconsin Street and Broadway. Then the society purchased what had been the Spring Street Congregational Church, at the corner of Spring and Second streets. This was swept away by the conflagration of July 4, 1861, which destroyed the old American House and a number of other structures in the vicinity. Unfortunately the society carried no insurance. Moreover, there was a mortgage of $3,000 on the burned church which remained unpaid. Temporary accommodations were procured in the upper portion of the Ogden carriage repository, half a block east of the scene of the fire, and a new structure, partly adapted to renting for secular purposes, was erected on the site. This was ready for occupation early in 1864. It was in the fall of 1871 that the congregation took possession of a new church which it had reared at the southwest corner of Spring and Fifth streets, part of the site now occupied by the towering Schroeder Hotel. This church was Gothic in design, with a comfortable parsonage on an adjoining lot, the cost of the whole amounting to $60,000. Here the congregation worshiped till 1906, when the encroachment of business led to the sale of the

property for $175,000 and the erection of the present beautiful church at the northwest corner of Wisconsin Avenue and Tenth Street. The cost of the real estate was $93,000.

By action of the Quarterly Conference, September 24, 1877, the name of the church was changed to "Grand Avenue Methodist Church," but the legal corporate name has remained unaltered from early times, "The Methodist Episcopal Church of Spring Street Station," and this designation is used in legal transactions to the present day.

Many notable men have occupied the pastorate of this church. One of the earliest of these was Rev. Wesson Gage Miller, who began his long and valuable connection in 1850, and after serving as presiding elder of the district was reappointed pastor in 1862, 1863 and 1864. On leave of absence in 1864 he engaged in Christian Commission service at City Point and along the lines of General Grant's army before Richmond and Petersburg. At the request of the people, Mr. Miller was returned to the Milwaukee station in 1872, once more remaining for three years. He is remembered not only for his faithful labors in the church but also for his interesting publications, "Thirty Years in the Itineracy" and "Milwaukee Methodism." The pastor from 1865 to 1868 was the Rev. P. B. Pease, who was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Fallows, the latter resigning before the end of his second year to accept the office of state superintendent of public instruction. Then came the Rev. Henry Colman, who was pastor for three years from 1876 to 1879 and presiding elder of the district for many years. The Rev. F. S. Stein was pastor for three years ending with 1881. After him, in order, came the Rev. Dr. John and the Rev. Sabin Halsey, the Rev. J. L. Hewitt, the Rev. W. A. Hunsberger, the Rev. C. P. Masden, the Rev. George A. Scott, the Rev. Edward T. Hagerman, the Rev. Hardy A. Ingham and the Rev. Forney Hovis.

Well-remembered citizens who have been members of this church and active in its work were John H. Van Dyke, James Seville, T. T. Greenwood, John B. Judson, Henry Seiler, Williams Lee, Cornelius Morse, Walter Lacey, A. J. W. Pierce, Cyrus H. Johnson, H. O. Parks, Thomas Greenwood Jr., Edwin Hyde, Lewis Blake, George H. Foster, F. L. Mayhew, Henry W. Goodall, John R. Cocup, William T. Bonniwell, Elias Wambold, S. D. Lus-

combe, George W. Young, H. W. Roby, John McCullough, William E. Coates, W. D. Clark, W. H. Stevens, J. McNaughton, James W. Field, T. D. Cook, Prentiss W. Drew, Joseph L. Cox, John Moss and a host of others.

When the site at the corner of West Water and Spring streets was disposed of for $15,000, after the fire of 1854, something more than a third of the amount was employed to pay off indebtedness, and a portion of the remainder allowed to residents of the East Side who had withdrawn with the object of establishing a church of their own. This was the congregation afterward taking the name of Summerfield, which was organized in 1852, worshiping for a time in a building purchased from the Universalists and moved from the corner of Broadway and Michigan Street to a lot on Jackson Street between Biddle and Martin streets. With the money obtained as its share from the sale of the Spring Street property it bought the northwest corner of Van Buren and Biddle streets and erected the substantial edifice, still standing, which was dedicated in October, 1858, as Summerfield Church. A parsonage stood on the Biddle Street front of the property. During the Civil war period part of the building was rented for a school by Prof. August Kursteiner, these quarters being occupied later by Markham's Academy. As business moved upward on the East Side, and the residence district grew northward, the selection of a new location for Summerfield Church was debated. During the ministry of Doctor Parkhurst—1890-1895—the decision was reached to organize a society which took the name of the Farwell Avenue Church, holding services in the Battery Building, on Farwell Avenue, which had been erected for the use of a company of Milwaukee artillerymen. This was finally abandoned in favor of the more eligible location at the northwest corner of Juneau Avenue and Cass Street, where the present home of the congregation was erected in 1905.

The pastors of Summerfield Church have included Rev. H. C. Tilton (1857-8), Rev. Edward Cook, D. D. (1859-60), Rev. James E. Wilson (1860-1), Rev. S. C. Thomas (1861-3), Rev. P. B. Pease (1864-5), Rev. Samuel Fallows (1865-7), Rev. H. S. White (1868-9), Rev. J. Hill (1869-70), Rev. W. P. Stone (1871-2), Rev. O. B. Thayer (1872-4), Rev. C. N. Stowers (1874-5), Rev. S. N. Griffith (1875-7), Rev. O. J. Cowles (1877-

1880), Rev. J. E. Gilbert, D. D. (1880-3), Rev. O. A. Curtis, D. D. (1883-6), Rev. E. G. Updike, D. D. (1886-9), Rev. E. D. Huntley, and others, many of them vividly remembered for high character and outstanding services.

Early in the spring of 1893, Mrs. R. P. Elmore bought the building and lot at 186 Biddle Street, which had been the parsonage of the old Summerfield Church, and dedicated it to the purposes of a home for deaconesses. Approving the plan, each of the Methodist churches of the city assumed the cost of furnishing a room, and the organization of the Deaconesses' Aid Society placed upon a firm foundation an institution ministering systematically to the needs and comfort of sick and suffering poor.

The Rev. Warner Oliver was sent from the conference of 1848 to organize a church at Walker's Point, where a faithful few had established services the year before, the meetings being held in a schoolhouse. Rev. J. M. S. Maxon was an early pastor at Walker's Point. In the fall of 1850 the society secured lots on Reed Street and erected an unpretentious building, the pastor at this time being Rev. William Willard. In 1851, while Rev. R. P. Lawton was pastor, the building was removed to the southeast corner of Grove and Florida streets and called the Grove Street Church. This was burned in the spring of 1857, after which a lot was purchased on the N. E. corner of First Avenue (now So. Sixth St.) and Park Street. The first church building here was of wood, but a brick veneered church of tasteful design succeeded it in 1863, the old church being used thereafter as a parsonage. Rev. Henry Colman was pastor of this church in 1861, its name of Asbury having begun to be a nucleus of cherished memories receiving additions with the progress of the years. In the spring of 1887, during the pastorate of Rev. A. J. Benjamin, decision was reached to remove to the location at the northwest corner of Third Avenue and Washington Street, which was the home of the Asbury Church congregation until the summer of 1930, when it disbanded.

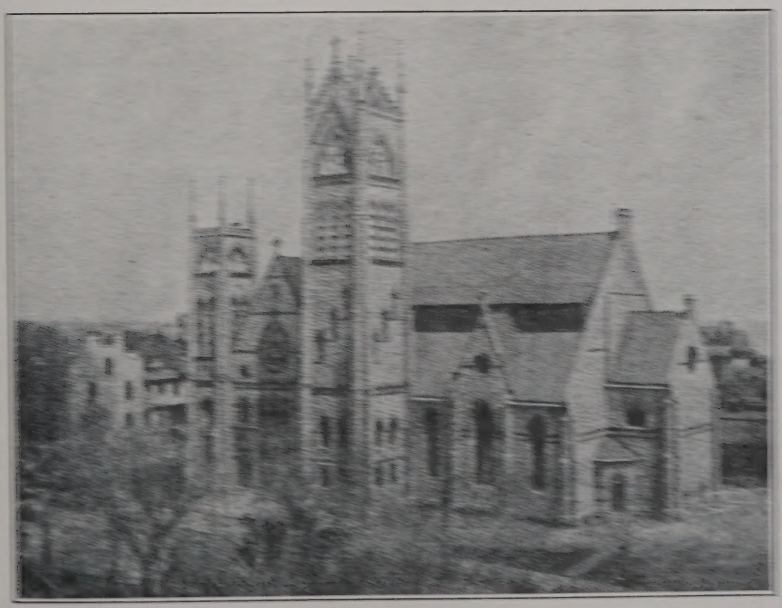
Among the denominations whose adherents organized in Milwaukee before the panic of 1837 was that composed of followers of Knox and Calvin. In 1846 there was published a booklet entitled "Manual of the First Presbyterian Church in Milwaukee,

with a Concise History of Its Formation and Events in Its Subsequent Progress." The following is from this source:

"The first Presbyterian Church in Milwaukee was organized in the courthouse on the 13th of April, 1837, by the Rev. Messrs. Cutting Marsh and Moses Ordway. It consisted originally of eighteen members. The Rev. Gilbert Crawford, of Lockport, N. Y., was invited to the pastoral charge. He commenced his labors in July, 1837, and, though not installed, continued his services until the fall of 1839, when he returned to his former sphere of labor. On his departure, the Rev. Stephen Peet, of Green Bay, was called to minister to the church. He commenced his labors October 7, 1839, and continued to act as pastor until June, 1841, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Cyrus L. Watson, of Rockford, Ill. Mr. Watson continued his ministerial labors with this church until the spring of 1842. After his departure the church had no regular pastor for nearly a year. On the 13th of June, 1843, Mr. A. L. Chapin, a licentiate of the Third Presbytery of New York, was invited by the church and society to labor with them for one year. This invitation was accepted. On the 24th of January following, in accordance with the unanimous call of the church and society, Mr. Chapin was ordained and installed pastor of this church and people by the Milwaukee Presbyterian and Congregational Convention. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. J. J. Miter. Immediately after the formation of the church, a temporary house of worship was erected on the west side of the river. This was occupied as a place of meeting until August, 1840, when the hall in a block of buildings at the west end of Spring Street bridge was secured for the use of the congregation, and so occupied for one year. In the summer of 1841 the erection of our present house of worship was commenced." This was the stately frame structure at the northwest corner of Milwaukee and Mason streets, afterward familiarly known as "the Steamboat Church," because its wings resembled the paddle-boxes of a steamer. It was dedicated January 24, 1844, and was the predecessor of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church of today. The history from which the above quotation was made is also authority for the following:

"At its organization this church was connected with the Milwaukee Presbytery. In October, 1840, that body entered into a

OLD SEVENTH WARD, 1871
"Steamboat Church" and old Plymouth with west wing of Courthouse at left; Summerfield and St. John's Cathedral, upper center and right.



IMMANUEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

new organization in union with the Congregational churches of the territory, under the name of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin. By a formal vote, May 6, 1841, that measure was cordially approved by this church, and its connection with the ecclesiastical body thus organized was fully established. In 1842 this church, with others, was set off to form the Convention of the Milwaukee District, with which it now stands in connection."

James H. Rogers and Jacob M. Rogers, as well as John Ogden and Samuel Brown, were among the eighteen original members of this church when it was founded in April, 1837. Samuel Brown, John Ogden and Samuel Hinman were its first elders. Others who had held the office of elders up to the time of the publication above referred to were A. Finch, Jr., Dr. William P. Proudfit, Ambrose Ely, Charles J. Lynde, Edward D. Holton and P. C. Hale.

In 1851 the First Church withdrew from the Milwaukee District Convention of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, and became a part of the then newly organized Presbytery of Milwaukee. Pastors of the First Church in succession during the years preceding the outbreak of the Civil war were Rev. A. L. Chapin, Rev. N. C. Chapin, Rev. William H. Spencer, Rev. A. S. Benson, Rev. S. G. Spees, Rev. J. L. Corning and Rev. Dr. J. H. Towne, the last named occupying the pulpit during the years from 1861 to 1865, and his successor being the Rev. Hiram Eddy, installed February 13, 1867, who served most faithfully till the union of the First and North Presbyterian churches in 1870 and the rise of Immanuel as the result of their consolidation.

The beautiful stone building erected by the society of Immanuel Presbyterian Church on Astor Street, between Division and Martin, and dedicated in August, 1873, was destroyed by fire on the night of December 31, 1887. Its successor was dedicated on the 3d of March, 1889. The pastor of Immanuel Church from 1871 to 1881 was Rev. Gideon P. Nichols, and after him, from 1882 to February, 1889, Rev. J. N. Freeman. In October, 1889, came Rev. William Chester, who was followed by Rev. J. Beveridge Lee. From 1907 to 1923 the pastor was the Rev. Paul Burrill Jenkins, D. D., who went as delegate to the World's Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh in 1913 and served as chaplain

with the American Expeditionary Force in France during the World war. The present pastor is the Rev. Howard Agnew Johnston.

The North Presbyterian Church, whose tasteful brick edifice was erected at the northwest corner of Milwaukee and Martin streets—the latter is now East State Street—was organized on the 5th of January, 1849, by the second Presbyterian society in Milwaukee. At the outset it had sixteen members, including Silas Chapman, Robert N. Austin, William Gillespie and William M. Watson. Its members held to the Presbyterianism of the Old School. Robert Menzies acted as precentor at this church for several years. Thomas Mason, brother of the celebrated composer Lowell Mason, was for a time the leader of the choir. Rev. John N. Buchanan was the pastor. After the consolidation of the Old School and New School Presbyterians, the North Church building was sold to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.

It was in March, 1869, that a few members of the old First and North Presbyterian congregations decided to establish a place of worship for members of their denomination on the West Side. They bought the old St. James' Church, which had been built by the Unitarians, and which they resold to the Episcopalians a year or so later. In May of that year they called Rev. Edward Graham, of Guelph, Canada, to be their pastor. Soon they had embarked upon the undertaking to erect a church edifice to cost $25,000, as a site for which they obtained from James Kneeland for the nominal sum of $6,500 a lot of 100 by 197 feet at the southeast corner of Grand Avenue and Tenth Street. When the bids for the new church were opened it was found that instead of $25,000 its cost would be $58,000. Unappalled, they persisted in their determination to proceed. At times the indebtedness incurred in carrying the project to completion was a source of anxiety, but by 1885 the last dollar required to free the society from financial obligations had been raised and paid. Failing health after several years of faithful service necessitated the removal of Mr. Graham to California. He was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. Dr. John B. Stewart, who came from Davenport, Iowa, officiating from 1872 to 1880, when declining physical vigor admonished him to retire from active service. Then began the ministration of Rev. A. A. Kiehle, which continued for a quarter of a century.

The first officers of Calvary Church were Elders John Johnston, James B. Bradford, Samuel C. West; Deacons Henry H. West, George M. Misner and Joseph Hamilton, and Trustees Levi H. Kellogg, John Plankinton, W. P. Alcott, A. H. Atkins, H. K. Smith, J. T. Bradford, John G. Ogden, William James and John Johnston. E. R. Paine, Lewis A. Proctor, Charles L. Blanchard, S. R. Bell, Edward Upson, E. P. Matthews and J. J. Hagerman were others among the well-known Milwaukeeans who were active members and officers of Calvary Church.

About 1850 an organization was formed under the name of the Associated Reform Presbyterian Church, which met in a hall on Broadway, then Main Street, used by the Rev. Amasa Buck, father of James Buck, the historian, for his Collegiate Institute. In 1854 the meetings were held in Young's Hall. The Rev. Hugh Graham was pastor during most of the period, after which the Rev. John Kidd supplied the pulpit till he was called to the South Presbyterian Church. After his departure the congregation disbanded.

The North Presbyterian Church maintained for several years a large Sunday school in the old Military Hall, after its removal to what in those days was North Water Street, and in the same place, in 1859 or 1860, the Rev. John Bantly organized the First German Presbyterian Church, O. S. When the war broke out he left Milwaukee as chaplain of a Wisconsin regiment, and was succeeded by the Rev. H. A. Winter, but after a few years the society disbanded.

In the years from 1851 to 1857 there was a Presbyterian Church on the South Side, whose pulpit was occupied successively by Rev. S. N. Steele, Rev. J. G. Wilson, Rev. George Washington Elliott and Rev. John Kidd. In 1858 the congregation voted to adopt the Congregational form of government, changing its name first to the Church of the Pilgrims and later to the Hanover Street Congregational Church. After fluctuating fortunes, the society went out of existence a few years ago.

During comparatively recent times, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Belleview Place, has become one of the flourishing religious establishments in its section of the city.

What is now Perseverance Presbyterian Church owed its beginnings to a group of natives of Holland, who organized for

worship in 1857 and held their early meetings in a schoolhouse. On a site at Eighteenth and Walnut streets, donated by John Plankinton, its first church was built in 1859, and known as the First Holland Presbyterian Church. Its pastor was the Rev. Mr. Van Veennes, who was followed first by Rev. Mr. Schreck and then by Rev. Mr. Van der Luister. The Rev. Jacob Post was pastor from 1873 to 1877, when the Rev. Everit Huyser took charge, being succeeded in 1877 by Rev. Mr. Roth. The church was rebuilt in 1869 and destroyed by fire in 1870. In 1878 it recalled its former pastor, Doctor Post, who accepted on condition that the English language should have a place in the service and that the name should be changed to Perseverance Presbyterian Church, both of which conditions were accepted. Then followed twelve years of prosperity. When physical feebleness occasioned the resignation of Doctor Post in 1890, the Rev. G. D. Heuver was installed in the pastorate and the use of the Dutch language in the services altogether ceased. At this time a number of the older members withdrew and joined another Holland Presbyterian Church whose place of worship was only five blocks away. This Holland Presbyterian Church was formed by the Old School Presbytery in 1863. Its pastors were Rev. B. Van der Lass, who remained till 1874, and Rev. E. Boss, who resigned in 1879. Rev. B. H. Idsinga's ministrations began in 1880.

Congregationalists organized in Milwaukee as early as 1837, but their society was disintegrated by the removal of most of its members to Prairieville. Some of them moved back to Milwaukee in 1841, and were participants in the Congregationalist activities in this city during that and the following year.

Curious stories regarding characters and incidents of long ago sometimes rest upon only a slender basis of fact, and sometimes are diametrically opposite to the truth. This is not because old settlers were regardless of veracity, but because memory plays tricks, and in transmission by word of mouth the plainest narrative may suffer unintentional distortion. Not long ago a fresh start was given to the oft-told tale that Alanson Sweet, who was an early member of Plymouth Congregational Church, planned to take advantage of elastic provisions of the charter granted to that congregation, and utilize the instrument for the purpose of starting a bank, an insurance company, and a steamboat line to operate

between Milwaukee and Buffalo. The facts in the matter are deducible from a printed record which flouts purveyors of unreliable reminiscence. Following is the title of a neat little volume of 172 pages from the press of Burdick & Treyser, Ben Franklin Printing House, which was published in 1858 by vote of the church and society: "Manual of the Plymouth Church and Society of Milwaukee, with Historical Sketch and Catalogues."

By this manual it is shown that "on the 6th of May, 1841, a number of Christians, residents of Milwaukee, desirous of enjoying the privileges of a Congregational Church, assembled to discuss the expediency of taking steps for the organization of a church in this city;" that they called a council, to meet on the 20th of that month, whose advice should be solicited; that the members of this council were the Rev. D. A. Sherman of Troy, the Rev. O. F. Curtis of Prairieville (now Waukesha), and the Rev. J. U. Parsons of Mount Pleasant; and the council adopted a resolution recommending "the establishment of a church of Christ upon the west side of the river which divides the city." The church thus founded consisted at its formation of "twenty-four persons, nine males and fifteen females," and at the conclusion of the first year of its history the number had grown to sixty-five. The nine men who signed the membership roll in 1841 were Robert Love, William J. Love, John Childs, James Lyon, Lyman Stoddard, Otis Sprague, Samuel Brown, Daniel Brown and Joseph DeWolf. Among the accessions in 1842 were Charles C. Dewey, Garret Vliet, Abel Decker, John Sercombe, Sylvester Pettibone, Asahel Finch, Sr., and Alanson Sweet. Mr. Sweet, it will be noted, was not one of the original members. He was a member when the society applied for a charter, but that was an event of several years later.

The name of the church adopted at its organization was the First Congregational Bethel Church of Milwaukee. The first deacons of the church, elected in March, 1842, were Benjamin Moffit, Robert Love and Samuel and Daniel Brown. June 29, 1841, the Rev. J. J. Miter of Knoxville, Illinois, was called to the pastorate, accepting so far as to assume the duties of stated supply on the 17th of November in that year. The early meetings were held in a room in the second story of a building used as a store on the corner of Spring and West Water streets. In the

winter of 1843 the congregation took possession of a "new and commodious edifice" which it had erected at the corner of Spring and Second streets, and which was dedicated on the 3d of January, 1844. The society was formally constituted by special charter and organized under its provisions on the 10th of March, 1845, when the following persons were elected trustees: Eliphalet Cramer, James Bonnell, Frederick B. Otis, Abram D. Smith, Alanson Sweet.

Now for the truth regarding the charter, the text of which is printed in the manual. It was a singular instrument. Here was its title: "An Act to incorporate the First Congregational Society, in the Town of Milwaukee, passed and approved in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-five." Here is Section 1 of the charter, containing, as it will be observed, two quaint inhibitory provisos:

"Be it enacted, by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wisconsin:

"Section 1. That James Bonnell, E. Cramer, Samuel Brown, Frederick B. Otis and A. D. Smith and their associates, together with such persons as may hereafter be associated with them, be, and they are hereby created, a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, by the name of the First Congregational Society, in the Town of Milwaukee; and by that name shall be competent to contract and to be contracted with; to sue and be sued; to answer and be answered unto, in all courts of law and equity; acquire, hold, possess and enjoy, and to sell, convey and dispose of property both real and personal; *Provided*, the annual income of such property shall not exceed six thousand dollars. *Provided*, that nothing herein contained shall authorize the corporation hereby created to purchase, sell or deal in any property, except for purposes connected with the erection, completion or repairing of a house of public worship, or for purposes connected therewith."

It would have been difficult, it would seem for Mr. Sweet, had he been so disposed, to have used this charter as authority for the purely business activities pertaining to a bank, an insurance company or a steamboat line. But this was not the only inhibition of secular enterprise which cautious legislators saw fit to

incorporate in the text of this charter for a Congregational Church. Section 5 of the instrument was as follows:

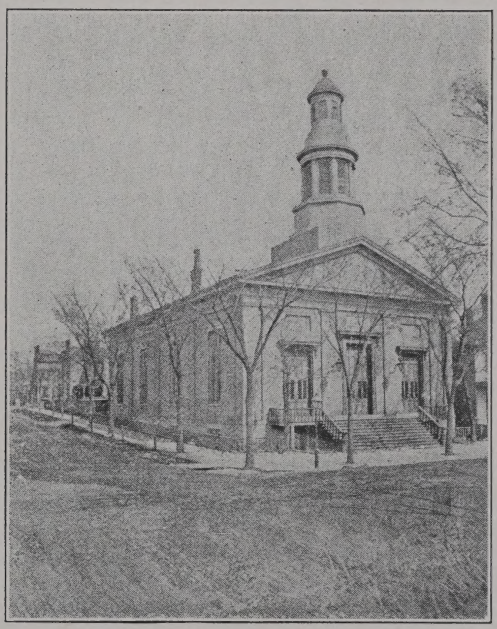
"Nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to give to said society banking powers."

In McCabe's "Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1847-48" is an elaborate description of the church building referred to above, which contains the observation that "the total expense of the building (exclusive of the bell, which cost $450) was $7,500." In the list of names of residents of the city contained in McCabe's Directory is "Sweet, Alanson, forwarding and commission merchant, Erie, cor. E. Water; res., 115 Mason." Elevators Mr. Sweet owned and operated in sober verity. There is no indication in the Directory that he carried on, or attempted to carry on, as a steamboat proprietor or a banker, or that Plymouth Church or the congregation which took that name was or ever tried to be engaged in banking, insuring or carrying stores of grain. It never did, nor could it, had it been so disposed, have strayed into secular business of these descriptions without violation of the language and spirit of its charter.

It was in 1850 that Plymouth congregation erected its commodious brick house of worship on the East Side at the southeast corner of Milwaukee and Oneida (East Wells) streets, which it occupied for nearly forty years.

Pastors of Plymouth Church since the Rev. J. J. Miter, who on account of failing health resigned in 1856, have been Rev. Zephaniah M. Humphrey (1856-1859), Rev. Charles D. Helmer (1859-1865), Rev. John Allison (1866-1867), Rev. John L. Dudley (1868-1875), Rev. Henry T. Rose (1875-1882), Rev. Judson Titsworth, who served for more than a quarter of a century, and Rev. Roscoe Graham, who is the present efficient incumbent.

The name of Doctor Dudley, who died at Boston in November, 1894, at the ripe age of eighty-four, is remembered as that of a man of vigorous mind and a universality of sympathy, whose sermons attracted attention throughout the country. Many who had been non-church-goers became steady attendants at his Sunday services, comparing him to Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker. There were members of his congregation to whom his expositions were startling, and this, with other causes, led to his retirement. Subsequently he preached in Boston and else-



OLD PLYMOUTH CHURCH
Milwaukee and Oneida, now East Wells

where, but nowhere else formed personal attachments so strong as those which had bound him to his friends in Milwaukee. After the infirmities of advancing years disabled him for the strain of pastoral responsibility he retained his serenely philosophic mental balance and his acute and original habit of thought, so that to the last it was a treat to those who agreed with him to hear him talk.

Under the pastorate of Mr. Allison dissensions arose. Some of the members who sided with him withdrew. A mission which had arisen in the First Ward under the auspices of Plymouth was made the nucleus of a new Congregationalist establishment with Mr. Allison as its pastor. The mission had worshiped in a frame church at the corner of Astor and Lyon streets since the early '60s and conducted one of the largest Sunday schools in the city. Reorganized as Olivet Congregational Church, it purchased a commanding site at the corner of Division and Marshall streets, and reared one of the sightliest religious edifices in the city, which was dedicated in November, 1868, the Rev. Mr. Helmer coming from Chicago to preach the dedicatory sermon. The deacons of the Fourth Congregational Society, which was the organization that built Olivet Church, were William J. Whaling, E. H. Ball, William Jarvis, W. P. McLaren and John A. Dutcher. The trustees included Jason Downer, R. P. Fitzgerald and O. E. Britt. A dozen wealthy gentlemen, deeply interested in the undertaking, had borne nearly all the expense. Hardly had the congregation taken possession, however, before differences between the pastor and some of his flock led to controversy which was carried into the courts. In 1872 Mr. Allison retired and was succeeded by the Rev. Myron W. Reed. Meantime a number of the leading members of Olivet had withdrawn, and the diminished congregation, financially embarrassed, sold its property to the Episcopalians. What had been Olivet Church became All Saints' Cathedral, and the Olivet congregation leased the Unitarian Church building on Cass Street, then unoccupied, carrying on in that location till 1875, from which time till 1877 it held Sunday services in the Old Academy of Music, with Mr. Reed as preacher. The novelty of religious exercises in a theater proved an attraction to many who had been non-church-goers. The eloquence and broad humanity of Mr. Reed's discourses also drew numbers to his meetings. But times

were hard and the majority of his followers were poor. Efforts to raise by subscriptions a fund that would place the society on a substantial basis proved unsuccessful. Early in 1877 Mr. Reed accepted a call to Indianapolis and the Olivet congregation disbanded.

A noteworthy event in the history of Plymouth under the pastoral charge of Doctor Titsworth was the erection of its church at the corner of Van Buren and Oneida streets and the expansion of its institutional activities, the success of which attracted wide attention. He was recognized throughout the country as a pioneer in a fertile field which has come to be industriously tilled with results of incalculable benefit to society. Mr. Titsworth's power as a preacher was on a par with his enterprise in social uplift undertakings. Plymouth Church found its Van Buren Street home too small as well as too far down-town, and sold it to the Masons, erecting a new house of worship, with ample auxiliary accommodations for institutional work, at the corner of Hartford and Hampshire avenues on the upper East Side. Under its present pastor, the Rev. Roscoe Graham, it maintains its high traditions.

What came to be known as the Grand Avenue Congregational Church grew out of differences on the slavery problem which led in 1847 to the withdrawal of members of the Presbyterian and Plymouth churches favoring the foundation of a Free Congregational Church—a church at liberty to discuss moral issues of all kinds, but mainly those pertaining to slavery. Twenty names were enrolled at the start and many more in the course of the year. The first pastor was the Rev. O. F. Curtis, who was followed in 1848 by the Rev. W. L. Parsons. Mr. Parsons received a salary of $500 per year, which led Mrs. Parsons to add to the family income by teaching. Her school stood high in popular esteem. When the Hartford Association sent Miss Catherine Beecher West, to locate one of its four colleges for the higher education of women, Mrs. Parsons' school was chosen as one of them, and became the Milwaukee Female College, later Milwaukee-Downer.

The Free Congregational Church society was incorporated in December, 1848. Its first trustees were E. D. Holton, David McDougal, Edwin Palmer, Avery Hill and S. C. Newhall. The

early years of the Free Church were years of struggle. In 1848 the society bought from Thomas Sprague the lease of lot 11, Block 11, in the First (afterward the Seventh) Ward, together with a small house thereon for $140. The small house was moved to the back of the lot and used for Mrs. Parsons' school. A building 43x60, consisting of a basement and a main room, containing sixty-six slips, capable of seating between 400 and 500 persons, was erected. The building stood on Main Street between Mason and Oneida, where the central fire station now is, and in 1852 was sold to Elisha Eldred and associates for the Milwaukee University, which had had its beginning in the basement of the church. It was at one time afterward used by Amasa Buck for a private school, and still later for the primary department of the old Seventh Ward School. In 1858 it was bought by the city. In the late '70s the building was removed to the east end of Michigan Street. In March, 1850, the church was active in the temperance cause.

In 1852 occurred the removal of the society's place of worship to the West Side, where it rented and subsequently purchased the building at the northeast corner of Spring and Second streets which had been erected by the First Congregational Church, and which it afterward disposed of to the Methodists. In 1854 the Free Congregational Church society was admitted to the Milwaukee Presbyterian and Congregational Convention.

Illustrative of the vicissitudes of its early years it may be recalled that Mr. Parsons resigned as pastor in 1850, and that Mr. Bassett, his successor, remained for only a year, after which preaching was for some time an event of irregular occurrence. After the sale of the building at Spring and Second streets, evening weekly meetings were maintained and the Sunday school was kept up, its place of assemblage being over Oakley's livery stable. Perhaps the crystallization of anti-slavery sentiment that flared in the release of Joshua Glover imparted prestige to the society whose existence was in itself a protest against slavery. The year of the Glover rescue was also the year when the Free Church society determined to erect a church building of its own and was encouraged by liberal contributions from non-members. Asahel Finch gave $3,000, James H. Rogers $3,000, Ira E. Goodall $2,000, Alexander Mitchell $500, James Kneeland $500, Dr.

George B. Miner $500, the American Congregational Union $500, and the custodians of the Albany Fund $500. Daniel Wells, Jr., conveyed to the society a lot, 140x150 feet, at the corner of Sixth and Spring streets, on such easy terms that it was practically a gift. Plans for the building were matured. The lecture room in the basement was opened for the preaching of the gospel on September 27, 1857, when the Rev. William DeLoss Love was installed as pastor, the first minister of the church to be formally installed. The society made notable gains in membership, receiving 133 accessions in the course of a single year. The deacons in 1858 were William Taintor, Lorin Blanchard, S. C. Newhall, Samuel Brown, S. N. Millard and Hiram Story. The trustees were E. D. Holton, Samuel Brown, L. L. Loomis and J. V. V. Platto. The Rev. William DeLoss Love served as pastor till 1871 —fourteen years. He preached many stirring sermons and wrote a voluminous and authentic history of Wisconsin's part in the Civil war.

September 3, 1862, a committee of the church appointed to draft resolutions to be forwarded to President Lincoln for the purpose of advising him of the sentiments of the congregation on the subject of slavery, submitted the following, which were adopted and transmitted to the President:

"Resolved, That in our opinion the only speedy, certain and permanent cure for our present national difficulties is immediate and universal emancipation.

"Resolved, That our government is not strong enough to put down the rebellion which is threatening its existence unless God be on our side, and we firmly believe that the Almighty has not a single attribute which can prompt Him to uphold us in the conservation of American slavery.

"Resolved, That we regard slavery as the mere creature of State authority, unauthorized by the laws of God, or by the Constitution of the United States, that in sending an invading army into a State our government is necessarily disregarding the pretended sanctity of 'State Rights,' and therefore should know no man as a slave.

"Resolved, That we love the Constitution and the Union, but not with a blind devotion which would sacrifice for them all that makes them valuable; that we love them because they mean free-

dom, and that as Christians professed to be controlled by the Golden Rule of our Master, we can not glory in a freedom for ourselves which the government for whose acts we are in part responsible denies to one of the least of our brethren."

The resolutions went on to argue for the emancipation of the slaves and their employment against the armies of the States in rebellion.

The Record Book of the Church shows that on the 31st of October, 1862, a collection was voted to be taken up for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers, to be placed at the disposal of "the society about to be formed on this side of the river." This society was organized in 1863, and was called "The Wisconsin Soldiers' Home." Its first president was Mrs. Byron Kilbourn, Mrs. S. T. Hooker being its treasurer and Mrs. A. H. Vedder secretary. The Home was managed entirely by ladies, aided by an advisory committee of gentlemen. Three buildings in one block, one after another, were rented, for its use, and still it was cramped for quarters. Hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers received its care.

Since the resignation of Doctor Love, the pastors of the Grand Avenue Congregational Church have been Rev. George T. Ladd, D. D., Rev. George H. Ide, D. D., Rev. Charles H. Beale, D. D., and his son, Rev. Arthur S. Beale, the present incumbent. It was in 1886, under the pastorate of Doctor Ide, that the society sold the site of the old church on Sixth Street and built its present home on Wisconsin Avenue at the intersection of Twenty-second Street, a change made desirable by reason of the march of business up the avenue.

A younger but flourishing society of Congregationalists has its place of worship on Sherman Boulevard, the name of that thoroughfare being incorporated in that of the church.

Original documents pertaining to the beginnings of the Unitarian Church in Milwaukee were destroyed along with much other documentary matter by the participants in the bank riot of June, 1861. Old settlers recall that when Micajah T. Williams of Cincinnati was in Milwaukee on a visit a few years before his death, which occurred in 1844, he gave two lots as a site for a Unitarian Church. What disposition was made of them is not of record. McCabe, in his Directory, published in 1847, says:

"The Unitarian Society of Milwaukee was organized in 1842, and its first minister was the Rev. William Cushing, a native of Cambridge, Massachusetts." He adds that the trustees were D. W. Baylies, Eli Bates, Jr., and John H. Tweedy, and that Mr. Cushing was succeeded by the Rev. William H. Lord, a native of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The first Unitarian Church building was a frame structure in the Grecian style of architecture, standing at the corner of Spring and Second streets, and was finished in 1843. It contained fifty-three pews, and was capable of accommodating 320 persons. Later this building was purchased by West Side Episcopalians, who moved it westward. Until a few years ago it was in use as St. James' Guild Hall.

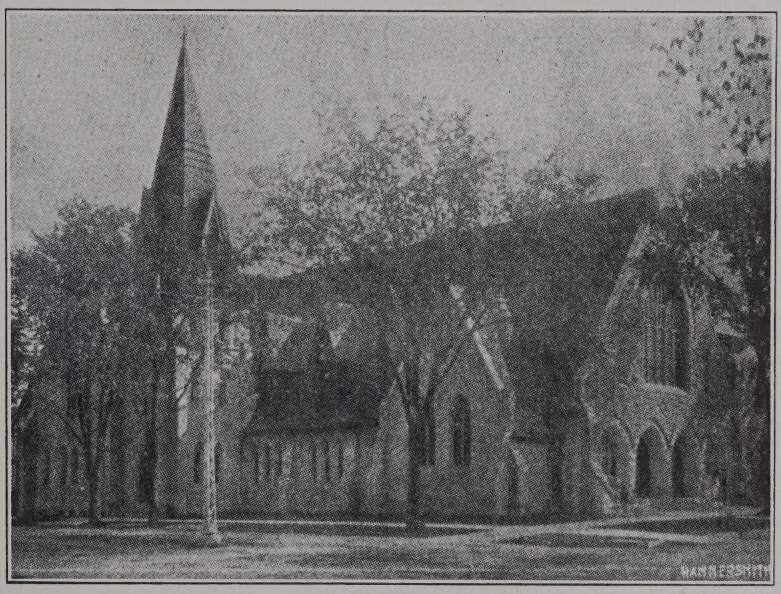
Not long after the Unitarians took possession of their beautiful new church at the southeast corner of Astor Street and Ogden Avenue, in 1892, they celebrated the semi-centenary of the establishment of Unitarianism in Milwaukee. The occasion was followed by the contribution to the *Sentinel*, over the initials "A. M. T.," of a communication assumed to have been written by A. M. Thomson, who had been editor of that paper in the early '70s. The writer said:

"The late John H. Tweedy, one of the most brilliant men in his prime that ever came to this city, was one of the first trustees of the society, and the late William A. Prentiss was another. Later on such well known citizens as E. P. Allis, Dr. Button, William H. Metcalf, Doctor Thorndike and Mr. Ilsley took the laboring oar and did much of the hard work incident to the life of such a society in a field not the most congenial. All these men and many others of less note 'now rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' Most of them were for years conspicuous in the business history of Milwaukee, and did much to advance her material and social interests. There was a period in the life of the Unitarian society in this town, a crisis of religious stagnation, so to speak, when these grand men were 'the Old Guard,' that might die, but never surrendered. In the darkest hours of adversity they kept the faith, and as their ranks became decimated by death and desertion they closed up the column and proudly carried aloft the banner of religious freedom with a sublime courage. But they would have failed utterly if their efforts had not been beautifully supplemented by the constant

sympathy and indefatigable industry of their wives and daughters. Probably it can be truly said of every Protestant Church in this city that it owes its very existence and much of its success to the female portion of the congregation. Honor to whom honor is due!

"Many fine scholars and orators have filled the pulpit of the Unitarian Church in this city during the past fifty years, but the brightest of them all was the late Rev. N. A. Staples, whose brilliant discourses were read and admired far and wide. One of his sermons, on 'The Irrepressible Conflict,' was published in pamphlet form and no doubt can be found in many a private library in Milwaukee. The conflict was then going on between freedom and slavery, and the southern horizon was already lurid with the flames of civil war. Churches were divided on the subject, and men of undoubted orthodoxy were found in the North defending slavery from the Bible. The sermon of the brilliant young pastor of the Unitarian Church startled the community like a fire bell ringing in the night, and gave great offense to a few pro-slavery members of his own congregation, some of whom withdrew entirely from the church. Mr. Staples had the courage of his convictions. Resigning his pastorate, he went to the front as chaplain of a Wisconsin regiment. In the army he contracted a disease of which he finally died, and his noble life was freely given to save the Union, as truly as if he had perished at the cannon's mouth on the field of battle."

Following the ministry of N. A. Staples, his brother, C. A. Staples, was called to the Unitarian pulpit, his successors being the Rev. W. C. Gannett, who, on account of failing health, resigned in 1870, after which there was a hiatus of five years, followed by the engagement of the Rev. G. E. Gordon, who officiated from 1875 to 1885, the Rev. T. B. Forbush, his successor, remaining for three years. Visiting ministers preached at intervals between 1888 and 1891, among them being the Rev. Gertrude Magill. In September, 1891, began the ministry of the Rev. Henry T. Secrist, signalized by the occupancy of the new church on Astor Street. Since Mr. Secrist the ministers have been Rev. W. G. Eliot, Jr., Rev. James C. Hodgins, Rev. Walter F. Greenman and Rev. Robert S. Loring, Mr. Loring being in charge at the present time.



FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

The Universalists were among the denominations established during Milwaukee's villagehood, but after fluctuations of prosperity and depression they went out of organized existence a year or two after the close of the Civil war. In 1845 their church was on the west side of Main Street (now Broadway), close to Michigan Street. The pastor was the Rev. C. F. Le Fevre. Clark Shepardson was moderator and J. B. Cross was clerk. Five years later, the society having become dormant, the building passed into the possession of the Methodists. Later it was purchased by a Welsh congregation, which moved it to Jefferson Street, near Michigan Street, and occupied it for a number of years. The Universalists reorganized in 1865 and built a brick church at the southeast corner of Spring (Wisconsin Avenue) and Seventh streets. The financial burden incurred in the erection of the edifice proved greater than the organization could carry, and it went to pieces, since which it has not been revived. This church building was used for a time by the Baptists. Finally it was reconstructed into a livery stable, as which it functioned for a number of years.

The West Baptist Church, organized in 1857, was composed at the outset of former members of the congregation which had erected the church at the corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets, and which was dissolved in 1863. In January, 1865, the Union Baptist Church was formed by members of the old First Baptist Church and of the West Baptist Church, which had worshiped in a building of its own on Sycamore Street. The society erected a brick church on Jefferson Street, between the present East State Street and Juneau Avenue, which was dedicated August 12, 1866. The pulpit of this church was occupied in succession by Rev. James Dixon, Rev. C. Monjean, Rev. G. M. Stone, D. D., Rev. J. H. Griffith, D. D., Rev. M. G. Hodge, D. D., and Rev. A. F. Mason, the latter entering upon his duties in 1881 and remaining till 1884 His successor was Rev. W. P. Hellings. The stone edifice at the corner of Marshall Street and Ogden Avenue which is the present home of this congregation was dedicated on the 27th of October, 1889. The present pastor is Rev. E. Leroy Dakin, D. D.

The Tabernacle Baptist Church, at the corner of North Seventeenth and Wells streets, is the outcome of organization effected

in 1867, which brought together a congregation that worshiped successively at different locations on the West Side and under varying names until it entered upon the occupation of its present home, which was dedicated on the 26th of June, 1887. Among the pastors who served it long and well was the Rev. Dr. William T. Dorward, whose retirement from active ministry followed an operation affecting his vocal cords to which it became necessary for him to submit a few years ago. Following the Rev. Rollo C. Speer, the Rev. Daniel Heitmeyer came to its pulpit. He is its present incumbent.

The Garfield Avenue Baptist Church began with a mission which resulted in independent organization in February, 1882. The South Side Baptist Church was organized in 1874, and built its first church not far from the spot on which the earliest Milwaukee society of Baptists was organized in 1835. It is now located at the corner of South Twenty-ninth and West Scott streets. The Bay View Baptist Church was organized April 2, 1892.

The first German Baptist Church was organized in 1855.

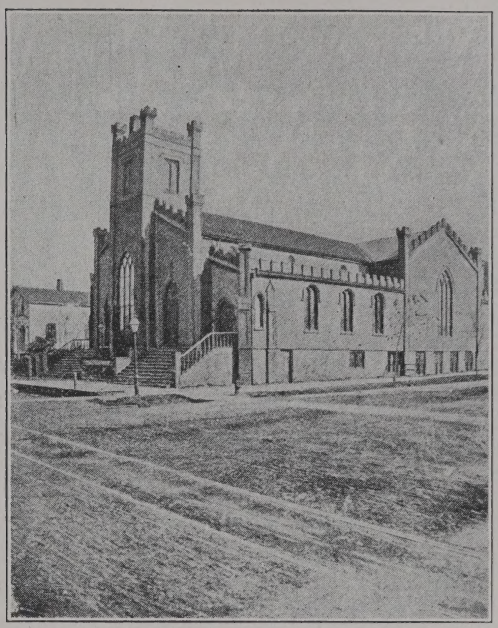
The panic of 1837 interrupted arrangements for the founding of an organization of Milwaukee Episcopalians in that year, but early in 1838 the Rev. John Noble was induced to come to the settlement, conducting his first service in a frame building at the northeast corner of Wisconsin and East Water streets. April, 1838 witnessed the organization of the parish of St. Paul's, with Samuel Wright and Dr. J. S. Hewitt as wardens, A. S. Hosmer, Cyrus Hawley, Hans Crocker, Joshua Hathaway and J. S. Rockwell as vestrymen, and the Rev. Mr. Noble as rector. Bishop Kemper visited Milwaukee for the first time in January, 1839. Mr. Noble retired at the end of five months, and the Rev. Lemuel Hull accepted the post of rector in June or July, 1839, holding regular services in the courthouse, lecturing on Sunday evenings in a schoolhouse on the west side of the river, and once a week going out to Prairieville for the purpose of preaching. He visited all the neighboring settlements for miles around, "looking up church families" and making friends wherever he appeared.

There has survived a description of Mr. Hull as a fine-looking gentleman of the old school, possessed of comfortable means, and of refined and even luxurious tastes. When he came to Milwau-

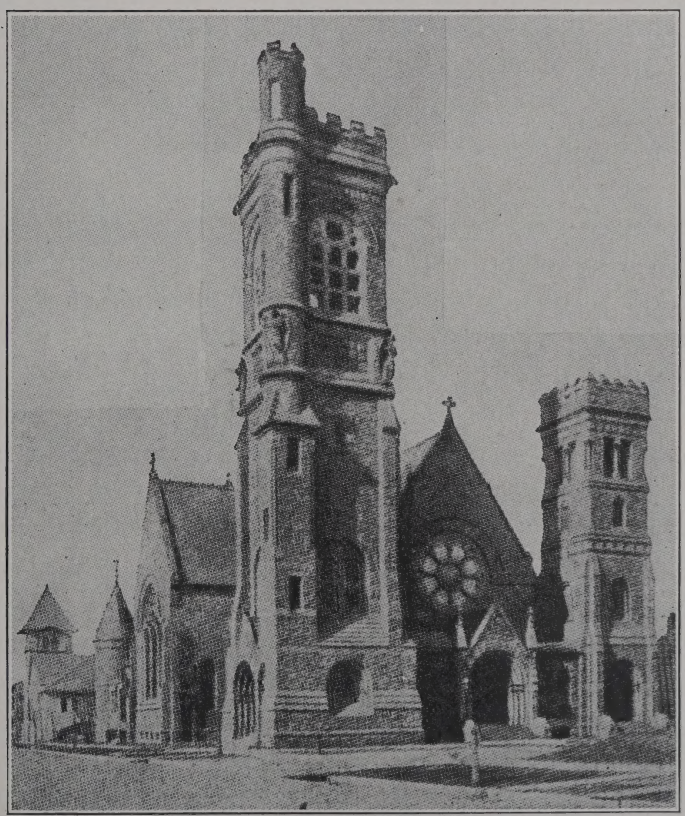
kee the Episcopalians worshiped in the courthouse. It was his initiative that led to the erection of the first St. Paul's Church, a small frame building, afterward several times enlarged, which occupied what is now the site of the Layton Art Gallery; but he did not live to witness its construction. After four years of fruitful labor, his work was suddenly cut short by death in October, 1843. Much of the property now included in Forest Home Cemetery was Mr. Hull's farm, he suggesting its adaptability to the purpose for which it is now used, and deeding a part of it to a cemetery association composed of members of the church. His home on Wisconsin Street eventually became the property of Moses Kneeland, whose residence it was for many years. When the first St. Paul's Church was completed a memorial tablet for Mr. Hull was given a conspicuous place in it. This tablet is now affixed to the wall near the altar in the present St. Paul's Church at the corner of Knapp and Marshall streets.

Records still preserved attest that at the annual meeting on March 22, 1844, Paraclete Potter and Francis Randall were elected wardens, and L. J. Higby, J. A. Helfenstein, Harrison Ludington, L. J. Farwell and Cyrus Hawley vestrymen. The rectorship, vacant at that date, was filled in the spring of 1845 by the Rev. Benjamin Akerly, who held the first service in the then new church, where the Layton Art Gallery now stands, on the 26th of March, 1845. Mr. Akerly was as devoted as Mr. Hull had been to church-extension work, and in this he received cordial coöperation from a number of his parishioners. Energetic and efficient, he never spared himself. In 1853 he had fallen into a low state of health and resigned. The Rev. William W. Arnett, D. D. accepted a call and remained till 1856, after which the pulpit was unoccupied for the space of a year.

The successor of Doctor Arnett was the Rev. James Cook Richmond. Mr. Richmond was an Easterner, who had been ordained in early manhood. Subsequently, on account of oddity of demeanor, he fell under suspicion of insanity. When a Massachusetts commission inquired into his case, however, it could find nothing more serious against him than that he possessed a superactive brain. Those who had instigated proceedings de lunatico being unable to deprive him of his liberty, he went abroad, making a tour of Europe. In England he walked the streets of cities with



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH
Site of the Layton Art Gallery, showing the old street car tracks on Jefferson Street.



ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

a Greek Testament in his hand, haranguing loiterers by the wayside. Thence he proceeded to Germany, where he encountered difficulties with authorities who mistook him for a French spy, but on proving his identity he was set at liberty. Before returning to America, he traveled in Palestine.

"Father" Richmond, as he came to be popularly known in Milwaukee, was tall and angular—a character in whom individuality was so singularly developed that he attracted attention wherever he appeared. His oratorical powers enabled him to hold crowds enthralled. The commonalty adored him, although there were respected members of the community who came to regard him with disapproval. No premonition that this would be the case had been entertained by the leading citizens at whose invitation he accepted the responsible post of rector of St. Paul's. He had not been a candidate for the position. The pulpit was vacant. Mr. Richmond came to the city in the course of a lecturing tour. At Albany Hall, then Milwaukee's principal auditorium, a large and cultured audience listened spellbound to the recital of his experiences in the Holy Land. Among those impressed with the charm of his discourse were members of the congregation of St. Paul's. Mr. Richmond was persuaded to remain in the city for a few days and deliver another public lecture. In the interim the wardens and vestrymen held a meeting at which it was decided to ask him to take charge of the vacant parish, and he accepted.

The St. Paul's Church of that day was a modest wooden structure, as were most Milwaukee churches of the early times, and while ample for all that had been demanded of it up to then, was soon found to be in need of enlargement to hold the crowds that gathered to listen to Mr. Richmond's sermons. Critics there were who complained that he wandered from his texts, but the multitude made no complaint when in the midst of a homily he recalled picturesque or thrilling scenes and incidents encountered on his travels. Sometimes the attendance of non-members was so large that the crowd filled all the pews, while an overflow occupied the steps leading to the door and even blocked the sidewalk. The vestrymen enlarged the church.

No one questioned the sincerity of Father Richmond, but there were objections to his taste. When, as happened one morning, he entered the pulpit with the exclamation, "Have faith or be

damned!" it was admitted that he was not in the habit of swearing, and that his object was merely to emphasize the significance of a passage that he proceeded to quote from St. Paul. Dissatisfaction persisted in some quarters and admiration in others, leading to the rise of two parties, one of which stood by the rector, while the other insisted he should resign. On one occasion, in the course of his announcements from the pulpit, he gave out a notice that on the following Sunday he would conduct an open-air service in the German language, and requested all his German hearers to attend and bring their prayer books. When the hour arrived he said, "We will open this service by singing the good old Lutheran hymn 'Ein feste Burg ist Unser Gott.'" His own hymn book in his hand, he walked among the people, listening till he found one whose singing pleased him, and standing by this good singer till the hymn was finished.

Father Richmond was a practical Christian. Learning of the death of the child of a poor woman who was without means to pay for its decent burial, he went to an undertaking establishment, procured a coffin at his own expense and carried it under his arm to the house of mourning, making arrangements for the funeral and performing the service himself. At another time he conceived the notion that a poor widow of his acquaintance would be able to get along if she owned a cow. He went to a cattle market on the West Side, purchased a cow for the widow, and started to lead the animal to its destination. Another idea occurred to him while he was on the way. He tied the cow in front of the place of business of one of his parishioners—a wealthy merchant who had sided with his critics—and endeavored to get the gentleman to become a customer of the widow for the purpose of giving her a start in the milk business.

The very eccentricities of Father Richmond seemed to endear him to his admirers, but his persistence in unconventionalities brought him more and more into disfavor with the more sedate members of his church. Once the vestrymen locked him out, whereupon he preached to a crowd in the street, Messrs. Matt H. Carpenter, E. G. Ryan and a number of other parishioners participating in the service.

Toward the end of 1858 the vestrymen petitioned Bishop Kemper to sunder the relations existing between the rector and

the parish. After holding a consultation on the subject, the Bishop ruled that the salary of Mr. Richmond should be paid to December 1st, 1859, but that he should retire from the rectorship on the 21st of June. With encouragement from his friends, Mr. Richmond founded an independent organization which he called the Church of St. Paul, secured a lot on the east side of Jackson Street between Martin and Division streets [East State Street and East Juneau Avenue,] and began the erection of a church building. The vestry of St. Paul's protested, but the 28th of September witnessed the formal opening of the new church by Bishop Kemper and the induction of Mr. Richmond as rector. When he started his new church, mechanics who believed in him rallied with their wives and families to give him what support was in their power. Skilled carpenters labored on the edifice without pay, some of them carrying on their work far into the night, while their wives held candles that they might see what they were doing in an era long preceding the invention of electric light. In connection with the Church of St. Paul Father Richmond conducted a school with fifty pupils. During the first year of the Church of St. Paul there were ninety-three baptisms, fifty-one confirmations, 118 communicants and from 160 to 178 children in the Sunday school. In 1861 the Free Church of the Atonement, which had been opened as a mission under the direction of the Bishop in March, 1857, was committed by the Bishop to the care of Mr. Richmond.

At the breaking out of the Civil war Father Richmond became the embodiment of patriotic fervor, performing wonders as a voluntary recruiting agent for the Union Army. While the First Wisconsin Regiment was in temporary quarters at Camp Scott he hired a large wagon, loaded the members of his choir into it, took an American flag in his hands and mounted the seat beside the driver. Then he went to the camp, holding a service of song and prayer and preaching a sermon instinct with patriotic fervor, at the conclusion of which many of his hearers were in tears.

Accepting appointment to the chaplaincy of the Second Regiment of Wisconsin Infantry, Father Richmond went out with the troops, remaining in the army till the close of the war. Then he returned to the home of his youth, on a farm in Dutchess County, New York, where, in July, 1866, he was murdered in a quarrel

over a line fence, Mr. Carpenter—this being before his election to the Senate of the United States—going to New York and volunteering his services to aid in bringing the perpetrator of the crime to justice. Protracted litigation resulted in sentence of the slayer for manslaughter.

It has been noted that the connection of Mr. Richmond with St. Paul's was brought to abrupt conclusion in June, 1859. Strongly contrasted with his fiery impetuosity was the gentle nature of his successor, the Rev. Dr. William Bliss Ashley. Doctor Ashley was a gentleman of scholarship and refinement, with quiet domestic tastes and a settled order of life, kindly in his relations with his fellow men, but not devoid of firmness. He was strongly inclined to be distrustful of spectacularity and breathless innovation. Beginning in 1860, his rectorship continued till the summer of 1876, conferring upon old St. Paul's a period of uneventful prosperity. Associated with him in the charge of the growing parish for several years were the Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, who later rose to eminence, and the Rev. Ebenezer Thompson. After his resignation, Doctor Ashley officiated for a time as rector of a parish in London, England, returning to Milwaukee toward the close of his life. The next rector of St. Paul's was the Rev. Dr. John Fulton, occupying its pulpit from the 12th of November, 1876, till ill health compelled his resignation in April, 1880. Doctor Fulton was noted for the solidity as well as the literary quality of his sermons. Broad in his learning and his outlook on life, he was fortunate in his contacts with men, and under his rectorship St. Paul's continued to flourish.

Doctor Lester was born at New London, Connecticut, in May, 1846, his family moving to Boston while he was a boy. Graduated from the Roxbury Latin School in 1863, he made a tour of Europe in company with the members of his class and the head master. After courses at Harvard and the University of Berlin, followed by a tour of Russia, he entered the Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1869. In 1870 he married. His first charge was the Church of the Messiah at West Newton, Massachusetts. Four years later he became rector of St. Paul's Church at Kenwood, Illinois. It was in 1880 that he accepted an invitation to come to Milwaukee as rector of St. Paul's, then housed in the antiquated wooden structure at the northeast corner of Jeffer-

son and Mason streets. He built the present St. Paul's Church, which, at the time of its completion in 1884, at a cost of $225,000, was regarded as one of the finest religious edifices in the United States. Such was his energy that the indebtedness incurred had been liquidated at the end of six years. Doctor Lester's sermons, eloquent, scholarly, pertinent to the life and issues of the time, attracted wide attention, nor did he slight other functions of the clerical office. Innumerable were his kindly acts of ministration to the afflicted. April 21, 1902, after nearly thirty years in the ministry and twenty-one years at St. Paul's, he sent his resignation to the vestry, desiring it to take effect on the 1st of the following July, his reason for retiring being that he was in ill health and desired a long rest, which he purposed to devote to archeological and historical studies abroad. Before Mr. Lester came to Milwaukee his first wife had died and he had married again. The Mrs. Lester who was known and esteemed in Milwaukee and who shared his European travels died in 1909 at Washington, D. C., where they made their residence after coming back to the United States. Doctor Lester died in March, 1913, on shipboard, while returning from a trip to the Panama Canal.

Following Doctor Lester, the Rev. William Austin Smith made a memorable impression as a brilliant preacher and a sincere man. He received calls from various quarters and finally responded to one of these invitations to a wider field. In succession to Mr. Smith came the Rev. Holmes Whitmore, whose services the historic parish still retains.

St. John's Episcopal Church, at the corner of Hanover and Pierce streets (now South Third and West Pierce streets), on the South Side, originated with coöperation from the older parish of St. Paul's. Its organization was effected June 7, 1847, with Lemuel W. Weeks and William H. Cross as wardens and George H. Walker, Evan Edwards, Rufus King, J. S. Fillmore and Robert Helfenstein as vestrymen. The Rev. Dr. David Keene, elected to the rectorship in 1847, continued in charge from that time till near the close of his long and useful life, which came to an end on February 23, 1893. The original wooden church, which was the first house of worship erected on the South Side, was replaced by a brick edifice dedicated in 1852. Doctor Keene's successors in the rectorship were the Rev. Dean Richmond Bab-

bitt, the Rev. F. W. Webber and the Rev. James Slidell. The present rector of St. John's is the Rev. N. D. Bigelow.

From 1846 to 1849 there was a Trinity Episcopal Church on the West Side, whose members at first met in a store building owned by Dr. I. A. Lapham and then erected a small wooden church of Gothic design. The Rev. Benjamin Akerly of St. Paul's conducted the services till Rev. J. P. T. Ingraham was engaged as rector. The organization did not flourish, and after the resignation of Mr. Ingraham went out of existence.

The beginning of St. James' Church is traced to a meeting called by Mr. Akerly which was held in the vestry room of St. Paul's Church July 14, 1850, with the object of forming a parish on the West Side. Fourteen persons were in attendance—James Kneeland, Francis Randall, Judge A. G. Miller, James B. Martin, J. W. Newbury, T. R. Roddis, J. A. Swain, C. S. Ross, J. B. Roe, Archibald Wolson, J. A. Helfenstein, H. L. Palmer, Winfield Smith and A. W. Hatch. The Rev. Solon B. Manney was the first rector, remaining until 1852. After him came the Rev. J. P. T. Ingraham, who officiated till 1863; the Rev. John Wilkinson, 1864-1870; the Rev. Nathan H. Chamberlain, 1870-2; the Rev. Morrison Byllesby, 1874; the Rev. W. H. Throop, 1875-1883; the Rev. George W. Dumbell, 1883-5; the Rev. E. G. Richardson, whose long rectorship is a comparatively recent memory. Later came the eloquent Rev. Frederick Edwards, who was followed by the Rev. Dr. Arthur H. Lord, the present respected and valued incumbent.

The way in which St. James' came to be located where it is on Wisconsin Avenue near the intersection of Ninth Street is interesting in connection with the history of the city. Records attest that on July 20, 1839, the president and trustees of the Town of Milwaukee purchased on account of and for the West Ward the lots numbered 1, 3, 8, 9 and 10, in block numbered 64 in said ward, for the purpose of a burying ground, and laid out the said lots into lots and alleys, this last subdivision being for burial purposes. May 31, 1851, the Second Ward deeded unconditionally its interest in this tract to the Fourth Ward, and the same day, in consideration of the sum of $150, lot 1 was deeded by the Fourth Ward to the rector, wardens and vestrymen of St. James' Church, provided that if the said premises should cease

to be used for church purposes for the space of one year the estate should revert to the Fourth Ward. This provision was in force till June 17, 1868, when the lot was unconditionally conveyed to St. James' Parish by the city. The lot extended from the alley to about the center of the church as it now stands. May 21, 1867, the western portion of the present plot occupied by the church was purchased from James Kneeland. When the church came into possession most of the bodies in the old cemetery were removed for reinterment at Forest Home. The first church edifice occupied by the congregation of St. James' was the disused structure built by the Unitarians in 1844 at the corner of what is now Wisconsin Avenue and Second Street. It was a wooden building, Greek in design, and was removed to the old cemetery site. After worshiping in it for nearly twenty years the Episcopalians used it for a guild hall till a very recent time, when it went the way of many other relics of old-time Milwaukee.

The corner-stone of a fine stone church was laid by Bishop Kemper in 1867, and the main structure brought to substantial completion in 1868. In 1872 the tower was finished and supplied with its chime of bells, the money to purchase which was raised by popular subscription. In December of that year, the building, with the exception of the tower was destroyed by fire. Work of reconstruction was promptly begun, and a new St. James' was dedicated on the 19th of April, 1874. Since that time it has been more than once enlarged and supplied with elaborate accommodations for the various activities of the parish.

The Free Church of the Atonement, on Jefferson Street between Wisconsin and Michigan, was opened by Bishop Kemper in 1857 as a city mission to be cared for under his direction by the Milwaukee parishes, and Rev. Henry Martyn Thompson was placed in charge, a parish organization being formed in 1858, with Thomas B. Kemp and Richard Rastall, Jr., as wardens. In 1861 this church was placed in care of Mr. Richmond and later in that of Doctor Ashley. Other clergymen were connected with it from time to time, but its affairs languished, and in 1865 it was united with the church which had been founded by Father Richmond.

When Father Richmond ended his services in Milwaukee, to accept the chaplaincy of an army hospital at Washington, in June,

1862, the Rev. Charles V. Kelly, of Chicago, became his successor as rector of the Church of St. Paul, and its name was changed to Trinity. Friction arose between some of the vestrymen of Trinity and Doctor Kelly, who resigned in 1866.

At the diocesan convention held in June, 1866, in view of the age and infirmity of Bishop Kemper, it was resolved to elect an assistant bishop of Wisconsin, and the Rev. William E. Armitage, rector of St. John's at Detroit, was chosen to that office, his consecration taking place at Detroit on the 6th of December in the same year. The development of the cathedral system in Milwaukee is attributable to his initiative.

Soon after his arrival, the vestry of Trinity Church proposed the transfer of its property to Bishop Armitage without conditions, this being effected on the 7th of May, 1867. The building stood on leased ground and was encumbered with a debt, the only avails of the transfer being pews and chancel furniture. In May, 1870, the corporations of Trinity and the Church of the Atonement dissolved, whereupon Bishop Armitage, holding the property of the latter without a parish organization, reopened the old church on Jackson Street as All Saints' Church, by which name it had been called since as early as 1867. Among those attending the services were some who desired a parish organization. All Saints' parish had been formed on the 7th of July, 1867, with George W. Perrine, M. D., and S. R. Kemper as wardens, William H. Hearding, John F. Birchard, Knut Peterson and Joseph McC. Bell as vestrymen and L. H. Morehouse as treasurer. Without exception, these officers favored the cathedral project. The property had been deeded by its trustees not to the Bishop, but to the parish. The first act of the newly organized vestry was to call Bishop Armitage as rector. A site for a new All Saints' had been purchased at the northwest corner of Division [Juneau] Street and Prospect Avenue. Here, before the lease of the Jackson Street property expired, there had begun the erection of a building at first intended to serve as a chapel, the cornerstone of which was laid in November, 1869; but, money being scarce, and the need of accommodations urgent, the structure was adapted primarily to the purposes of a school, though occupied as a chapel. By the death of Bishop Kemper, in 1870, Bishop Armitage became Bishop of Wisconsin, resigning the rectorship of All Saints' par-

ish. His successor was the Rev. W. H. Beers, D. D., who resigned in 1872. Asked at this time to take charge of affairs at All Saints', Bishop Armitage complied, and placed the Rev. Erastus Spalding in residence as his chaplain.

The period following the establishment of the rolling mills at Bay View and immediately preceding the panic of 1873 was marked by a notable enhancement of real estate values in Milwaukee. In 1872 arose a tempting opportunity, of which All Saints' parish availed itself, to sell its Prospect Avenue holding and secure a more central location at the northeast corner of Division [Juneau] and Cass streets. This comprised a quarter-block. The quarter-block adjoining on the east, extending to Marshall Street, belonged to the Olivet Congregationalist society, which had erected a costly and beautiful church, but was beset with financial and other difficulties, ultimately leading to disbandment, which forced it to place its property on the market at a price much below the sum expended in the construction of the church. With assistance from friends in the East, Bishop Armitage secured $15,000, effecting the purchase by the payment of this amount and the assumption of a mortgage of $20,000 with which the property was encumbered. The title was vested in Bishop Armitage, Rev. Mr. Spalding and J. F. Birchard, who at once executed a declaration of trust, holding the sightly edifice as the cathedral of the diocese. Taking possession, the Bishop on Whitsunday, 1873, delivered an address in which he said:

"This is not All Saints' Church, nor does the property belong to the parish or congregation of All Saints'. That corporation owns the chapel where most of us have been worshiping, and the clergy-house, and, duly empowered by an order of court, is prepared, when the moment comes, to convey its property also for the uses of a cathedral. This property has been purchased by myself with two associates, one clergyman and one layman, for that same purpose of a cathedral. We hold it as joint tenants until it is paid for, and then it will pass to the incorporated trustees of the diocese, or to a special corporation for the diocese, as may be determined on full consideration."

At the diocesan council of 1873 Bishop Armitage advanced the following definition:

"To me a cathedral means a free church, open to all, in which

the bishop can be the pastor of the whole flock, caring for them through his staff of clergy and lay helpers, gradually gathering the institutions and appliances of all the church's blessed charities, affording a training school for the workers of the diocese of every kind, and finally realizing in one central point, for the good of all, the full ideal of the church's life in worship and work."

He added that while he did not expect to see this ideal fully realized, he felt confident it would be worked out at some future day.

The death of Bishop Armitage, in the forty-third year of his age, occurred on the 7th of December, 1873. A spirited and protracted contest over the choice of a successor resulted in the election of the Rev. E. R. Welles, who was consecrated on the 24th of October, 1874. Differences of opinion regarding the expediency of the cathedral project developed after the new bishop's arrival, and, as a stranger in the diocese, he took time for studying conditions before recommending legislation that would place the matter on a permanent basis. In December, 1877, Bishop Welles organized a Provisional Chapter for the cathedral in accordance with the tenure of the draft of a canon made in 1873 but never acted upon by the diocesan council. At the same time he named the Rev. E. W. Spalding as dean, the Rev. C. L. Mallory and the Rev. E. R. Ward as resident canons, the Rev. Dr. David Keene and the Rev. W. H. Throop as associate canons, the Rev. Dr. James De Koven, the Rev. Dr. William Adams and the Rev. John Wilkinson as conciliar canons, the Rev. Dr. William Bliss Ashley, the Rev. F. Royce and the Rev. A. M. Lewis as missionary canons, Messrs. J. F. Birchard, Samuel Bush and J. F. Reigart as lay associates and L. H. Morehouse as treasurer. Doctor Keene and Mr. Throop declined to serve.

As time passed controversy on the subject of the cathedral subsided. The cathedral was recognized in the revised constitution and canons adopted by the convention of the diocese in 1882. On June 19 of that year the property of All Saints' parish was transferred to the joint tenants of the cathedral property and the parish organization dissolved. All Saints' Cathedral was legally incorporated in 1894.

Constrained by failing health to seek a milder climate than that of Milwaukee, Dean Spalding resigned his work and left the

city in the autumn of 1884, and Canon Mallory became his successor. The extinguishment of the indebtedness of the cathedral was made the occasion of formal celebration on All Saints' Day, 1884, though the balance due on the All Saints' parish property was not cleared off till several years later.

Since Bishop Kemper, whose home was at Delafield, all the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Diocese of Wisconsin have been residents of Milwaukee. In his brief but energetic and devoted career Bishop Armitage made many friends by whom his early death was felt as a personal bereavement. The Rev. E. R. Welles, D. D., who was elected to succeed him, was born at Waterloo, New York, January 10, 1830, graduated from Hobart College, and ordained to the priesthood in 1858, in which year he became rector of Christ Church, Red Wing, Minnesota, which charge he retained till his elevation to the episcopate. He took up his residence in Milwaukee in 1874, performing his duties with a sincerity of devotion which commanded respect from members of contending factions and went far toward promoting unity of action. In June, 1888 he went to England to attend a meeting of the Lambeth Conference, returning to this country in October, in feeble health, and proceeding to his old home at Waterloo, New York, where he died on the 20th of that month. His remains were brought to Milwaukee for burial at Forest Home Cemetery, but subsequently were removed to Red Wing to be re-interred beside those of his wife.

A special council for the election of his successor, held at All Saints' Cathedral, December 12, 1888, resulted in the choice of the Rev. Cyrus Frederick Knight, D. D., D. C. L., rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Born at Boston, March 28, 1831, and graduated from Burlington College, Harvard University and the General Theological Seminary, he had been ordained to the priesthood in 1856 and had spent several years in travel abroad, after which he had held charges at Boston and Hartford before accepting the rectorship at Lancaster from which he was called to the episcopate.

The death of Bishop Knight on the 8th of June, 1891, came so suddenly and unexpectedly as to shock all who knew him. He had lived in Milwaukee not much more than two years, and from the nature of his duties had become known in hardly more than

a casual way to the public outside of the Episcopal Church. The dignified and responsible character of his office naturally enlisted a large measure of interest in his personality and all that was known of him was to his advantage. He was a man of broad learning and culture, with worldly knowledge and tact which he made peculiarly useful to the diocese by readjusting conditions which had been prolific of discord. When he came to Milwaukee he was in vigorous health. The paralytic stroke which ended his life in the sixty-first year of his age was preceded by an attack of the grippe.

The Rt. Rev. Isaac Lea Nicholson, S. T. D., was the fifth bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Milwaukee, and one of the best known and most influential high churchmen in the United States. Born at Baltimore, January 18, 1844, the son of a distinguished Maryland family, his health was frail, and after early education at a church school, it was determined that he lacked robustness of constitution to warrant the strain of continued study. Instead of entering college he went into his father's banking house, where after seven years he became a member of the firm. Success in the commercial world had never led him to waver from an early desire to obtain a college education. In 1869 he left the banking business to enter Dartmouth and later the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, from which he was graduated in 1871, being ordained as deacon in the same year. For four years he was assistant rector at St. Paul's, Baltimore, whence he was called to his first parish, at Westmoreland, Md., in 1875, and in 1879 he became rector of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, where he remained till his elevation to the episcopate. In 1890 the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology was conferred upon him by Nashotah. June 7, 1891, he was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Milwaukee, succeeding Bishop Knight, with whom he had been on terms of close personal friendship for many years.

It was as a business man that he made his first impression upon the community in which he was now called to serve. The panic of 1893 flooded the West with misfortunes. The failure of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Bank involved the financial ruin of David Ferguson, its cashier, who was treasurer of the Diocesan Mission Fund, amounting to $500,000, of which

$25,000 was the endowment fund of the diocese, the remainder belonging to Nashotah Seminary. Fortified by his experiences as a banker, Bishop Nicholson took the solution of the problem into his own hands. The fund had been wiped out of existence, but when Bishop Nicholson consulted with Mr. Ferguson, that veteran custodian of trusts agreed to transfer to the Bishop the only property remaining to him in the world—his homestead—as a contribution toward the liquidation of the indebtedness. The Bishop assumed the management of this property, which under the thrifty administration of Bishop Nicholson finally was brought to yield rentals in excess of the cost of its maintenance, so that it could be carried till the arrival of a favorable time to sell.

Bishop Nicholson encouraged the diocese to erect a new residence for the clergy, personally assuming the financing of the debt of $125,000 incurred by reason of the improvement, and paying the interest on it out of his own resources to the time of his death. Racine Grammar School was closed when he came to the diocese. He caused it to be reopened, and with his aid it was placed on a successful basis. Nashotah Seminary was also indebted to Bishop Nicholson for much of its prosperity at a time when the whole Western country was going through financial stress.

In 1906 the failing health of Bishop Nicholson admonished necessity for a coadjutor, to which office the Council elected the Rt. Rev. William Walter Webb, who succeeded to the episcopate on the death of Bishop Nicholson a few months later, and has continued in the administration of its functions to the present day.

Eleven congregations of Episcopalians are listed in the current issue of the Milwaukee City Directory.

Of Lutheran congregations the number listed in the Directory is seventy-three. Many of the German Lutherans who crossed the Atlantic in groups during the years between 1839 and 1843 passed through Milwaukee to take up agricultural lands in Washington County. By the latter year there was a thriving congregation at Kirchhayn, not far from Cedarburg. Another was established at Freistadt, in what later became Ozaukee County. Pastors Kinderman and Krause made regular visits from these

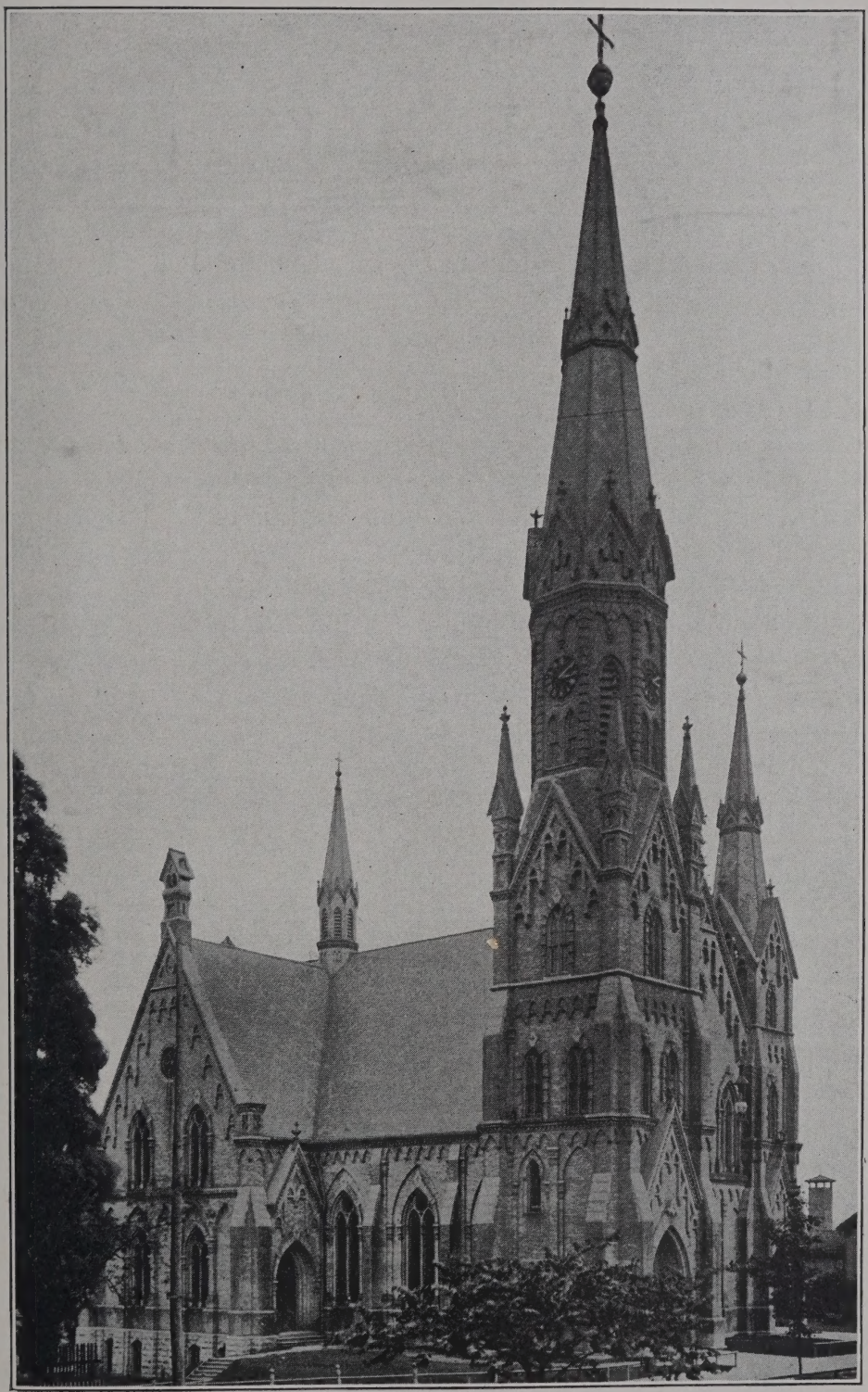
GRACE LUTHERAN CHURCH, BROADWAY AND JUNEAU AVENUE

places to Milwaukee, conducting occasional services for the Lutherans here, who had become numerous on both sides of the river in the vicinity of Chestnut Street bridge. As early as 1844 had arisen the beginnings of two congregations which later prospered greatly—Grace Church on one side of the river and Trinity Church on the other.

Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church was founded in 1849, its first pastor being Rev. John Muelhaeuser, who at that time was president of the Wisconsin Synod. The northwest corner of Main and Division streets (now Broadway and East Juneau Avenue) became the site of the church and its parochial school, both of which flourished under the energetic ministrations of the pastor, who gave all his energies to their promotion from the time of his arrival in the city to the end of his life. He died on the 5th of September, 1867.

In reminiscences contributed to the *Evening Wisconsin* thirty years ago, C. T. Wettstein, who came to Milwaukee with his father, Theodore Wettstein, soon after the Mexican War, observed:

"In 1848 paper and other money must have been pretty scarce. Farmers and workmen were all obliged to be content with 'store pay'—orders on clothing, grocery or other stores. One day my father gave me a coarse canvas bag three-fourths full of silver dollars, which I was to take to Greulich & Haertel, wholesale and retail grocers, at the corner of Chestnut and Third streets, near the red bridge. Greulich & Haertel were then the leading retail grocery house in the city, and in the evening their store was filled with influential Germans of Kilbourntown. There were Doctor Huebschmann, Henry Niedecken and others, sitting on barrels, coffee sacks and soap boxes, talking politics or gossiping over local affairs. We then lived in a small cottage on the hill, somewhere about where Walnut and Fourth streets cross each other now. There were no roads to our cottage; we had to walk over the grass and rough land in order to reach it. One little house and a match factory were all the buildings I remember as being near by. The bag with the silver dollars was a heavy load. I thought at the time it must contain a thousand dollars—probably a hundred was closer to the actual amount. The building of Greulich & Haertel disappeared to make room for the La Crosse railroad



TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH

tracks. On the opposite—the northwest—corner stood a three-story building which had a large hall on the third floor, in which meetings, balls and concerts were held [the Hustis Block]. In this hall Grace Lutheran Church was born, with the Rev. Johannes Muelhaeuser as its organizer and first pastor, and when his first class was confirmed I was one of its members. He and his family occupied a few rooms on the second floor. Rev. Mr. Muelhaeuser soon became one of the leading Protestant ministers of the city. He was a sincere and faithful servant of the Lord. He spent his leisure hours in visiting the poor and the afflicted. One of the first persons he visited in Milwaukee for the purpose of consulting as to conditions and securing advice was my father, who, while he did not join his church, respected the excellent pastor and supported his efforts whenever he could. In 1851 or 1852, during the cholera epidemic, he came daily to our hotel with a basket on his arm. He had undertaken to furnish soup and other eatables to cholera patients, visiting them daily and fearing nothing, though most of the people of Milwaukee were terribly scared. My father gave him permission to go into the kitchen whenever he wanted food for the sick or poor. Mr. Muelhaeuser soon became well known in every part of the city. When he needed money he would go to Alexander Mitchell and state his wants, giving the details in each case. Mr. Mitchell would accept his judgment as to what was needed and give him the required amount. One day he passed our place with his cane on his shoulder and a wooden washstand hanging on the crooked end of the cane. He had begged it from a furniture store for a poor family."

Long before Pastor Muelhaeuser had finished his earlier pilgrimage many families in his congregation, by exercise of industry and thrift, had acquired a status enabling them to contribute liberally for the support of charity and religion. After the city had expanded and many of them had removed to fashionable residence districts in the outskirts, so strong was their sentimental regard for historic ground that they reared their costly new church on the site which had been hallowed by the old one, and, though the worshipers assemble from considerable distances, its services are largely attended even at the present day.

Trinity Lutheran Church traces its separate existence to 1847. Under the ministry of Rev. E. G. W. Kyle it became affiliated with

the Synod of Missouri and Ohio. Its pastor from 1850 to 1876 was Rev. F. Lochner. It was during the ministry of Mr. Lochner's successor, the Rev. Henry F. Sprengeler, that the project of building the stately and beautiful house of worship on the property at Ninth and Prairie streets which had been given for the purpose by John Pritzlaff was begun in earnest and carried to completion. Mr. Sprengeler's pastorate continued for nearly fifty years, during which period he served at different times as president of the Wisconsin District, Synod of Missouri, and chairman of the Board of Control of Concordia College. In his closing days he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was born in Hanover in 1846, and came to this country with his parents at the age of ten. He was graduated from Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, and served as pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Minnesota for six years before coming to the pulpit of the Trinity congregation in Milwaukee.

Rev. William Streissguth, another noted Lutheran minister, died May 20, 1915, aged eighty-eight, after sixty years in the Lutheran ministry. He came to this country from Baden, and held various charges in Wisconsin, building up St. John's congregation in this city during twelve years of faithful work. At Fond du Lac, at St. Paul, and elsewhere he had charge of churches which were strengthened by his earnest labor and high example. He was a writer of ability and influence, held various offices of responsibility in the church, and was identified with the establishment and improvement of the church schools.

Rev. Dr. W. K. Frick, who died August 20, 1918, was pastor of the English Lutheran Church of the Redeemer. The beautiful edifice at the corner of Wisconsin Avenue and Nineteenth Street is a monument of his labor. He and his wife arrived in Milwaukee in September, 1889, coming from St. Peter, Minn., where he had been professor of English in Gustavus Adolfus College. He knew no one here, but secured the use of a hall on Grand Avenue and began holding meetings which resulted in the establishment of the English Lutheran Church of the Redeemer. At the time of his death six English Lutheran churches in the city and seventeen in the state were pointed to as the outgrowth of the work which he thus began. The Church of the Redeemer on Wisconsin Avenue was dedicated on the 17th of February, 1917.

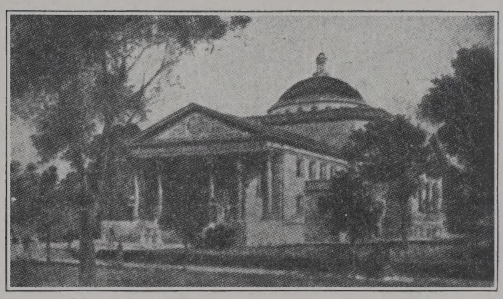
Norwegian Lutherans listened to preaching in their own language in this city as early as 1846, and organized the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Milwaukee, on the South Side, in 1851.

A striking instance of rapid growth on the part of a new denomination is illustrated by the history of the Christian Science churches of this city. In the latter part of the year 1883, when Christian Science was not widely known outside of the New England States, a copy of "Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker Eddy, came into the possession of Dr. S. J. and Mrs. J. E. Sawyer, of Milwaukee, impressing them so deeply that they went to Boston and entered the class which Mrs. Eddy taught in the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Doctor Sawyer taught the first class of students in Christian Science in the State of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in March, 1884. Public meetings were held at the Sawyer home, 809 Grand (now Wisconsin) Avenue, and at Doctor Sawyer's place of business, and Christian Science literature was freely distributed. These activities resulted in the organization and incorporation of a church in Milwaukee, in January, 1889, known as Church of Christ, Scientist, the title being changed to First Church of Christ, Scientist, in 1893.

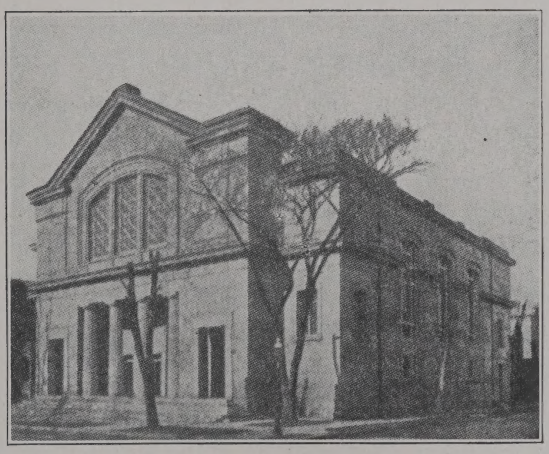
In December, 1887, Mrs. J. G. N. Clark and Miss Emelyn M. Tobey, who also were students of Mrs. Eddy, formed the Christian Science Public Service Society, holding Thursday evening services in a rented hall, and later regular Sunday services and Friday evening meetings. In January, 1892, this society became a corporate body under the name of the Milwaukee Church of Christ, Scientist. This title was changed to Second Church of Christ, Scientist, in October, 1899.

In April, 1904, First and Second churches came together as First Church of Christ, Scientist, and occupied a structure on Van Buren Street which had been built by the former First Church in 1902 at a cost of $42,000. In January, 1906, Third and Fourth Churches of Christ, Scientist, which had been organized in 1901 and 1903, respectively, the former in the northwestern part of the city and the latter on the South Side, united with First Church of Christ, Scientist.

In 1906 another Second Church of Christ, Scientist, was



CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH,
HIGHLAND BOULEVARD



CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH,
PROSPECT AVENUE

organized, and held services at 470 Farwell Avenue. This church did not continue, but in the early part of 1910 relinquished its title as a branch of the Mother Church. However, a number of members of First Church of Christ, Scientist, withdrew from membership in that congregation and joined Second Church of Christ, Scientist, this influx reviving the organization, whereupon renewed recognition of the church was requested from the Christian Science Board of Directors. Under the name of Fourth Church of Christ, Scientist, recognition was accorded. This Fourth Church continued, holding services in various rented quarters on the East Side until late in the year 1918. During the intervening period it acquired and paid for a building site, 130 by 120 feet, at the southeast corner of Stowell Avenue and Kenwood Boulevard, and changed its name to Third Church of Christ, Scientist. On January 21, 1919, it dissolved its organization and surrendered its charter.

The body of Christian Scientists brought together by the union of other churches with First Church was too large for the edifice on Van Buren Street, and Sunday services were held for a time in the Pabst Theater, while Wednesday evening meetings were held in the old Plymouth Church, at the corner of Van Buren Street and what is now East Wells Street. To meet an obvious need, First Church began the erection of a stately edifice on the corner of Prospect Avenue and what is now Curtis Place. Ground was broken May 27, 1907, and the corner-stone laid in the following August. In February, 1908, when considerable progress had been made, the structure was destroyed by fire, making necessary the tearing down of walls and removal of debris before rebuilding could begin. On March 14, 1909, the new church was dedicated.

While the construction of the commodious house of worship was under way fresh accessions to membership increased the size of the congregation. After it entered upon occupancy of the new building, morning and evening sessions were held, with a view to accommodating all; but soon it became evident that necessity existed for the establishment of another church. May 7, 1909, a committee of West Side members was appointed, which secured the use of Plankinton Hall as a temporary expedient. Then a

new Third Church of Christ, Scientist, was organized, holding its first service November 7, 1909.

Since this Third Church of Christ, Scientist, which went out from First Church, and subsequently became Second Church of Christ, Scientist, entered upon its career, three additional Christian Science churches have attained a substantial status in the city, and some of the members of First Church have become members of these other churches. As these organizations have been formed, First Church has contributed to the building funds of all, and also has coöperated in joint activities.

In 1907 the edifice of the original First Church of Christ, Scientist, at 572 Van Buren Street, was offered for sale. A few of the early Christian Scientists decided to purchase the property, with the thought of holding it until it could be sold to purchasers worthy in their regard, the building standing to them as a symbol of self-denial and sacrifice and heartfelt devotion to the cause of Christian Science. To carry out this plan they found it necessary to incorporate as a society and execute a mortgage covering the amount needed for the purchase. Thus was established the Christian Science Society of Milwaukee, which has continued to hold regular services up to the present time, having paid its mortgage and experienced growth and advancement.

The congregation which in the beginning was an overflow from First Church, holding its services in Plankinton Hall, organizing as Third Church and afterward (on September 24, 1913) taking the name of Second Church, purchased a site on Highland Boulevard near Twenty-seventh Street, and, with coöperation from other Christian Science churches, erected a structure beautiful in design, at a cost of $135,000, in which services were held for the first time on Sunday, June 7, 1914. Here also rapid growth in attendance produced a situation like that which had arisen on the East Side. The seating capacity of the new church was 1,450, but early in 1917 it began to be inadequate to accommodate all who came. In April of that year a committee of nine members from the northwestern part of the city was appointed to work out details of a new organization, and on May 22d, one hundred members residing in the northwestern section severed their connection with Second Church for the purpose of becoming charter members of a new organization to be

known as Fourth Church of Christ, Scientist. March 15, 1920, this congregation became Third Church of Christ, Scientist, by which title it continues to be known. By 1922 it was strong enough to begin the erection of an edifice of its own, at the intersection of Sherman Boulevard and Locust Street. First services in this sightly structure, which cost $275,000, were held on March 2, 1924. The congregation has undergone a large increase in numbers and while not yet out of debt is in a flourishing condition.

Attendance at Second Church continued to grow. In 1922 twelve of its members withdrew to form the nucleus of the Christian Science Society of Wauwatosa, and in July, 1925, a committee appointed by Second Church Board of Trustees began preliminaries for the establishment of a new organization on the South Side. The outgrowth of this movement was Fifth Church of Christ, Scientist, which since June 3, 1926, has occupied a commodious and conveniently located building purchased under advantageous circumstances and reconstructed at a liberal outlay to adapt it to the purpose for which it is now employed.

The present Fourth Church of Christ, Scientist, was organized by twenty-nine Christian Scientists, on November 30, 1920, under the law of the State of Wisconsin and the provisions of Article XXIII, Section 7, of the Manual of the Mother Church, of which all but four of its organizers were members. It applied to the Christian Science Board of Directors for recognition as an authorized branch of the Mother Church, and this recognition was accorded March 17, 1921, the congregation holding services in temporary quarters and receiving accessions to its membership while looking forward to the acquisition of a building of its own. On April 13, 1921, by gift from the members of the East Side Third Church which had abandoned formal organization in 1919, it came into possession of the property at Kenwood Boulevard and Stowell Avenue, the donors making conveyance of their interests by quit-claim deeds. May 21, 1921, Fourth Church members voted authority to their Board of Trustees to mortgage this property and erect a small building of a bungalow type at a cost of $14,500, in which services began to be held in August of the same year. The congregation grew apace and so did the Sunday school. More adequate accommodations became an imperative need. For the Sunday school a near-by moving picture theater

was utilized until something more appropriate could be obtained. Meanwhile a city zoning ordinance had gone into effect restricting the building-space on plots in the district to sixty per cent of the ground area. As early as 1923 three additional lots fronting on Kenwood Boulevard were added to the original holding, at a cost of $10,000. June 20, 1929, witnessed the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of a new church, which was finished and furnished at a cost of $250,000 and formally opened on Sunday, June 29, 1930. The edifice is of concrete and Virginia hand-made brick, trimmed with Bedford stone. Its style of architecture is Early Colonial. In the main auditorium are seating accommodations for more than 900 people. The Sunday school auditorium, seating upward of 600, is in the west or Stowell Avenue wing, with committee rooms on the second floor. In the east wing are executive offices and a Christian Science reading room, for the use of the public, with an entrance on Downer Avenue.

Christian Science churches and societies all over the world have the same order of services and the same Lesson-Sermon. Services are held on Sundays and Wednesdays. The principal parts of the Sunday service and the entire Wednesday evening meeting are conducted by the First Readers. The First and Second Readers, usually a man and a woman, read the Lesson-Sermon. Since 1898 a Christian Science Committee on Publication for the State of Wisconsin has been maintained, with an office in Milwaukee.

Represented in Milwaukee from the outset, the Catholic Church received enormous accessions with the arrival of Irish and Germans from overseas, and later gained in numbers and strength by the ingress of immigrants from Poland and Italy. The first Catholic religious edifice in Milwaukee—and indeed the first church edifice in the place—was St. Peter's. When the see of Milwaukee was created this was utilized for the purposes of a cathedral till Bishop Henni was able to arrange for the building of St. John's toward the end of the '40s. All nationalities mingled in its congregation, but the Irish preponderated. German Catholics early provided themselves with a substantial and more commodious edifice, the first brick church in the city, St. Mary's, as early as 1846. The parish of St. Mary's, like that of St. John's, lay on the east side of the river. In 1850 rose Holy

Trinity on the South Side, and St. Joseph's on the West Side was established in 1855. Soon there were others. Today there are upward of sixty Catholic places of worship in Milwaukee. Catholic institutions, charitable and educational, of various descriptions, have thriven by reason of far-seeing enterprise and sagacious management on the part of the Catholic clergy and directors of Catholic orders, generously and cheerfully supported by the Catholic laity.

Rev. Martin Kundig's first sight of Milwaukee was gained in the fall of 1841, when he accompanied the Rt. Rev. P. P. Lefevre, Bishop of Detroit, of whose diocese Wisconsin was then a part. In the following year Bishop Lefevre stationed him in Milwaukee as successor to Father Kelly. It was Father Kundig who arranged the great St. Patrick's Day parade of 1843 which attracted visitors from near and far, and was made so much of in the newspapers that it greatly contributed to the prestige of the city. The establishment of Wisconsin as a separate diocese was then under consideration, and tradition asserts that it was Milwaukee's importance as evidenced by this celebration which led to the choice of Milwaukee instead of Prairie du Chien as the see city.

Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni, the first bishop of the new diocese, was a native of Switzerland, born in 1805, who had come to this country in 1828, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1829. In 1834 he was made vicar-general of Cincinnati. He built a church and a school there, and was despatched to Europe on a mission which he executed to admiration. On his return he was selected by Bishop Purcell for the post of theologian. Then followed the higher distinction which brought him to Milwaukee. The Rev. Michael Heiss, who on that occasion came with him as his private secretary, was destined to be his successor as archbishop, though many busy years for both of them were to intervene. The following is from the issue of the *Milwaukee Courier* for Wednesday, May 8, 1844:

"The Rt. Rev. J. M. Henni, Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Milwaukee, arrived here on Friday last. On Sunday he appeared for the first time among the people of his church. The church was crowded to overflowing. A part of the morning service was especially for the Germans. After this portion of his people had

withdrawn, he made an address in English, which is spoken of as evincing deep feeling as well as beauty in style and language. He said that when directed to take his station in Wisconsin he was impressed with the idea that it was to labor in the wilderness; but since his arrival this illusion has vanished. He found himself in the midst of refined society, if the kind civilities he had received were an index. He felt himself under many obligations for the warmth of their friendly greeting."

Several thousand Catholics were scattered over the district which constituted the diocese, but there were only four priests in its wide expanse. Bishop Henni's cathedral was a small frame church. On his departure from Cincinnati his friends had presented him with $500. On his arrival in Milwaukee he was confronted with an unpaid bill for supplies that had been furnished to the church. He used his own money to liquidate the obligation. In July, 1847, the number of priests in the diocese had been increased to thirty, and all were hard at work, for there was much to be done. Father Heiss, Father Kundig, and Rev. Joseph Salzmann, D. D., were among the earliest of his faithful helpers.

Prior to a visit to Europe for the purpose of soliciting funds to aid in various important diocesan undertakings, the Bishop blessed the cornerstone of what stands today among the monuments of his pious exertions—St. John's Cathedral. This ceremony was performed on the 5th of December, 1847, which year also witnessed the opening under Catholic auspices of the first hospital in Milwaukee, in charge of the Sisters of Charity. While he was abroad he arranged for the coming to this city of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. It was while kneeling at the grave of St. Francis de Sales in Geneva that he conceived the idea of founding an ecclesiastical seminary at Milwaukee and naming it the Salesianum. On his return to Milwaukee in 1849 he opened a home for orphans and resumed the building of the cathedral, which was ready for occupancy in 1852.

Throughout his administration his interest in the planting of Catholic institutions never relaxed. The order of the Capuchin Fathers established a monastery in Milwaukee in 1869. A house of the Little Sisters of the Poor, for the care of the indigent aged, was established in 1876. The following year witnessed the opening of St. Vincent's Infant Asylum and of the House of the Good

Shepherd, which cares for wayward women and abandoned children. At St. Francis, in 1871, was opened the Seminary of the Holy Family for the education of Catholic teachers; in connection with this were organized Pio Nono College, for business education, and St. John's Asylum for Deaf-Mutes.

The good Bishop's gaze was fixed on the future. The celerity with which he wrought was equaled by the solidity of his achievements. Yet in spite of preoccupations he manifested in his daily relations with others a quick understanding and human sympathy that won their hearts. Old settlers of every creed united in admiration of Bishop Henni and recognized his title to inclusion among the men who made Milwaukee.

In 1869 he undertook another trip to Europe, participating in the Vatican Council of that year—the first Ecumenical Council which had been held since the prorogation of the Council of Trent in 1563. In 1875 the diocese of Milwaukee was raised to the rank of an archbishopric, and Bishop—thenceforward Archbishop—Henni was invested with the pallium. He died on the 10th of September, 1881. His remains rest beneath the sacristy of St. John's Cathedral.

Rt. Rev. Michael Heiss was born at Pfahldorf, Bavaria, April 12, 1818. From 1835 to 1839 he studied law and theology at the University of Munich, and in the latter year entered the clerical seminary at Eichstaett to prepare for holy orders. He was ordained in 1840. Two years later he came to this country, locating at first at Louisville, Kentucky, accepting the invitation of Bishop Henni to come to Milwaukee in 1844. After labors in other parts of the diocese, he became the pastor of St. Mary's Church, serving from 1846 till 1850, when ill-health compelled his retirement. In the hope of recuperating, he returned to Europe, remaining till near the end of 1853, when he was engaged with Doctor Salzmann in the organization of the Seminary at St. Francis, of which institution he was the first president. In September, 1868, he was consecrated Bishop of La Crosse, and in 1880 was made coadjutor bishop of Milwaukee, with the title of Archbishop of Adrianople, becoming Archbishop of Milwaukee following the death of Archbishop Henni in 1881. It was under his administration that the Provincial Council began its sessions. Archbishop Heiss was widely famed for his learning. He died at La

Crosse on the 26th of March, 1890. From that time until the following December the administration of the archdiocese rested in the hands of the Rt. Rev. A. Zeininger. Then the Very Rev. Frederick Xavier Katzer, Bishop of Green Bay, was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Archbishop Heiss.

Archbishop Katzer was born at Ebensee, Austria, February 7, 1844, and after preparatory scholastic training spent seven years in classical studies at the Jesuit College of Linz, coming to America in 1864 and studying theology in the Seminary at St. Francis, where he was ordained to the priesthood in December, 1866. For nine years he was professor of mathematics, theology and philosophy at St. Francis. In July, 1875, he went to Green Bay, where he served as secretary to Bishop Krautbauer, later as vicar-general and administrator of the diocese, and finally as bishop, consecrated for the episcopal office on September 21, 1886. He entered upon his duties as archbishop of Milwaukee on the 30th of June, 1891. This was the period of excitement growing out of the enactment of the Bennett law, of which he was a vigorous opponent. While steadfastly defending parental rights, and denouncing the Bennett law as a menace, he exerted himself to raise the grade of instruction in secular branches of study pursued in the parochial schools. Archbishop Katzer was a learned man who never lost his interest in things of the mind, but in his maturity made literature a recreation rather than a pursuit. While strong in imaginative and creative directions, he was exact, analytical and logical, and possessed of an electrical, hearty manner that won and held friends. He procured the incorporation of the archdiocese, and put its financial affairs upon an improved basis. The see being without an archiepiscopal residence, he bought for that purpose the Lynde property on Chestnut between Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, which later became the Misericordia Hospital. At the same time he gave up his salary, directing that the amount be applied to the cancellation of the debt incurred in the purchase. He encouraged the erection of new churches commensurate in size and beauty with the growing prosperity of the communicants. When Archbishop Katzer died, on the 20th of July, 1903, he was in the sixtieth year of his age and the thirteenth year of his archiepiscopate. A dynamic character, he had been tirelessly active and efficient during all his years of

office. Upon all who had known him he had left an impression of masterfulness not to be effaced. Withal he was beloved as well as admired, for while he was positive, he never was arbitrary, his decision of manner being relieved by his kindness of heart and his compelling regard for justice. Even when he acted quickly his love of equity and his profound knowledge of canon law preserved him from error. He was recognized as keen and insistent, but able, sincere and devoid of guile.

It has been remarked that in the wide expanse of the diocese of which Bishop Henni took charge when he came to Milwaukee in the spring of 1844 there were only four Catholic priests. When Archbishop Katzer died, in 1903, the Archdiocese of Milwaukee had 317 churches, thirty-six chapels, four seminaries, six schools for the higher education of boys, seven young ladies' academies and 144 parochial schools. The Catholic population was estimated at 245,000, and was ministered to by priests to the number of 312.

Like Archbishop Henni, Archbishop Sebastian Gebhard Messmer, appointed to the office of Archbishop of Milwaukee on December 10, 1903, was a native of Switzerland. His parents were members of the peasant class, and the place of his birth was Goldach, in the Canton of St. Gall. He came into the world on the 29th of August, 1847. After acquiring the rudiments of education in the schools at Goldach and elsewhere, he attended St. Gall's College and the University of Innsbruck, at which place he was ordained to the priesthood, July 23, 1871. Coming to the United States in the fall of that year, he was made professor of theology at Seton Hall, South Orange, New Jersey, where he remained till 1889, devoting a part of his time, however, to pastoral work in St. Peter's Church at Newark, to which was attached a parochial school with 1,500 attendants. He also performed other important tasks. In March, 1892, he was appointed Bishop of Green Bay, where he spent the ten years preceding his call to Milwaukee. Wherever he went he won golden opinions—a great scholar, an earnest, gifted worker, a modest, sincere, kindly, broadly sympathetic friend of his fellow men. Considering the exacting nature of his duties, it is a marvel that he found time for authorship; yet his publications included "Praxis Synodalis" (1883); "Canonical Procedure" (1886); "Spirago's Method" (1901); and

"Outlines of Bible Knowledge" (1910), besides which he edited Devivier's "Christian Apologetic" (1903) and Bishop England's Works (1908). Under his wise, efficient administration the Archdiocese continued to flourish. On the 7th of May, 1930, Archbishop Messmer dedicated the new St. Joseph's Hospital, at Fiftieth and Chambers streets. His last public appearance in Milwaukee was made on the 12th of the same month, at the cornerstone-laying of St. Adelbert's Church, corner of Becher Street and Fifth Avenue (now South Tenth Street). He had been in precarious health for several years. On the 16th of June, accompanied by Msgr. Brieg, he departed from Milwaukee for Europe. Less than three weeks later he enjoyed an audience with the Pope at Rome, whence he journeyed to his native village of Goldach, and there on August 4th, he died. By his own direction, he was buried with simple ceremonies in the little village on the beautiful shore of Lake Constance.

To succeed to the vacancy left by the death of Archbishop Messmer, Pope Pius, on the 1st of September, 1930 nominated Bishop Samuel Alphonsus Stritch, of Toledo. He was born at Nashville, Tennessee, August 17, 1887, and graduated from St. Gregory College, Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1904. Thence he proceeded to Rome, where he studied in the American College till 1910, receiving several degrees. There, in the same year he was ordained to the priesthood. From 1910 to 1915 he was pastor of churches at Memphis and Nashville. In August, 1921, he was appointed Bishop of Toledo—the youngest Bishop of the Catholic Church in America. Now he is the youngest archbishop. The Archdiocese of Milwaukee contains an area of 9,321 square miles, including seventeen Wisconsin counties and several of the most populous cities in the State. Its estimated Catholic population is 310,000. The institutions of which the new Archbishop will be the head comprise 323 churches, with 533 priests; 187 schools, with 51,535 pupils; twenty-five Catholic high schools; four orphan asylums; with 591 orphans; one infant asylum, with ninety-two inmates; one industrial school for girls; one school for delinquent boys; one school for deaf-mutes; one for the feeble-minded; seventeen hospitals; nine homes for the aged; six homes for girls, and one workingmen's home.

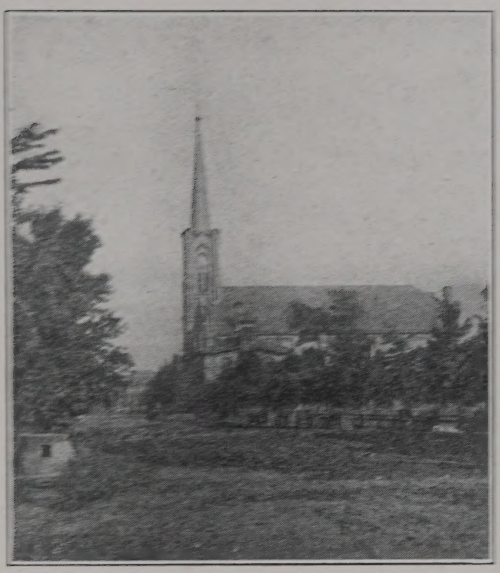
An interesting volume might be written on the subject of the

Catholic churches of Milwaukee. Here there is room only for random remarks. Visitors to the city never fail to admire the dignity of St. John's Cathedral, the tower of which has been reconstructed. The remainder, so far as the exterior is concerned, is still as it was built under the supervision of Archbishop (then Bishop) Henni.

St. Mary's has been remodeled more than once, but is still a stately memorial of earlier days. The same is true of St. Joseph's on the West Side and Holy Trinity on the South Side. These churches were reared for parishes whose early inhabitants were chiefly immigrants from Germany. Irish immigrants and their families predominated in the parish which was served by the old St. Gall's.

The original St. Gall's Church was erected in 1849, being named in honor of the Irish monk and missionary who carried the gospel through Southeastern Europe. Bishop Henni had studied at the gymnasium of St. Gall in Switzerland. Father Beaupre, the first pastor of the Milwaukee St. Gall's, was a Swiss. He fell a victim of the cholera in 1852. Succeeding others who intervened, Rev. Martin Kundig was appointed to the pastorate in 1855. While on a visit to Europe at about that time, Bishop Henni received the sum of $16,000 which had been left in trust by Chevalier De Boeye of Antwerp for use in the establishment of an educational institution under the care of the Jesuit Fathers. As a step preliminary to the carrying out of the Chevalier's intention the Bishop decided to place St. Gall's parish in charge of members of that order, this resolve being carried into execution on the 12th of September, 1855. The first Jesuit Fathers at St. Gall's were Rev. P. J. De Smet and Rev. F. X. De Coen. In 1857 a pastoral residence was erected of brick, to supersede a frame building that had been used for the purpose, the latter being moved to the rear of the lot on which it stood and remodeled to become St. Aloysius Academy, which was placed in charge of Rev. S. P. Lalumiere.

The large brick St. Gall's Church which is remembered by old residents as occupying a portion of the site now covered by the Public Service Building of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company was begun in 1868 and finished in 1870, the ceremony of its dedication being an event attracting much attention



FOURTH WARD PARK AND OLD
ST. GALL'S CHURCH, 1877

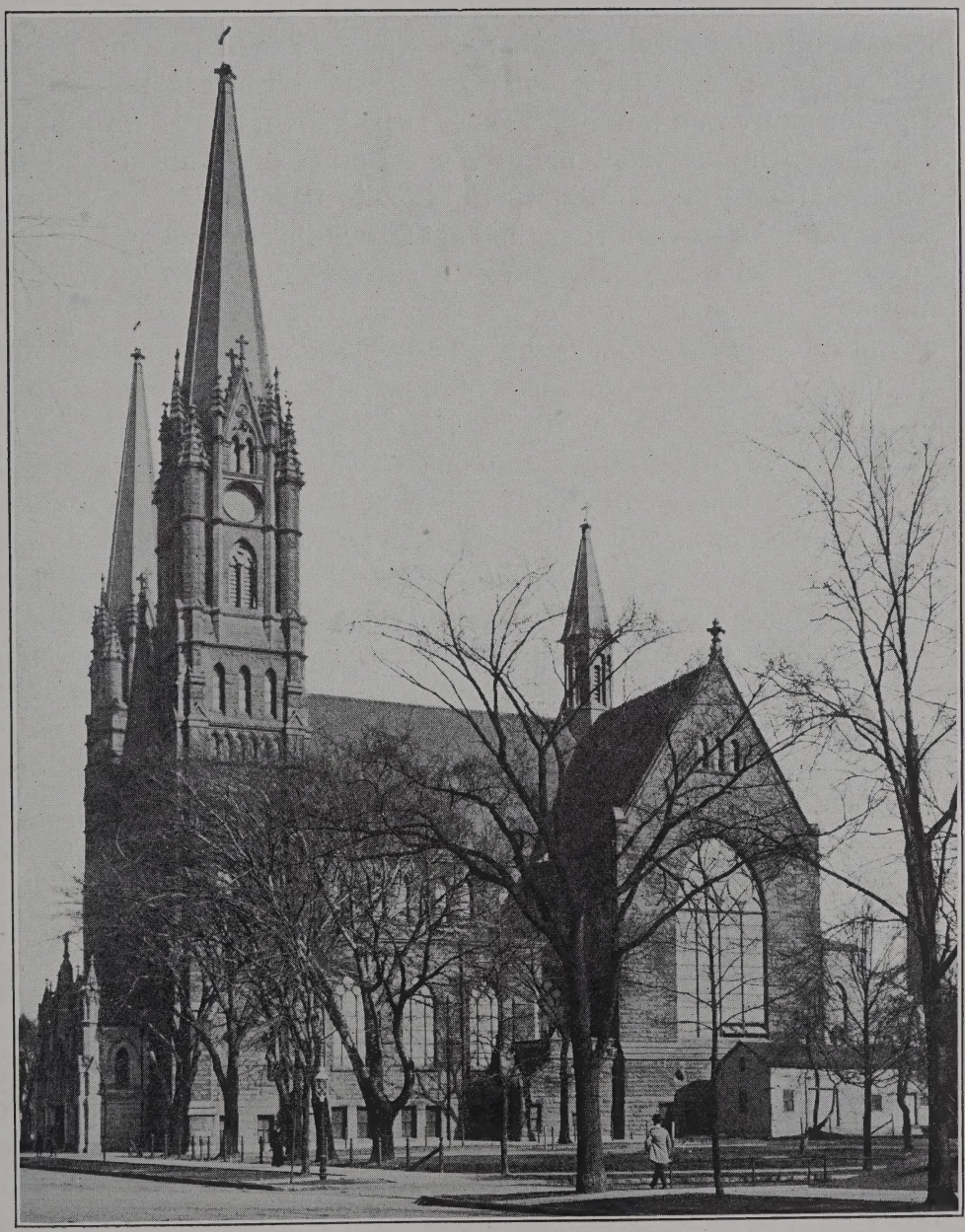
ST. STANISLAUS CHURCH, MITCHELL
AND GROVE STREETS, 1875

from the public. As early as 1875 the spacious church had become inadequate to accommodate the growth of the parish. In that year Holy Name Church was built, and a few years later St. Rose's.

Ground for the Church of the Gesu, which is the successor of St. Gall's, was purchased in 1892, and the commodious, costly and beautiful edifice was dedicated on the 16th of December, 1894. Its size and solidity as well as the excellence of its design and its superb situation make it one of the most impressive architectural adornments of Milwaukee. Marquette University, many of whose principal buildings cluster in its vicinity, is largely the outcome of Chevalier De Boeye's gift and Bishop Henni's vision and of the little St. Gall's School and St. Aloysius Academy of fewer than seventy-five years ago.

Nearly all the Milwaukee Poles are Catholics. As early as 1863 the formation of a church organization was begun among them by the Rev. Father Buczinski. A small church building erected by the St. Stephan's congregation of German Lutherans at the corner of Grove and Mineral streets and disused when a larger edifice at Scott and Grove streets became ready for occupancy was purchased for the Polish Catholics, who five years later had flourished to an extent enabling the erection of what when it was dedicated in 1873 was architecturally the outstanding religious edifice on the South Side, the Church of St. Stanislaus, at the corner of Grove and Mitchell streets. A parish schoolhouse was built in 1878, and not long thereafter a comfortable residence for the pastor. In 1871 a Polish congregation on the upper East Side built St. Hedwig's Church, which became the landmark of a flourishing settlement in the First, Eighteenth and Thirteenth wards. Steady from its beginning, the tide of Polish immigration was notably accelerated in the years from 1880 to 1883, occasioning necessity for further church-building. Several fine ecclesiastical edifices were erected in the southern section of the city, and St. Casimir's on the North Side, in the later '80s.

More than once in the history of Milwaukee have enthusiasm and self-sacrifice on the part of church-builders risen to an inspiring height, no one racial or denominational group furnishing all the instances of such pious devotion, which, indeed, have been too numerous for separate description in a general survey such as



GESU CHURCH

this chapter is intended to supply. But reference to what Milwaukee Poles have accomplished as church-builders compels attention to the remarkable feat achieved by the Reverend Father Grutza and his loyal parishioners when, toward the end of the '80s, they directed their endeavors toward the construction of another church on the South Side, to be known as St. Josaphat's.

The initial plan contemplated a structure of humble brick, but when Father Grutza went to Chicago to negotiate the purchase of material he learned that the old Chicago post office and custom house was about to be razed—an edifice which had cost seven million dollars—and this information led to a speedy modification of his intentions. At once he sent for Architect Brielmeier, for the purpose of bringing that gentleman's technical judgment into play. The two made a careful examination of the material of the Government building, and bought it in a lump—some five hundred carloads of marble, copper, wrought iron, carved stone and paneled mahogany—shipping it to Milwaukee. For the brick to build his church as originally designed Father Grutza had been told he would have to pay fifty thousand dollars, but his outlay for the debris of the post office was only twenty thousand, which left him thirty thousand "to the good." That he had succeeded as a bargain-buyer became evident to the delighted priest before he left for home. Among the items in his purchase were six polished and gleaming granite pillars. They had cost him $1,900, and he was offered $13,000 for them. He wanted those pillars for his church, and declined to accept the offer. The post office, of course, had been built on other than ecclesiastical lines, and ingenuity was requisite to adapt its materials to the new use to which they were to be diverted. Some of the great blocks of stone were elaborately carved, some were plain. There was infinite variety of conformation and finish. All were carefully examined, sorted and inventoried. Each was ingeniously utilized for appropriate employment in the construction of the church. So deftly was the difficult task accomplished that in respect of architectural harmony as well as in solidity and finish St. Josaphat's leaves little to be desired.

On the 14th of April, 1901, when the dedication parade, led by Cardinal Martinelli, marched through Lincoln Avenue, there were few in the long line who had not labored with their own

ST. JOSAPHAT'S CHURCH, FIRST AND LINCOLN AVENUES

hands in some part of the work of construction; but Father Grutza, who had conceived the idea of the noble pile, and toiled with his parishioners to bring it to realization, lay in mortal illness. He died as those engaged in the ceremony of dedication were filing in to places under the shelter of the commanding dome.

The church is an example of the Renaissance style, the main body, in three divisions, being 160 feet in length and 72 in width, and the overhead space in the interior rising clear of all obstructions to the top of a dome 250 feet from the ground. Extending from the nave are four wings, the one to the north, which is the largest, forming the entrance, flanked by bell-towers 100 feet in height, while the opposite wing is the sanctuary, and those at the sides contain confessionals. The depth and width of the building along its median lines are respectively 212 and 128 feet. It is capable of accommodating four thousand people. To sight-seers the chief point of interest in the interior of the stately structure is the rotunda. This rises in the form of an octagon, surmounted by a circular cornice from which springs the dome, whose circumference is 240 feet. This rests upon eight pillars of ornamental steel, and is pierced at the base by eight windows filled with stained glass. Above these is the second cornice, from which the dome rises unintercepted to its apex, where a molded window of stained glass admits a flood of mellow light.

Other features of the stately edifice are in keeping with those which have been described. Exteriorly it is strikingly noticeable. Thousands of travelers, catching a fleeting glimpse from car windows, have carried with them to distant homes a picture of the great dome of St. Josaphat's that rises in their minds whenever they think of Milwaukee. Here are lines by Charles H. Winke, a Milwaukee poet, which indicate the inspirational influence exerted by St. Josaphat's upon others than members of its parish who are dwellers in the city:

> Not on some stately street or noble square,
> Or fronting proudly on broad, sparkling strand,
> Where azure water meeting golden sand
> Would give it setting wonderfully fair,
> But on dull streets, mid huddled houses, where
> The groping children of a martyred land
> Make their new home, work of a master hand,
> It lifts its cross and jade-hued dome in air.

OLD TEMPLE EMANU-EL

Fair temples glowed in Greece's golden time
Like lilies in a garden; but to find
Such simple loveliness and perfect art
On spot so barren, in this busy clime,
Fills every wondering recess of the heart,
And leaves a rich remembrance in the mind.

Jewish citizens of Milwaukee held their first meeting for public worship on the Day of Atonement, 1847, the place of assemblage being the home of Isaac Neustadtl, at the corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets. The following year Yom Kippur was celebrated at 538 Jefferson Street, then the residence of Henry Newhouse, and in 1849 in rooms over the Pereles grocery store on Chestnut Street. In 1848 a Jewish cemetery association was organized, with E. Shoyer as president and Solomon Adler as secretary, this leading to the organization in 1850 of a Congregation B'ne Emanu-El, whose first synagogue was on Fourth Street, between Tamarack (later State Street, now Kilbourn Avenue) and Prairie Street (now Highland Avenue). Congregation B'ne Jeshurun was organized in 1850, Congregation Ahavas Emanuh, which had organized in 1852, uniting with it in 1856, and the two maintaining the synagogue on Fourth Street as their place of worship.

Among the influential and progressive religious organizations of Milwaukee is the Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun, whose beautiful temple is on Kenwood Boulevard at Stowell and Prospect avenues. The Congregation B'ne Jeshurun, from which it sprang, had been in independent existence for many years. In 1927 it was merged with the newer congregation, Emanu-El, forming one of the strongest Jewish organizations in the Central West. The following is from a historical review edited by Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg on the occasion of the congregation's golden anniversary:

Among the Jews of liberal tendencies on the East Side of Milwaukee the question of organizing a separate congregation had been discussed for some time, and preliminary meetings had been held, culminating in a meeting of the prospective members of the new congregation, held in the hall of Harmony Lodge, F. & A. M., on August 24, 1869, at which time a temporary organization was effected as follows: David Adler, chairman; Henry Bonns, treasurer; Fabian Herbst, secretary, and H. S. Mack, L. Newbouer

and M. Sonlander, trustees. Previously, committees had met with similar committees of the parent congregation, B'ne Jeshurun, looking to a mutually satisfactory adjustment of rights and obligations in the event of severance of connections. On September 30, 1869, the name "Reform Congregation Emanu-El" was formally adopted.

A highly significant action was further taken at this meeting, when immediately following the adoption of a name, a resolution was introduced and passed unanimously to the effect that "the discussions at all the meetings and the business of this congregation should be conducted in the English language." It reflects most creditably upon the sterling Americanism of these founders of the congregation that from the very outset they designed that it should be unmistakably identified with the land and nation in which it was established. Not one of these founders was native born. Not one of them spoke English as his native tongue. German was the mother tongue of them all, and yet they determined that English should be the official language of the congregation, in testimony of its thoroughly American character. * * * The members of Emanu-El today justly can revert with pride to this circumstance as instancing the spirit in which this congregation was conceived, a spirit of fine devotion to the traditions and institutions of this nation.

October 18, 1869, was the date of final organization, when the congregation again met in the hall of Harmony Lodge and elected the following permanent officers: David Adler, president; Henry Friend, vice president; Henry Bonns, treasurer; Alexander Cohen, secretary; L. Newbouer, E. Silverman, J. P. Frisch, trustees for one year; M. Sonlander, H. Bonns, H. S. Mack, trustees for two years; David Adler, A. F. Leopold, H. Friend, trustees for three years. On the following day the trustees appointed a committee, consisting of H. Friend, H. Bonns and J. P. Frisch, to apply to the State Legislature for a charter for the new congregation, which was granted some months later by special act of the Legislature. For almost three years the congregation worshipped in Field's Hall, on Wisconsin Street. Steps were then taken looking to the erection of a temple and, after looking over prospective sites, the congregation purchased, for the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars, two lots at the

corner of Martin and Main (now Broadway) streets. Ground was broken in the spring of 1871 and the cornerstone laid, under Masonic auspices, on June 15th. Fourteen months later, on Saturday, August 31, 1872, the temple, completed, furnished and adorned, was dedicated, with impressive exercises, the dedicatory sermon being preached by Dr. Max Lillienthal, of Cincinnati, who had also been the orator on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone. The temple, with its furnishings and the ground on which it stood, represented an outlay of sixty thousand dollars, mostly secured through voluntary and unconditional gifts.

From an original membership of less than forty the congregation enjoyed a steady and substantial growth until at the time of the golden jubilee it had two hundred and fifty members. The congregation had six rabbis, as follows: Rev. E. B. M. Browne, who served from April 3, 1870, to September 5, 1870, and was succeeded by Rabbi M. Spitz, who served from February 4, 1872, to February 1, 1879; Rabbi I. S. Moses, who served from April 1, 1879, until July 3, 1887, when he was succeeded by Rabbi Sigmund Hecht, who ministered from March 16, 1888, until November 1, 1899. On February 9, 1900, Rabbi Julius Meyer took charge, serving until February 1, 1904, when he was followed by the present rabbi, Rev. Samuel Hirshberg, who came from Temple Ohabei Shalom, Boston, Massachusetts, and has served this congregation for twenty-six years.

As previously stated, in September, 1927, Congregation B'ne Jeshurun, formerly at Tenth and Cedar streets, was amalgamated with Congregation Emanu-El, and the congregation has since borne its present name, Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun. Its present officers are: A. L. Saltzstein, president; Harry V. Meissner, vice president; E. M. Phillips, treasurer; Philip Judell, secretary; Trustees: Mrs. Meta T. Baum, Max Blade, Oscar Brachman, George Braunfeld, Bert C. Broude, Sig. Dorsen, Henry Eckstein, Charles Friend, Lewis R. Friend, Harry Goldsmith, N. B. Goldstein, H. Max Oberndorfer; B. F. Saltzstein, Sidney M. Siesel, Nat. Stone. Honorary presidents: A. L. Saltzstein, Joseph G. Daneman, Morris Miller. Rabbis: Samuel Hirshberg, Joseph L. Baron.

Among particularly noteworthy events in the history of the congregation, it may be mentioned that on April 7, 1872, ten acres

of land was purchased near Forest Home cemetery for burial purposes, at a cost of three thousand dollars. The administering society was first known as the Hebrew Cemetery Association, but was soon afterward changed to the Greenwood Cemetery Association. On February 11, 1874, the congregation joined the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, one of the earliest members of that organization, and has remained one of its most loyal supporters, as well as of its principal institution, the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. On October 21, 1919, negotiations were concluded making the choice site for the present temple on Kenwood Boulevard the property of the congregation. This splendid structure was formally dedicated on November 2, 3, and 4, 1923, and ranks as one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in the city. The dedication sermon was preached by Rabbi Abram Hirschberg, of Chicago. The entire series of dedicatory services included Sabbath Eve service; Sabbath Morning service; Congregational Dinner, Saturday evening; Children's service, Sunday morning; dedication of organ, Sunday afternoon, and Interdenominational Fellowship service, Sunday evening.

The Sewing Relief Society of the congregation was founded more than fifty-one years ago by Mrs. Rosa Rich, and it is the oldest Jewish relief organization in Milwaukee. The Junior Congregation, composed of young people, was founded in 1928. In 1929 the Teachers' Institute was founded, to train students and embryo teachers in religion. Samuel Sisserman has been sexton of Emanu-El for more than twenty-five years.

The largest of the Russian congregations in 1895 worshiped on Fifth Street near Vliet. It was the Beth Hammsdrash Haggadol. The others were Anshe Sphard and B'nai Israel Anshe Ungarn. They were adherents of the old ritual, and their members were all from Russia and the Russian provinces. The earlier Milwaukee Jews were German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian. There was little intercourse of a social character between the two groups.

Jewish charities have been sedulously maintained. Jewish Sunday schools have trained the children. The Literary and Social Life Club, organized in 1890, had an important cultural and social influence. So had clubs like the Phoenix and the Standard. There are Jewish secret orders like the B'nai B'rith,

having branches throughout the United States. They are devoted to charity as well as to mutual assistance and cultivation of a taste for science and the arts.

At the present time there are nine Jewish congregations in Milwaukee, each maintaining its synagogue or temple, though not all of them as yet established in buildings owned by the respective congregations.

LAKE FRONT IN 1866
No railroad tracks or Juneau Park.

CHAPTER XXXI

BENCH AND BAR

STARS THAT HAVE SHONE IN THE LEGAL FIRMAMENT OF MILWAUKEE—THE GENERALLY HIGH CHARACTER OF THE MILWAUKEE BAR—ITS VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PUBLIC LIFE OF THE STATE AND THE NATION.

But for the readiness with which the average American adapts himself to circumstances, most of the early lawyers in Milwaukee would have gone through long periods of "nothing to do." As was the case with the doctors, there were more of them at the outset than were needed to meet professional demands. Like the doctors, they were versatile, and instead of idling, adjusted themselves to the exigencies of such positions as were open. John H. Tweedy served in the Territorial Legislative Council in 1841, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Jonathan E. Arnold, another Milwaukee lawyer. Hans Crocker proved useful in the capacity of editor of the *Advertiser*, Milwaukee's pioneer newspaper. He also became interested in real estate—along with practically everybody else in the infant community. When legal business offered he was delighted to accept it. He entered into a law partnership with Mr. Tweedy. In 1842 and 1843 he was a member of the Council in the Legislative Assembly. Both Crocker and Tweedy in time acquired outside interests which engrossed their attention, their legal training giving them advantages in the other activities in which they engaged. As a lawyer, Mr. Tweedy was exceptionally qualified for his duties as a Canal Commissioner, as a delegate in Congress, and as a member of the first Constitutional Convention. Lawyers were prominent in politics by reason of their facility in the art of speaking as well as their superior technical equipment for the important work of formulating legislation and transacting executive business. The practical judgment of the electors displayed itself in many ways,

and one was in the extent to which they availed themselves of the capacity of representative lawyers to render service of high quality as incumbents of public office. Not every member of the legal profession who made his way to the West was a great and good man. There were unscrupulous self-seekers even in the early days, and some of these were lawyers. But then, as later, high-minded individuals of large ability were attracted to the profession of law. Then, as later, the good men in the law watched the others, minimizing influences of evil tendency and thwarting iniquitous schemes.

Augustus Story, one of the Milwaukeeans elected to the Territorial House of Representatives in 1838, was a son of the celebrated Judge Story of Massachusetts, and practiced law in this city for a few years, but after having been thrice elected to the Legislature returned to New England early in the '40s. Horatio N. Wells was a representative from Milwaukee in the Legislative Assembly of 1839 and 1840, while Don A. J. Upham was with Jonathan E. Arnold elected to the Legislative Council in 1840, serving also in 1841. William A. Prentiss and Jared Thompson, one of whom was a member of Milwaukee's delegation to the Council and the other to the Assembly, were not lawyers by profession, but both were men of academic education who had served as justices of the peace when a justice of the peace had a jurisdiction equaling that of minor judges in later times, and both had acquired a considerable amount of legal learning. H. N. Wells was chosen president of the Council when returned to that body for the sessions of 1846 and 1847. James Holliday was one of Milwaukee's representatives in the Legislative Assembly in the latter year. Horatio N. Wells was president of the Legislative Council in 1848. Lawyers from Milwaukee in the first Constitutional Convention were Don A. J. Upham, Wallace W. Graham, and John H. Tweedy. In the second Constitutional Convention there was one lawyer from Milwaukee, John L. Doran. The first Constitutional Convention chose Don A. J. Upham for its president. A lawyer who was in the first Constitutional Convention as a delegate from Racine, taking a conspicuous part in the proceedings, soon afterward removed to Milwaukee. This was Edward G. Ryan, who later in life rose to the chief justiceship of the State Supreme Court. In the second Constitutional Con-

vention George W. Lakin was a delegate from Grant County. Mr. Lakin also was a conspicuous member of the bar, and, like Mr. Ryan, made his home in Milwaukee during later years.

The Milwaukee bar of 1836 included John H. Tweedy, Jonathan E. Arnold, Horatio N. Wells, Clinton Walworth, Hans Crocker, William M. Gardner, and John P. Hilton. Wells and Crocker were under the age of thirty. Arnold, Tweedy and Walworth had just attained their majority. Gardner and Hilton were men of great natural ability and marked legal attainments. Hilton formed a partnership with Arnold. His death, which occurred in 1838, was looked upon as a loss to the settlement. Gardner was appointed district attorney by Governor Dodge in 1836. His death, in 1839, was deeply deplored by his legal friends and the community at large.

Don A. J. Upham came to Milwaukee in 1837. His experience in the first important case in which he was retained illustrated typical conditions connected with the practice of law at the outset of the history of Milwaukee. The matter pertained to a sale of real estate on execution, and as Judges Frazer and Irvin were out of the Territory at the moment, Mr. Upham was obligated to go to the border of the Mississippi to obtain from Judge Dunn a writ enjoining the sale of the land. Late in November, with barely time for going and returning before the lapse of the interval in which it would be possible to effect his purpose, he set forth on a pony to make the journey, reaching his destination without adventure. Judge Dunn allowed the writ, and Mr. Upham started for home, with but two days and one night in which to cover the distance to Milwaukee in season to prevent the sale. Between Sugar River and the spot where Janesville afterward arose, he encountered a prairie fire, in escaping which he lost his way. Fortunately the young attorney had acquired a love for astronomy, and his knowledge of the stars enabled him to regain a sense of directions and pursue his course by night through a region in which roads were yet to be. He succeeded in reaching Milwaukee just in time to stop the sale, to the exceeding joy of his client who, like everybody in Milwaukee, was short of money at the time, but paid him with a deed of land that subsequently appreciated in value.

The place of chief importance in the Territory of Wisconsin

when it was set off separately in 1836 was Mineral Point. The Supreme Court was composed of a chief justice and two associate justices appointed by the President, and the first of these officers were Chief Justice, Charles Dunn; Associate Justices, David Irvin and William C. Frazer. They were inaugurated at Mineral Point on the Fourth of July. Of Judge Frazer, Judge Catlin, who was a fair-minded man, is on record as attesting that "he was a very able judge when he was not under the influence of liquor, and was remarkable for his memory and knowledge of the law." Judge Frazer's first arrival in Milwaukee occurred on a Sunday evening in June, 1837. Here he fell in with a party of old friends, including Colonel Morton, who was register of the Land Office. The Judge and his acquaintances played poker and drank whisky till early Monday morning. At 10 o'clock that morning, when he opened court, his voice was rough and the attorneys were not prepossessed by his manner. An occasion arose for reference to the law against gambling. The Judge read the statute to the jury, adding that "a gambler is unfit for earth, or heaven or hell, and God would shudder at the sight of one." Word having gone around as to the manner in which the Judge and his cronies had passed the night at the Cottage Inn, it was concluded that the luck in the poker game had gone against Judge Frazer. The Judge was over sixty years of age, while most of the lawyers were young and all were very much his juniors. He had little patience, and carried matters with a high hand. One of the important cases which came before him was that of the two Indians charged with the murder of Ellsworth Burnett. H. N. Wells was the prosecuting attorney, and the defense of the prisoners was assigned by the Judge to Jonathan E. Arnold. When the evidence was all in, the Judge took out his watch, laid it on the table before him, and said: "Now, Mr. Arnold and Mr. Wells, I will give you each fifteen minutes to make your arguments to the jury in this case, and no more." Demurs were in vain. Mr. Arnold had hardly entered upon his argument before time was called. Naturally, the decision went against him. Undoubtedly the summary manner in which the Judge conducted the proceedings was one of the things that influenced Governor Dodge subsequently to pardon the red defendants and set them free. The death of Judge Frazer occurred in Milwaukee in October, 1838,

shortly after his arrival by steamboat from Green Bay, and was attributed to the effects of dissipation. His successor was a man of a different type—Judge A. G. Miller, who for sixteen years had been engaged in the practice of the law in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and who had served three years as attorney-general of that State.

When Andrew Galbraith Miller was appointed by President Van Buren to be judge of the Territory of Wisconsin, the Eastern District, bordering on Lake Michigan, extended from Green Bay to the border of Illinois. It was the most rapidly-growing portion of the territory in settlements and in commerce. By reason of complications resulting from the panic of 1837, litigation had assumed tremendous proportions, and when Judge Miller opened his court in the spring of 1839 he found twelve hundred cases awaiting trial. New counties were set off, in consequence of the rapid growth of population. Before long the Judge's district contained nine counties, in each of which he was obliged to hold two terms of court in each year, with the exception of Milwaukee County, in which three terms were necessary. The terms here lasted six weeks each. The judiciary of the territory consisted of a chief justice and two associate judges, the three sitting together annually to form the Supreme Court. By this arrangement Judge Miller's labors underwent further augmentation. His vacations never exceeded three weeks in the course of a year. In his nine years of service as territorial judge he adjudged seven thousand five hundred court cases and ordered three hundred discharges in bankruptcy.

On its admission to statehood in 1848 Wisconsin was made to comprise one United States judicial district, and to the bench of this district Judge Miller was appointed by President Polk. This single district for the whole State continued till 1870, when the division into an eastern and a western district occurred, Judge Miller, whose jurisdiction had included the whole State up to that time, being assigned to the Eastern District, with court at Milwaukee. It was not till the 11th of November, 1873, that Judge Miller took advantage of the law permitting federal judges who have reached the age of seventy to resign with the benefit of continued salary. He was then two years past the specified age and

had served continuously for a period of thirty-five years. He died September 30, 1874.

In appeals from Judge Miller's decisions to the Supreme Court of the United States his judgments were almost invariably sustained. In admiralty law he was universally recognized as the foremost authority in the West. When Judge Miller arrived in the West he brought to the performance of his duties a hardy constitution that enabled him to perform arduous service, which he never shirked. He also brought sound legal learning and dignity of demeanor which were appreciated by the bar of Milwaukee. He taught uncouth practitioners that trickery, rant and irrelevancy were out of place in court. Early day lawyers attested that his coming imparted character to the bench of Eastern Wisconsin. That high repute it has never lost.

Jonathan E. Arnold, born at Woonsocket, Rhode Island, February 10, 1814, was graduated from Brown University and studied law at Providence, coming to Milwaukee on a visit of investigation in September, 1836, and removing with his family to this city in the spring of the following year. In 1840 and 1841 he was a member of the Territorial Council, and for several years he was district attorney. He was the candidate of the Whigs for Congress in 1841, when he was defeated by Henry Dodge, and of the Democrats in 1860, when the choice of the district was John Fox Potter. He was a strong supporter of the government at Washington during the Civil war. While he lived he was without rivals for eloquence at the bar of Milwaukee except H. N. Wells, E. G. Ryan and Matthew H. Carpenter, the latter of whom did not come to the city until 1859. His equal in wit and readiness, Mr. Wells was inferior to Mr. Arnold in finished elegance of diction and in the orotund perfection of sentence-construction for which orators of that day strove and which their successors of the present era very frequently neglect. Mr. Arnold's satire was keen, but relieved by unfailing courtesy, a respect in which he had the advantage of Mr. Ryan, who was the victim of an irascible temper. In the defense of clients brought to bar on criminal charges he was more signally successful than any other lawyer of his time in Milwaukee.

Don A. J. Upham arrived in Milwaukee in 1837. Born at Weathersfield, Vermont, in 1809, he had been carefully educated

To the Electors

OF THE

CITY AND COUNTY

OF

MILWAUKEE.

Believing the office of Judge of the Circuit and Supreme Courts to be the most important in the gift of the People. And being desirous that a man of competent abilities, of ample legal knowledge, of regular business habits, and of known sobriety and morality of character, should be selected by the People of the 2d Judicial District to fill such office. A Mass Meeting of the Electors of the city and county of Milwaukee is respectfully recommended to be held at the COURT HOUSE on Saturday Evening, July 22d, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of selecting an Independent Candidate, to be supported without distinction of *Sect*, or *Party*, for the office of Judge of the 2d Judicial District.

Milwaukee has honest and able men, such as Wells. Hubbell, Holliday, Finch, Randall, Collins, Arnold and many others from whom the people can select.

A general and punctual attendance is requested.

Milwaukee, July 20, 1848.

CALL FOR A MASS MEETING, 1848

for the law, being graduated from Union College, New York, in 1831, with the highest standing in a class of one hundred. After further study, and experience in teaching mathematics and writing political editorials, he had practiced his profession at Wilmington, Delaware, where he was elected to the office of city attorney. In Milwaukee he was active in public life as well as in the practice of his profession till ill-health compelled his retirement. He died on the 19th of July, 1877.

Wilson W. Graham, who was a native of Ireland, coming to this country with his parents, who settled in Ohio, grew up and was admitted to the bar in that State. Obtaining from Judge Irvin a license to practice in Wisconsin, he arrived in Milwaukee in 1838. In the city's early days Mr. Graham was a partner of Levi Blossom and D. A. J. Upham. In the first city Council he sat as a member of that body from the Third Ward. He was elected to the first Constitutional Convention. He was city attorney in 1856. Mr. Graham is remembered as a man of commanding stature, unblemished integrity and extreme simplicity of life. For several years previous to his death on the 15th of October, 1898, he was the last survivor of the members of the Milwaukee bar previous to 1840.

Asahel Finch, Jr., was a native of New York State, born in 1809 and well educated. He married in 1830, coming West in the same year and locating in Michigan, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the Michigan Legislature, serving one term, and came to Milwaukee in 1839. For a short time he was in partnership with H. N. Wells and Hans Crocker. His next partnership was with William Pitt Lynde, laying the foundation of a firm which still exists and is one of the oldest in the country.

Charles J. Lynde, who settled in Milwaukee in 1839, was a welcome addition to the bar and a social favorite from the start. After erecting a fine dwelling and arranging the garden and grounds to his liking, he went East with his wife to visit relatives and procure furniture. It was destined that he should not return. When the steamboat *Erie* burned off Silver Creek, on Lake Erie, in August, 1841, Mr. Lynde and a younger brother, Watts S. Lynde, who also had established his residence in Milwaukee, were among the victims.

William Pitt Lynde, who was a brother of Charles J. and Watts Lynde, came to Milwaukee in 1841. He was a learned and able lawyer and a cultivated, upright gentleman, a leader in the community from the time of his arrival to the date of his death, which occurred on the 18th of December, 1885. He was attorney-general of the Territory in 1844. In 1845 President Polk appointed him United States District Attorney for Wisconsin. In 1848, when Wisconsin became a State, he was elected to Congress. In 1860 he was mayor of Milwaukee, in 1866 an assemblyman and in 1868 and 1869 a State senator. In 1875 and in 1877 he was again elected to Congress. As a lawyer he was concerned in much of the most important litigation in this State during the long period in which he remained in practice.

Isaac P. Walker, brother of Col. George H. Walker, one of the founders of Milwaukee, and like him a native of Virginia, where he was born in 1813, established himself in the practice of the law in this city in 1841. He was a member of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1847 and 1848. When Wisconsin entered the sisterhood of States, he was elected to the United States Senate, a colleague of Senator Henry Dodge, who drew the long term, Senator Walker being re-elected to succeed himself in 1849, and serving till 1855, when a revolution in politics brought about the election of Charles Durkee as his successor. Senator Walker died on the 29th of March, 1872. He was a man of high character and unusual endowments—a type of what long before he concluded his career had come to be spoken of as "the old school."

Alexander Wolcott Stow was born at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1804. It was after graduating from college and traveling in Europe that he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He practiced at Rochester, New York, coming to Wisconsin in 1841, when he purchased a farm near Fond du Lac. He did not undertake the pursuit of agriculture, but opened a law office at Milwaukee, and while not getting much business, gained a reputation for legal and general learning. On the establishment of the first courts after the organization of the State, he was elected judge of the Fourth circuit, in virtue of which he became a member of the Supreme Court, his associates choosing him for chief justice. The terms of the first judges were determined by lot, and the

shortest term fell to Judge Stow. It ended on the 1st of January, 1851, after which he divided his time between his farm and Milwaukee. His death occurred in this city on the 14th of September, 1854.

Jason Downer was born in Vermont in 1813 and came to Milwaukee in 1842, making a reputation for learning and ability in the law and safe judgment combined with high integrity in affairs of business. He was the first editor of a daily newspaper in Wisconsin, when the *Sentinel* began to come out six times a week in 1845, but after a few months relinquished this post to Gen. Rufus King and returned to the practice of law. In 1864 he was appointed to the Supreme bench of the State, from which he resigned in 1867. Judge Downer took a keen interest in education and made liberal gifts of money to promote it. His name is preserved in that of Milwaukee-Downer College. He died in 1883.

When Abram D. Smith arrived in Milwaukee from Cleveland in 1842 he immediately took high rank as a pleader at the bar. He was a handsome man, a cogent reasoner and an impressive speaker. It was his powerful denunciation of circumstantial evidence which so wrought upon the jury in the Ross murder case that they brought in a finding of not guilty in favor of William Radcliffe, which provoked Judge Hubbell to exclaim, "Is this your verdict? Then may God have mercy on your souls!" In 1848 A. D. Smith was the regular candidate for circuit judge against Judge Hubbell, who beat him by a few votes, but in 1852 he "turned the tables" by defeating Judge Hubbell. Fearless and independent, he was respected by many who disagreed with his extreme position on the question of State rights as expressed in the decision of the State Supreme Court in the Booth-Glover case. At the end of his term he had been deserted by his party, and the Republicans nominated Byron Paine, who was elected to succeed him. After this he engaged in writing "red-hot" political editorials for Booth's *Free Democrat*. Judge Smith was appointed to a position in the government revenue service soon after the outbreak of the Civil war. This took him to South Carolina, where he suffered a physical breakdown. He died on a steamboat while on his way to New York on the 3d of June, 1865, and his remains were brought to Milwaukee for burial. By birth Judge Smith was a New Yorker.

Another New York lawyer who came to Milwaukee in 1842 was Peter Yates. He was a man of ability, but neglected his profession to devote his time to inventions which failed to produce practical results.

A spectacular occurrence associated with the memory of the old Courthouse given to the county by Juneau and Martin, was the death of James Holliday, which took place on the forenoon of May 16, 1851. Mr. Holliday was a Pennsylvanian, beginning his practice in Wyoming County, in that State, and coming to Milwaukee in 1843, when he was in the flush of early manhood. As a member of the firm of Holliday, Brown & Ogden, he attained a prominent position at the bar. Erect in carriage, powerful in physique, with a fine sense of honor, and talented in an exceptional degree, he gained the esteem of the community. Some six weeks prior to his demise, he had been shattered by a fall from his carriage, and was unable to walk. Having had himself conveyed to the courthouse, to argue a case in the Circuit Court, he was narrating a humorous anecdote illustrating a point in his discourse, when suddenly he displayed symptoms of distress, requested the judge to excuse him, and asked that a carriage be summoned. Before its arrival he had ended his mortal career, the victim of disease of the heart. All the bar attended his funeral services, which were conducted from Plymouth Church, and his remains were among the first that were laid to rest in the city's then new cemetery, Forest Home.

Levi Hubbell was born at Ballston, New York, in 1808. After practicing law at Canandaigua he edited the *Ontario Messenger*. In 1833 Governor Marcy appointed him attorney-general. In 1836 he was elected to the State Assembly. He came to Milwaukee in 1844, entering into partnership with Asahel Finch and William Pitt Lynde. In July, he was elected one of the judges of the circuit and supreme courts of the State under the arrangement which prevailed at that time, his circuit embracing the counties of Milwaukee, Waukesha, Jefferson and Dane. In 1851 he was re-elected for a term of six years. The salary was only $1,500. Assigning its inadequacy as a reason, he resigned in 1856 and resumed the practice of law in Milwaukee. It was while he was circuit judge during his second term that he was made the victim of impeachment proceedings before the Senate of Wiscon-

sin, one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of the State. His character and motives were bitterly attacked during the trial, the case for his accusers being conducted by Edward G. Ryan, who permitted himself oratorical flights embodying virulent condemnations which in the opinion of the senators sitting in judgment were unsupported by the testimony. Consequently the trial ended in acquittal, whereupon a trainload of Judge Hubbell's Milwaukee admirers went out to Watertown to meet him on his return to the city and bring him home in triumph. When the excitement of the incident had died down it was the general belief that personal and political rancor was at the bottom of the whole affair. In 1863 Judge Hubbell was elected to the Assembly from Milwaukee. In 1871 President Grant appointed him United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, and this office he held till 1875. His death was the result of injuries sustained by a fall on an icy sidewalk in December, 1876. Judge Hubbell was a man of engaging personality, slender in build, erect and graceful in carriage, brilliant and epigrammatic in conversation. He was an effective public speaker.

James S. Brown, born in Maine, in 1824, came West at sixteen, settling first at Cincinnati, where he studied law and acquired a helpful knowledge of the German language. He came to Milwaukee in 1844, being barely of age in the following year, when he was elected district attorney. Three years later he became attorney general of the State. He was elected mayor of Milwaukee in 1861 and congressman from the Milwaukee district in 1862. Never physically strong, Mr. Brown was pursued by chronic invalidism for many years, dying April 16, 1878, a victim of nervous prostration. His first wife, the mother of his children, was Elizabeth F. Shepard, daughter of Clarence Shepard. His second wife was a young lady of Bangor, Maine.

John H. Van Dyke died March 9, 1909, at the age of eighty-five. He came to Milwaukee in 1846. He was one of the organizers of the Young Men's Association and also of the Young Men's Christian Association, of which latter he was the first president. He assisted Dr. Passavant in the starting of Milwaukee Hospital and was on its board of visitors from 1864 to the time of his death. Engaged for many years in the practice of law, after 1870 he was chiefly devoted to business interests, which were numerous and

important. He helped to organize the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, of which one of his sons is president today. He himself was its president from 1869 to 1874. He assisted in organizing the Menominee Mining Company, the pioneer company on the Menominee Range in upper Michigan, and was also interested in other mining companies in that locality. He stood high as a lawyer, a business man and a philanthropist. For fifty-two years he was a director of the Bank of Milwaukee and its successor, the National Exchange Bank. Mr. Van Dyke bore a conspicuous and honorable part in the upbuilding of Milwaukee and the Northwest. He was singularly devoid of spectacularity in his tastes and methods, but always achieved results. He was prominent in the upbuilding of the Grand Avenue Methodist Church.

Albert Smith came from New York State in 1846 and entered upon the practice of law in Milwaukee. In 1856 he was justice of the peace for the Seventh Ward. In 1859 Governor Randall appointed him county judge to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Byron Paine when the latter was elected to the Supreme Court. The appointment was subsequently confirmed by the electorate, who kept Judge Smith on the bench of the County Court till his sudden death in 1870. He was a quiet, competent lawyer and an upright, efficient judge.

William Meikleham, who practiced law in Milwaukee for a brief period, and died after a lingering illness, on the 27th of September, 1852, was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and a nephew of Sir Walter Scott.

Harlow S. Orton, who rose to be chief justice of the State Supreme Court, was a practicing lawyer in Milwaukee from 1847 to 1852, when he removed to Madison to be private secretary for Governor Farwell. In 1859 he was chosen to succeeded Judge Dixon as judge of the Circuit Court for the Ninth District. This position he resigned in 1865. In 1877 he was elected mayor of Madison and was appointed one of the revisors of the statutes. When the Supreme Court was made to consist of five judges instead of three, in 1878, he was chosen to be an associate justice. On the bench of this court he remained till his death in 1895. He was chief justice after the death of Judge Lyon in January, 1893.

Byron Paine, born at Painesville, Ohio, in 1827, came to Milwaukee with his father, James H. Paine, in 1847, and two years

later was admitted to the bar. He was clerk of the State Senate in 1856, in which year he became by appointment judge of the Milwaukee County Court, the voters confirming the appointment at the election of 1857, and was elected to the State Supreme Court in the spring of 1859. In 1864 he resigned from the Supreme bench for the purpose of entering the army, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-third Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, with which he served till the end of the war, subsequently resuming the practice of law in Milwaukee. On the resignation of Jason Downer from the Supreme bench in 1867 Judge Paine was appointed to succeed him, and in 1868 was elected for the remainder of the term. He died at Madison, January 13, 1871, a victim of erysipelas. Judge Paine was an idealist. His brilliant defense of Sherman M. Booth was one of the most outstanding incidents in the history of the Milwaukee courts.

The birthplace of Arthur MacArthur was Glasgow, Scotland. He came to this country with his parents when a child, was educated at the Wesleyan University in Connecticut, admitted to the bar at New York in 1841, and came to Milwaukee in 1849 with the reputation of a man successful in law and business. In 1851 he was elected city attorney and in 1855 lieutenant-governor, on the ticket with Governor Barstow. In the interval between Barstow's resignation of the governorship and Governor Bashford's induction into the office, Mr. MacArthur was governor of Wisconsin—from March 21 to March 25, 1856. Governor MacArthur was elected Circuit Judge for the Milwaukee circuit in 1857, a position which he occupied with distinction for thirteen years, resigning to accept appointment by President Grant as associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. His home was at Washington after his departure from Milwaukee. He died August 26, 1896. Judge MacArthur was the father of Arthur MacArthur, who left Milwaukee with the Twenty-fourth Wisconsin Volunteers in the second year of the Civil war and rose to be Lieutenant-General of the United States Army.

Otis H. Waldo, a native of New York State, and a graduate of Union College, came to Milwaukee in the fall of 1849. He was concerned in litigation connected with the construction of the early railways, and took a prominent part in public affairs. Mr.

Waldo was one of the prominent candidates for the United States senatorship in 1869, when the prize went to Matt H. Carpenter. He was a competent lawyer, a respected citizen and an upright man. He died October 30, 1874, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Ephraim Mariner, a native of Penn Yan, New York, came to Milwaukee in 1850, specializing in law relating to real estate and corporations and taking an active interest in developmental projects, especially those relating to railroads. He was a man of strong character and keen practical judgment, acquiring large interests and leaving when he died in 1911 an estate of the estimated value of two million dollars.

Joshua Stark was a young Vermonter, born in 1828, who came to Milwaukee in 1850 with letters of introduction to Judge Hubbell and Asahel Finch. He had taught school, studied law and been admitted to practice at the bar of New York. Milwaukee being overcrowded with legal talent, he was advised to begin the practice of his profession at Cedarburg. There he entered the office of Fred Horn and acquired a knowledge of the German language, which, he conceived, would be of use to him in Milwaukee. He returned to this city in the following year and made it his home to the end of his life. In 1853 he was elected city attorney and in 1855 he was sent to the Legislature as a member of the Assembly, making an honorable record which pleased his constituents. In 1860 he was elected district attorney of Milwaukee County, and rendered important service. As a former school teacher, Mr. Stark always retained an interest in education. For many years he was a member of the Milwaukee School Board, in the presidency of which body he served nine years. He attained high standing in the practice of his profession, and was president of the Milwaukee Bar Association for many years. His death occurred in 1910.

Charles A. Hamilton, born at Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1826, was a grandson of Alexander Hamilton. He was highly educated and read law in New York City, practicing there until 1851, when he came to Milwaukee. He was at first a partner of Jonathan E. Arnold and then a member of the firm of Emmons, Van Dyke & Hamilton, which was largely engaged in admiralty business at the time. When the Civil war broke out he went out as major of the Seventh Wisconsin, becoming lieutenant-colonel

and being severely wounded at the battle of Gainesville. Unfitted for further duty in the field, he returned to the practice of law. He was elected to the Assembly in 1877. In 1878 he was elected to the bench of the one Circuit Court which sufficed for Milwaukee at that time, his term beginning on the 1st of January, 1882. He died November 29, 1901, leaving the memory of a kindly upright gentleman in the circles where he had been intimate during his honorable but unspectacular career.

Edward Salomon was among the earliest of the Germans who attained distinction in the legal profession in Milwaukee. He was born in Halberstadt, Prussia, in 1828, the son of a father who had served with honor in the army and in civil life. His studies were carried on in the college of his native city and the University of Berlin. Coming to Wisconsin in 1849, his home was at Manitowoc till 1852, when he had made himself fluent in English and entered upon the study of law in the office of Edward G. Ryan at Milwaukee. When admitted to the bar, in 1855, he was a young man of fine appearance and prepossessing manners. At this time he became a partner of Winfield Smith, continuing in that relation till 1869, when he removed to New York City. In the meantime, without seeking political honors he performed valuable service in the public life of Wisconsin. Like many others among the Milwaukeeans of German origin, Mr. Salomon's early inclinations were Democratic, but he left that party on the slavery issue. His nomination for the lieutenant governorship came to him without solicitation and he was elected on the ticket with Governor Harvey in the fall of 1861. The death of Governor Harvey in April, 1862, made Mr. Salomon Governor during the trying period from that date till the 1st of January, 1864. He was equal to every emergency, devoting himself disinterestedly and ably to the putting down of resistance to the draft in Washington and Ozaukee counties, to the raising of troops and to provision for their comfort in the field. He called an extra session of the Legislature in the first year of his administration to empower municipalities to raise money for the payment of bounties to volunteers and to confer upon men at the front facilities for taking part in elections. After his removal to New York City he enjoyed a large and lucrative legal practice and served as consul for the German Empire. In 1904, in the hope that his wife,

who was in feeble health, would benefit by change of scene, he went to Europe, establishing his residence at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he remained till his death at the age of seventy-nine on the 22d of April, 1909.

Thomas L. Ogden, who came to Milwaukee from the East in 1848, was a member of one of the leading law firms of Milwaukee of the period between then and the end of the Civil war—Holliday, Brown & Ogden at its outset, and Brown & Ogden after the death of Judge Holliday in 1851. It paid special attention to real estate matters and causes in equity.

C. K. Wells, who came in 1847, was another capable, hard-working lawyer who made little noise in the world, but gained reputation for industry and efficiency. The firm of Wells & Brigham, afterward Wells, Brigham & Upham, in which he was the senior partner, has undergone changes of personnel with the lapse of years, but still endures.

Winfield Smith, an outstanding figure for many years in the legal and business history of the city, was a native of the State—born at Fort Howard in 1827. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1846, he came to Milwaukee in 1849, reading law in the office of Emmons & Van Dyke, and being admitted to the bar in 1850. He practiced alone till 1855, when he formed a partnership with Edward Salomon that continued for fifteen years, when the latter removed to New York. From 1862 to 1866 he was attorney-general of Wisconsin. He served in the Assembly with ability and distinction. He was for several years in partnership with Senator Matt H. Carpenter and A. A. L. Smith. He was one of the men who made a success of the Cream City Street Railway. He died in 1899.

Levi Blossom was an early lawyer who became engrossed in business pursuits outside of his profession. He was one of the projectors of the first railroad between Chicago and Milwaukee, as also was C. K. Watkins, another capable practitioner at the bar.

Ammi R. R. Butler came to Milwaukee from Genessee, New York, in 1846, and held a respected place in the community as a lawyer and a man of affairs from then to the end of his life. He was elected to the mayoralty without opposition in 1876. He died in April, 1901.

Jerome Ripley Brigham, born in Massachusetts in 1825, came

West with his parents in 1839, but after fitting for college in western schools completed his education at Amherst. A member of the Brook Farm community, he retained the spirit of an idealist to the end of his days. Mr. Brigham had served as clerk of the Supreme Court at Madison before he came to Milwaukee in 1851. Here he was in association for a time with Judge Stow and E. G. Ryan before entering into partnership with Charles K. Wells. In 1880 Mr. Brigham was elected to the office of city attorney. He was a member of the Milwaukee School Board and of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners and a regent of the State University. He was also a trustee of the Layton Art Gallery. In 1887 he was a member of the State Assembly. Mr. Brigham was a thoughtful but not a voluminous writer. For many years he was connected with the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, and young men on its staff were accustomed to draw upon him for useful suggestions on subjects relating to Wisconsin and Milwaukee history. He died in 1897.

Eighteen-fifty-seven was the year in which James G. Jenkins began his long and honorable career in Milwaukee. He was born at Saratoga Springs, New York, July 18, 1834, and admitted to the bar in that State in 1855. Six years after his arrival here he was elected to the office of city attorney. In 1885 President Cleveland offered him appointment to the position of associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, which he declined. In 1888 he was appointed United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, which position he held until 1893, when he was appointed judge of the United States Circuit Court of the Seventh Judicial Circuit. The courage as well as the legal knowledge embodied in his decisions made him a conspicuous figure on the bench. After attaining the age of seventy, Judge Jenkins retired on the 11th of April, 1905. For many years thereafter he was dean of the Law Department of Marquette University.

In an address to the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, when that organization held a reception in his honor on the 29th of September, 1917, the sixtieth anniversary of his arrival in Milwaukee, Judge Jenkins reviewed the history of the Milwaukee bar during the period covered by his experience as one of its members. He observed:

"Naturally my recollections of the olden times refer principally to the courts and the bar. Comparatively speaking, there were no law libraries, the lawyers depending upon textbooks, the statutes, and the few volumes then extant of the Supreme Court Reports. But there were giants at the bar in those days—men of great mental ability, thoroughly grounded in the elementary principles of law and able to apply those principles to the new conditions of Western life. Foremost among those was Edward G. Ryan, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Richard Coeur de Lion of the bar, whose ponderous legal battle-ax could smash to atoms any argument not rested upon correct legal principles. A mind comprehensive and powerful in its grasp, quick of perception, profound learning in the law, close familiarity with the writers of the past, thorough mastery and precision of language, classic beauty of diction, wonderful power of imagery, great nervous force and energy, were the marked characteristics of this man, who towered above all others at the bar, the lawyer among lawyers. He was, however, possessed of a sudden and violent temper. His weakness was in the presence of his own passions, greatly marring his influence in a jury trial. He once abandoned his client and stalked out of court in the midst of a jury trial because the opposing counsel had called him 'a wild Irishman' and the judge declined to commit the offender as for a contempt of court. You all remember Sid Rood—he was a great admirer of Mr. Ryan, but did not hesitate to 'beard the lion in his den' and to pay him back in his own coin. Once when Mr. Ryan was in a temper, Rood, in his rough way, said to him, 'Ryan, the only way to manage you is to incorporate you and run you by a board of directors.' But with all his faults and infirmities, Ryan was a man of great ability and force, and brought honor to his State, its courts and its bar.

"An entirely different character, but a most worthy compeer, was Jonathan E. Arnold, who was, I think, the ablest advocate in a criminal case I ever knew. He was the antipodes of Mr. Ryan. He was cool, dispassionate, incisive, never in personal controversy with his opponents. He was the Saladin of the bar. His keen mental Damascus blade could pierce the weak points in the legal armor of his antagonist, and his wonderful eloquence could sway a jury, often convincing them that the wrong was the

better reason. He it was who invented the defense of moral insanity—sane the moment before the shooting—insane at the time of the shooting—sane a moment after the shooting—and induced a jury to set free the prisoner. His invention has frequently been infringed by the bar, and with great success where there was 'a woman in the case.' Mr. Arnold was a quiet, unobtrusive, kindly gentleman, whose memory still affectionately obtains among the few who knew him and who yet survive.

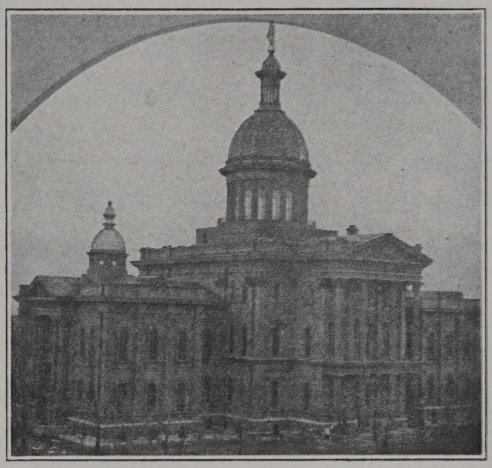
"Time would fail me to speak of all the members of the bar at the time of my coming to Milwaukee. There were A. R. R. Butler, James S. Brown, Norman J. Emmons, John H. Van Dyke, Otis H. Waldo, Don A. J. Upham, William Pitt Lynde, Henry L. Palmer, Ephraim Mariner, and a short time afterwards Matthew Hale Carpenter and John W. Cary. All were able men who attained high rank in the profession.

"Of the judges, Andrew Galbraith Miller, United States District judge; Arthur MacArthur, circuit judge, and Albert Smith, county judge, were prominent. Judge Miller occupied the bench for thirty-five years with distinguished ability. His admiralty decisions were many, and acquired for him great reputation as an admiralty jurist. He was able, dignified, quiet, kindly, always just. I never knew a command for order to be necessary in his court. He was, I believe, a founder of your club, and one of its early presidents. He took great personal interest in its welfare.

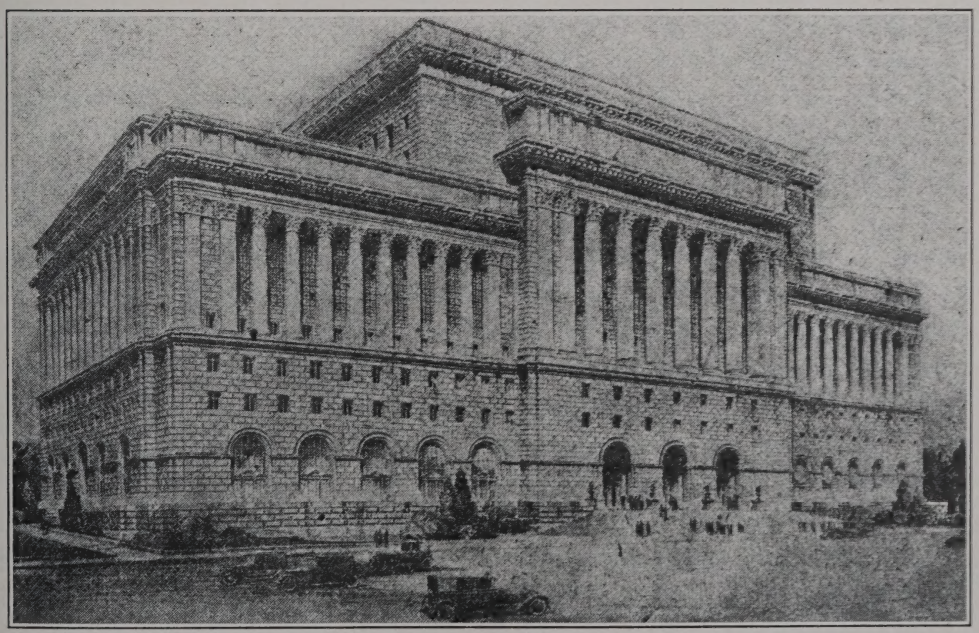
Judge MacArthur presided in the Circuit Court and was a well-informed, genial, kindly gentleman and an excellent judge when he applied himself to his task. It was said of him that he did not think it well to work too hard. He was a Scotchman of the deepest dye, and presided at all Scotch banquets with great efficiency, at which he took delight and a little Scotch whisky. Once it was said of him that he should be elected perpetual president of festive occasions. He afterwards became a justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and died in office.

"Judge Albert Smith was a thorough, honest and able judge. He bore a striking resemblance to Daniel Webster. No appeal could sway him from true judgment, nor could friendship turn him from his duty as he saw it.

"Judge James A. Mallory, who was district attorney when I came to Milwaukee, was afterwards Municipal Judge. He was



OLD COUNTY COURTHOUSE, 1875
Showing Goddess of Liberty.



MILWAUKEE COUNTY'S $6,500,000 COURTHOUSE, NOW IN COURSE OF ERECTION

an upright man, well grounded in criminal law. The rapidity with which he disposed of police cases was remarkable. In the daily 'round-up' of 'drunks and disorderlies,' he would survey the line of prisoners as they took their places in the dock, and could tell at a glance and without evidence whether they were guilty. He was a terror to evil-doers.

"The practice of the law, however, has greatly changed. The lawyer of sixty years ago who attained to distinction, if he could revisit the scenes of earth, would almost find his occupation gone, and himself unknown, and would exclaim, in the pathetic language of Rip Van Winkle, upon his return to his native village of Falling Waters after twenty years in the Catskills, 'Are we then so soon forgot when we are gone?' In those old days counsel sought to sway a jury by eloquent appeals to the sensibilities and prejudices and by invective. A noted trial conducted by distinguished counsel attracted crowds. That time has passed. Now, plain facts are the chief factors in success, and he is a great lawyer who by marshaling the facts in a calm and logical and masterly way can convince court or jury of the justice of his case. The appeal now is to the reason, the judgment, not to prejudice or passion. The latter way is reserved to the hustings, where masses are to be moved to vote for the wrong man. The change, so far as the courts are concerned, is for the better, and more conducive to the establishment of justice among men."

Henry L. Palmer was one of the leaders of the Milwaukee bar and an influential participant in the political life of Wisconsin from his arrival in the city in 1849 till his election to the presidency of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company in January, 1874. At his advent here he entered into a law partnership with Abram D. Smith which was dissolved in 1853 on the election of Mr. Smith to the bench of the State Supreme Court. Others with whom he was affiliated in practice were Joshua Stark, Erastus Foote, John R. Sharpstein, David G. Hooker and F. W. Pitkin. One of his notable legal victories was obtained as counsel for Sherman M. Booth in the Caroline Cook case. The charge was criminal assault. Political prejudice and personal hatred menaced the fate of the accused. E. G. Ryan assisted the district attorney, and the prosecution was bitter and vindictive. While others in the court room seethed with passion, Mr. Palmer kept

his head. Serenely regardful of the dignity and significance of the litigation in its legal aspects, he guarded the interests of his client at every stage of the proceedings and made a masterly argument for the defense. The jury disagreed, and Booth was set free. In 1852 Mr. Palmer was elected to the State Assembly, of which body he was chosen speaker. He was again elected to the Assembly in 1859 and 1861, and was chosen to the speakership at the extra session in 1862. From 1865 to 1868 he was president of the Milwaukee School Board. Once more, in 1872, he was elected to the Assembly, and in the following year he was elected county judge. This office he resigned when he was elected to the presidency of the insurance company, concentrating his attention upon the duties of the latter position until nearly the close of his life. In 1858, when the company was in its experimental stage, and its fortunes were precarious, he had accepted a place on its board of trustees and acted as its legal advisor. He had become a member of its executive committee in 1859. When he retired from its presidency, in July, 1908, the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company was firmly established as one of the great fiduciary institutions of the world—a monument to the sagacity of its founders—a reminder of the soundness of judgment, the signal executive ability, the sterling integrity and exemplary fidelity and devotion of the remarkable man who had steered its course for thirty-six years and had been active in its affairs for half a century. Outside of his family life, and his professional and business commitments, Judge Palmer's chief interest was in Freemasonry, with which his affiliation began while he was a young man. As early as 1851 he held the office of grand master of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin. From 1858 to 1865 he was grand commander of the Knights Templar of Wisconsin. In the latter year he was elected grand commander of Knights Templar in the United States, other exalted honors being conferred upon him by his fellow Masons in later years. He died on the 6th of May, 1909, respected and esteemed by citizens irrespective of creed or party.

There came to Milwaukee in 1859 a lawyer whose eloquence, learning and ability had attracted attention from the legal profession throughout the State. Matthew Hale Carpenter was a native of Moretown, Vermont, born December 22, 1824. After

two years at the United States Military Academy, he studied law, for which he had shown an aptitude at an early age, and was admitted to the bar in 1847. Then he spent a year in the office of Rufus Choate at Boston. In the following year he settled at Beloit, remaining in Rock County till 1858, when he entered into partnership with E. G. Ryan of Milwaukee. A towering figure at the bar, it was the need of the nation for the leadership of its ablest men in its greatest crisis that dragged him into politics. Mr. Carpenter was a Democrat, but, like Jefferson, was opposed to slavery. When the Civil war broke out, he was a War Democrat, finding his logical place with the Republicans. In 1869, amid overwhelming enthusiasm, he was chosen to represent Wisconsin in the Senate of the United States. Defeated in 1875, he was re-elected in 1879, and was incumbent of the office of Senator at the time of his death. The fame of Senator Carpenter belongs not only to Milwaukee, but to the State and to the nation. Before he entered the Senate, he had attained note as an exponent of Constitutional law. In 1868, by invitation of Secretary Stanton, he, with Lyman Trumbull, represented the government in the McCardle case, brought to try the validity of the reconstruction act of March 7, 1867, for the government of the States lately in rebellion. Not since the Dred Scott case had so much hung on the outcome of a suit before the United States Court as depended upon the decision in the McCardle case. The great lawyer Jeremiah Black was on the other side, but Carpenter's was the winning argument, and when he had completed it Stanton rushed up to him with the grateful exclamation, "Carpenter, you have saved us!" Subsequently Judge Black declared him "the finest Constitutional lawyer in the United States." In the Senate he went through no period of probation, but early in his service was placed on important committees—the judiciary committee, the committee on patents, the committee on revision of the laws. He was made president pro tem. of the Senate. As a leader of Senators supporting the policies of President Grant, he naturally became a mark for the concentrated hostility of opponents of the administration, who, while he was absent on duty at Washington, wrought to undermine him at home. Never was there a more spectacular and protracted fight in the Wisconsin Legislature than that which resulted in his defeat for re-election to the Sen-

ate in 1875. Many who had fought him on that occasion lifted not a finger against him in 1879. At that time, however, his splendid physique had broken down. He died on the 24th of February, 1881. As early as 1865 Senator Carpenter advocated State and Federal control of railway and semi-public corporations. He lived to see the principle which he had eloquently expounded upheld in the Supreme Court of Wisconsin and the Supreme Court of the United States.

Luther S. Dixon, born in Vermont, was admitted to the bar in 1850, coming West in the same year and settling at Portage, where he was district attorney from 1852 to 1856. In 1859 Governor Randall appointed him judge of the Ninth Circuit, and on the death of Chief Justice Whiton in 1859 appointed him to the vacancy, the people endorsing the appointment at four successive elections. In 1874 he resigned and came to Milwaukee. Here he had an important practice, in the course of which his duties took him to Colorado in 1879. There he found the climate so beneficial to his health, which had been reduced by bronchial trouble, that he removed to Denver. It was frequently remarked by people who were on the inside of the struggle over the United States senatorship from Wisconsin in 1875 that Mr. Dixon might have stepped into the shoes of Senator Carpenter, but refused his consent.

Samuel Howard, who practiced for many years as an attorney in Milwaukee, confined his attention mainly to real estate matters. He made and owned a large collection of abstracts of title. He published a newpaper—the *Legal News*—devoted to real estate transactions and matters in the courts. Mr. Howard came to this city with his parents while he was a small boy. At the outbreak of the Civil war he was attached to the staff of General Starkweather, and was at the battle of Chancellorsville. After the war he was prominent in the councils of the local Democratic party. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, belonging to Kilbourn Lodge. Mr. Howard was noted for his philanthropies. One of his ways of doing good was to hire the Academy of Music for a night, giving the tickets for the entertainment to the managers of the Protestant and Catholic orphan asylums, for the purpose of disposing of them to their friends and turning over the proceeds to the asylums. Mr. Howard had studied Latin and

Greek, and was an attentive reader of the Bible. He maintained a home on Lake Nagowicka, where he spent the summers with invited friends. At his death he left most of his property to be used for the benefit of the orphans.

Ewald Alfred Arthur Frederick William von Cotzhausen was a native of Rhine-Prussia, born at Cambach, near Aix-la-Chapelle, July 21, 1838, a son of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludwig Freiherr von Cotzhausen-Wedau, who was created a Baron of the Empire by Napoleon I. in 1811. Educated with a view to becoming an officer in the Prussian Navy, young von Cotzhausen was disqualified by reason of weak eyesight from carrying out this intention. He came to Milwaukee in 1856 and was admitted to the bar in 1859, taking high rank and securing a lucrative practice. In 1870 he became counsel for the Milwaukee & Lake Shore Railroad Company, and later performed important legal services for the Chicago & North-Western. He was a member of the State Senate in 1873 and 1874. Mr. von Cotzhausen was a man of great force and originality of character, and all his life a student as well as a worker. He was an interesting speaker. When he died, Justice Doerfler of the Wisconsin Supreme Court pronounced a eulogy in which he said: "Mr. Cotzhausen's life covered a span of three generations of lawyers. He was a contemporary of Carl Schurz, Edward Salomon, Jonathan E. Arnold, Edward G. Ryan and Matt Carpenter. While in the height of his career he practiced at the bar with Judge James G. Jenkins, J. G. Flanders, E. H. Bottum, J. V. and Charles Quarles and General Winkler. The lawyers I have mentioned were in distinct classes, and each class represented the highest type of legal talent in the State. He ranked with the best in both classes. With his death, with few exceptions, the careers of those belonging to the second class have come to an end. He took a deep interest in public life. He was a forceful and convincing speaker. In the early '70s he advocated many of those progressive measures which are now in force. Although he reached an age of over fourscore years, he was in touch and accord with most of the measures now known as progressive which made Wisconsin famous."

Francis Bloodgood, Sr., who died April 10, 1917, was a grandson of Major John Whistler, who built Fort Dearborn. He was born at Fort Howard, Wisconsin, December 23, 1827, and came

to Milwaukee in 1854, practicing law until 1874, when he was appointed registrar in bankruptcy. The bankruptcy law then in force was repealed in the year of his appointment, but Mr. Bloodgood held until 1883, several years of laborious application being required to dispose of the applications which had been filed before the date of the repeal. Finely educated, high-spirited, a man of refined tastes and singularly courteous demeanor, Mr. Bloodgood stood high in the community. During the Civil war and for some time thereafter he was secretary of the Union Club of Milwaukee, which gave loyal support to the administration during that crisis as well as in the reconstruction period that followed. He was commandant of the Home Guard, organized as a school for the soldier, out of which officers were commissioned for the volunteer army.

Leaving a reputation for soaring eloquence and coruscating wit unsurpassed by that of any other native of the city practicing at the bar, Judge Joseph Gordon Donnelly died on the 10th of May, 1915, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Intellectual brilliancy manifested in the days of his pupilage at old St. Gall's had reached high development before he attained his majority, attracting admiring attention when he took the stump for Tilden in the Presidential campaign of 1876. For six years ending in 1877, Mr. Donnelly was a teacher in the public schools. Then he was appointed register of probate. In his spare time he studied law, his admission to the bar taking place in 1881. In 1893 he was appointed consul general to Mexico, in which country, with his family, he spent five years, embodying some of his observations and experiences in an interesting novel published by the Macmillans. Judge Donnelly was habitually studious and intent on underlying principles, his ebullient humor being the efflorescence of intelligence and the embodiment of sound philosophy. In combination with a genial nature he possessed a judicial mind. For the solution of legal problems when assistance from precedents is unavailable a broad background of general information and a clear perception of wider issues smooth the path toward right conclusions. While serving as court commissioner it devolved upon Mr. Donnelly to receive testimony in a suit challenging the validity of a then novel ordinance for the enforcement of the bovine tuberculosis test. His decision that the test was a

constitutional means of protecting human beings from the menace of tuberculosis was sustained by the Circuit Court, the Wisconsin Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Donnelly was selected for a civil judgeship at the first election after that branch of the judiciary was established. His associates chose him for chief judge of the Civil Court, and he was incumbent of these offices at the time of his death.

When the death of Judge Gilson, in 1892, left vacant the bench of the Superior Court, Governor Peck appointed to the position John C. Ludwig, who had been engaged in the practice of law in Milwaukee since 1875. Subsequently the Superior Court was merged with the Circuit Court, Judge Ludwig becoming judge of one of the branches, and being continued in this office till the time of his death, September 3, 1916. Judge Ludwig's career was a noteworthy instance of unassisted merit rising to recognition. Born in Milwaukee, the son of a shoemaker, he gained the rudiments of education in public and private schools, but continued to improve his mind in spare time while learning the jeweler's trade, which he followed till he had attained the age of twenty, when he entered the office of Mann & Cotzhausen and applied himself to the study of law. The decisions of Judge Ludwig commanded universal respect. He was a good judge and a good man, widely beloved.

When Gen. Frederick C. Winkler died on the 22d of March, 1921, he had completed eighty-three years of life, during sixty-two of which he was a member of the Milwaukee bar, and for the greater part of that long period he had been one of its acknowledged leaders. He was born in the German city of Bremen, in 1838, coming to Milwaukee with his parents at the age of six. Educated at the German-English Academy, he taught school for a term or two, and then began to read law in the office of H. L. Palmer, continuing his studies with Abbott, Gregory & Pinney at Madison, and being admitted to practice in 1859. At the outbreak of the Civil war he went to the front as captain of Company B, Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, which he had helped to raise. With his gallant comrades of what came to be famous as "the German Regiment," he participated in the hard-fought engagement at Chancellorsville. At Gettysburg he was attached to the staff of Gen. Carl Schurz. After Chicka-

mauga the regiment was sent to the relief of General Rosecrans at Chattanooga, under command of the former captain of Company B, now advanced to the rank of colonel. It marched with General Sherman to the sea, returning to Wisconsin in June, 1865, and Colonel Winkler was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers for meritorious service. From then to near the close of his life his time was devoted chiefly to the practice of his profession. After a partnership with A. R. R. Butler, which expired by limitation in 1873, he was junior member of the firm of Jenkins, Elliott & Winkler. Upon the elevation of Judge Jenkins to the federal bench in 1888, General Winkler became the head of the firm of Winkler, Flanders, Smith, Bottum & Vilas. An upstanding Republican, though never an office-holder, he was conspicuous in the counsels of his party, while his Americanism was broader than party lines. When Milwaukee celebrated its semi-centennial, General Winkler was selected to make the address surveying its history for fifty years. His last significant appearance in public was as chairman of the mass meeting at the Auditorium which greeted President Wilson on the occasion of his memorable visit to this city, January 31, 1916.

Gerry W. Hazelton was a leading member of the Milwaukee bar from his advent in the city in 1875 to the end of his long life. He had been prominent in law and politics in Wisconsin from the era antedating the Civil war. Mr. Hazelton was born at Chester, New Hampshire, February 24, 1829, and educated at Pinkerton Academy, Derry, and under a private tutor, reading law in New York City. He came to Wisconsin in 1856, settling at Columbus. In 1860 he was elected to the State Senate, and four years later was district attorney of Columbia County. After appointment to the office of collector of internal revenue for the Second District, he was removed for failure to "Johnsonize." In 1869 he was appointed United States District Attorney for the District of Wisconsin, resigning to take a seat in the Forty-second Congress, to which he had been elected by the Republicans of the Second District, then comprising the counties of Columbia, Dane, Jefferson and Rock. He was again elected to Congress, and at the conclusion of his second term once more was appointed to the United States District Attorneyship, when he became a resident of Milwaukee. For a long series of years he was court commis-

sioner, in addition to which he carried on practice at the bar. Mr. Hazelton was a profound student of American history, and a picturesque and forceful writer as well as a logical and brilliant orator. To the end of his life his services were in request on public occasions. He was the principal speaker in 1889 when Milwaukee celebrated the centenary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. To the Papers of the Phantom Club he contributed a series of studies of American patriots, several of which, when published, attracted wide and admiring attention. He is remembered with affectionate respect as a man of culture and character who in many ways contributed to the higher life of the community.

Three members of the Milwaukee bar have been chosen to represent Wisconsin in the Senate of the United States—Isaac P. Walker, Matthew H. Carpenter and Joseph V. Quarles. Eight have been sent to Congress by Milwaukee constituencies—John H. Tweedy, William Pitt Lynde, James S. Brown, Halbert E. Paine, Peter J. Somers, Theobald Otjen, W. H. Stafford and John C. Klecksa. Gerry W. Hazelton was elected to Congress from another Wisconsin district before becoming a resident of Milwaukee. Ten have been called upon to sit upon the bench of the State Supreme Court since its organization on its present basis in 1853. This includes Harlow S. Orton, who was a practicing attorney in Milwaukee before he removed to Madison to fulfill the duties of private secretary to Governor Farwell. The others have been Byron Paine, Jason Downer, A. D. Smith, Luther S. Dixon, E. G. Ryan, Franz C. Eschweiler, Christian Doerfler, Oscar M. Fritz and Edward T. Fairchild. Two of the ten—Ryan and Orton—served in the capacity of chief justice. One Milwaukee lawyer has been elected to the governorship of the State—Francis E. McGovern—1911-1915, two elected to the lieutenant-governorship have served as governors—Arthur MacArthur and Edward Salomon. Two men who figured for a time as practicing attorneys in Milwaukee have served as senators of the United States from other States than Wisconsin—Carl Schurz from Missouri and Guy D. Goff from West Virginia. Frederick W. Pitkin, who practiced law in Milwaukee for several years succeeding 1859, and went to Colorado for his health, was elected to the governorship of that State in 1878 and 1880. John R. Sharp-

stein, who came to Milwaukee in the fall of 1853 to fill the office of United States district attorney to which he had been appointed by President Pierce, and who in 1857 was appointed postmaster at Milwaukee by President Buchanan, but failed to be confirmed for the position by the Senate, was editor of the old morning *News* for several years and in 1862 served for a short time as superintendent of schools, resigning to accept a seat in the Assembly to which he had been elected on the Democratic ticket by the voters of the First and Seventh wards. On his return from Madison he became a partner of H. L. Palmer. In 1864 Mr. Sharpstein removed to San Francisco, where for several years he was judge of the district court. In 1880 he was elected judge of the Supreme Court of California.

Requirements for admission to the bar in Wisconsin left a great deal to chance until 1885. Anyone who had attained the age of twenty-one and was of good moral character could apply to the circuit judge of the circuit in which he resided and be admitted to practice on satisfying the latter after examination in open court that he was possessed of "sufficient learning in the law and ability to enable him to properly practice as an attorney." In the absence of a prescribed standard, the questions put to applicants varied greatly. Gilson G. Glasier, librarian of the State Law Library, tells the story that the only question asked an applicant on one occasion was, "Where can you get the best oyster stew?" and that when the would-be practitioner of law led the judge and a few friends of the court to a place where oyster stews were of excellent quality, and paid for the regalement of the party, he was admitted to the bar without further formality. It is proper to assert that the scene of this piquant proceeding was not Milwaukee. An older anecdote than that cited by Mr. Glasier is worthy of recall. Rising from his seat on the floor of the Assembly on the 9th of February, 1859, Frederick Horn directed attention to a declaration in the Revised Statutes that no attorney should practice at the bar of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin unless he made oath that he lived "in the State of Illinois."

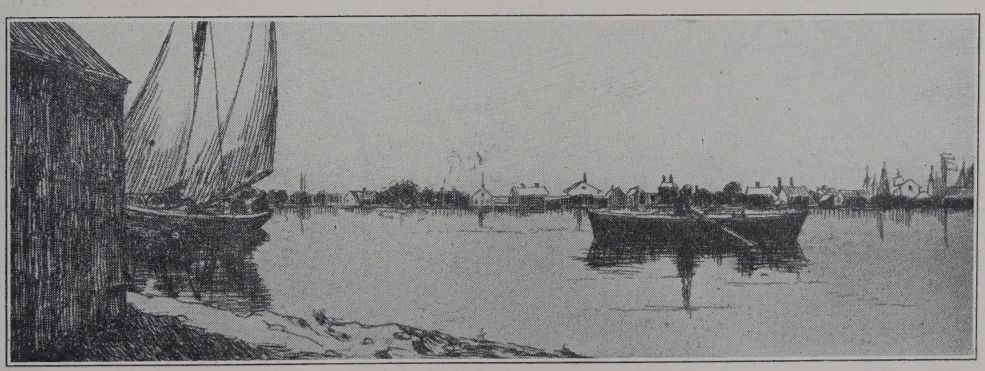
Chapter 63 of the Laws of Wisconsin enacted by the Legislature of 1885 provides for a Board of Bar Examiners, consisting of five competent attorneys, whose duty it is to examine appli-

cants for admission to practice, and issue certificates to those meeting its requirements. The Board is appointed by the Supreme Court, which designates when and where examinations shall be held and makes rules for the government of the proceedings. The clerk of the Supreme Court is ex-officio secretary of the Board. By Chapter 16, Laws of 1919, it is provided that on receipt of reliable information that an attorney has been guilty of misconduct which would justify suspension or revocation of his license, the Board shall investigate the facts and take action in accordance with its judgment.

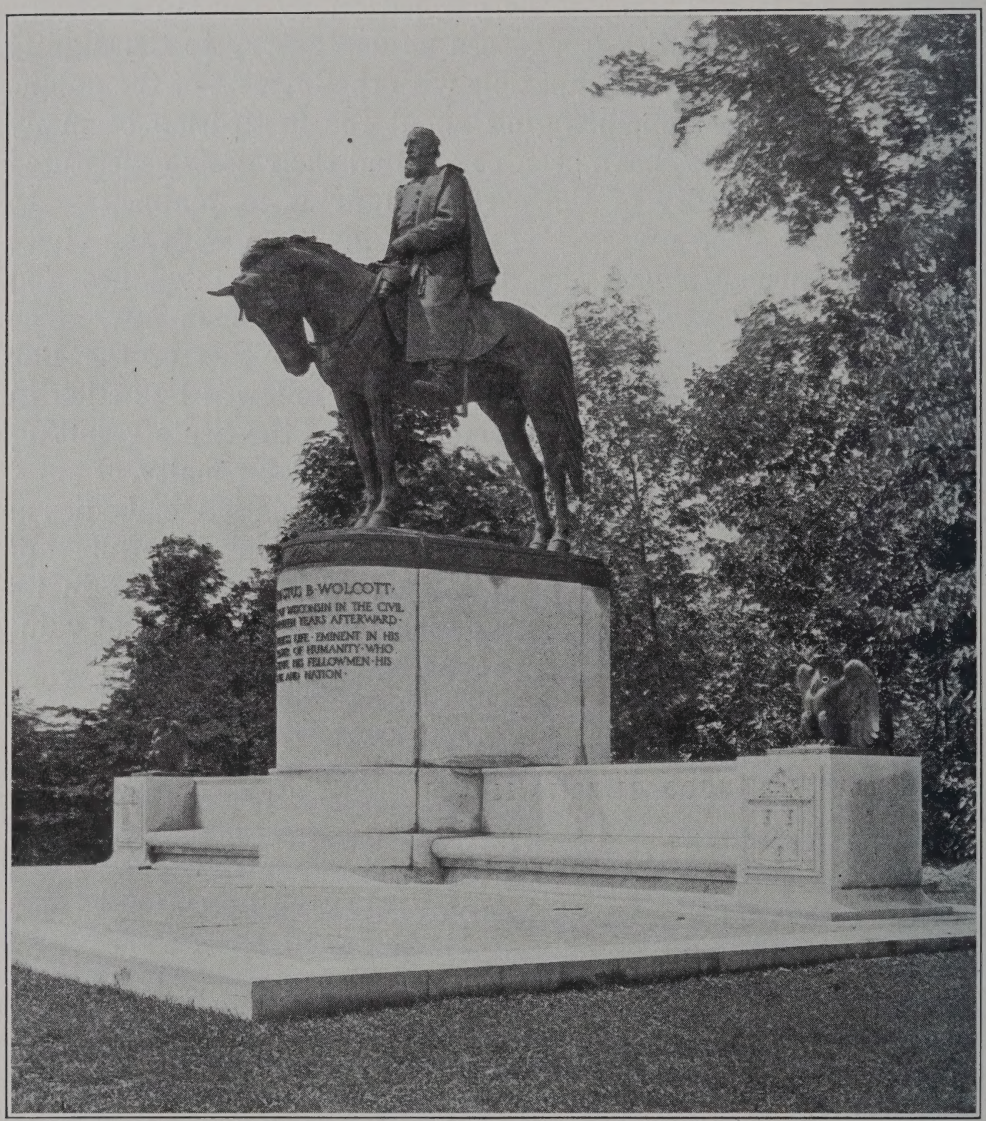
Prior to 1858 there was no formal association of the legal profession in Milwaukee. Early in that year organization was effected with the objects of establishing a library and law school, maintaining a high standard of qualifications and deportment, and promoting a proper degree of harmony among members of the bar. An act authorizing incorporations for such purposes was passed by the Legislature. The Milwaukee Bar Association appointed the following members to act as incorporators of the Milwaukee Law Institute: Edward G. Ryan, Nelson Cross, Henry L. Palmer, John B. D. Cogswell, James S. Brown, Otis H. Waldo, Ammi R. R. Butler, Jonathan E. Arnold, Norman J. Emmons. When books of subscription to the capital stock of the Institute were opened, the amount which was pledged fell so far short of what was deemed essential to the success of the project that it was abandoned, though, mainly as a social organization at the outset, the Bar Association was maintained. Its first president was Jonathan E. Arnold, with Levi Hubbell as vice president, Otis H. Waldo as treasurer, John B. D. Cogswell as secretary and William Pitt Lynde and Henry L. Palmer as executive committee. Many were present at a dinner held under the auspices of the Association at the Newhall House. Mr. Arnold was retained in the presidency till his death in 1869, and was succeeded by Mr. Lynde. Mr. Lynde was followed by Mr. Butler, who held the office till 1883, and declined reelection, whereupon the office was conferred upon Joshua Stark. As years rolled by, and younger men reinforced the ranks of legal practitioners in Milwaukee, the Bar Association became more active. It has always exerted an influence favoring high standards of conduct on the part of practitioners at the bar.

To the initiative of the Bar Association credit must be assigned for the investigation of recent memory into the evil practice of "ambulance chasing." Systematic solicitation of business, as it had come to be carried on by certain energetic attorneys, was relentlessly exposed as derogatory to the dignity of the profession and incompatible with the interest of the public. It promoted litigation, bringing about the institution of many suits that would not have been begun had their costs constituted a contingent liability of the persons figuring as plaintiffs. In this aspect it stood revealed as morally identical with the abuse which in former times was designated as "maintenance and champerty" and was punishable under the common law. The investigation diligently conducted by a committee of the Bar Association appointed for the purpose was followed by action in the circuit courts and the Supreme Court of the State resulting in the inhibition of "ambulance chasing" under penalty.

The library of the Milwaukee Bar Association embodies a collection of legal literature whose existence is gratefully appreciated by students and practitioners of law. Modest in its beginnings, it has grown in importance, partly by reason of valuable bequests.



WEST SHORE OF JONES' ISLAND, LATE '80s



DR. E. B. WOLCOTT MONUMENT, LAKE PARK

CHAPTER XXXII

THE DOCTORS

OUTSTANDING NAMES IN THE EARLY MEDICAL HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE—DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF MEDICAL ORGANIZATION—HOSPITALS—MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In January, 1834, there was not a doctor in Milwaukee. Few white people of any description were residents of the place at that time—possibly none besides Solomon Juneau and Albert Fowler. Mrs. Juneau falling ill in the dead of winter, her husband dispatched Mr. Fowler to Chicago for the purpose of stating her symptoms to a physician and obtaining a prescription for her relief. Later in that year at least two physicians found their way to the future city—Dr. Amasa Bigelow and Dr. Hubbell Loomis. Doctor Loomis looked over the situation and went back to St. Joseph, Michigan, where he had been in practice since 1827, returning in 1836 and settling on Walker's Point. Arrivals in 1835 included Dr. Lucius I. Barber, Dr. Enoch Chase, Dr. Alfred Castleman, Dr. Jesse S. Hewitt and a "Doctor Heath." Of Doctor Heath all that is known is that in the poll book of the election held on the 19th of September, 1835, his name, in the form here given, is listed as one of the voters. In 1836 came a Doctor Belknap, of whom also nothing can be learned but his name, even that not obtainable in full. The same year witnessed the advent of Drs. Thomas J. Noyes, William P. Proudfit, William Clark, William Meeker Gorham, Lemuel W. Weeks and John A. Messenger; also of Lewis J. Higby. Dr. Enoch Chase said the first Anglo-Saxon who died in Milwaukee was Dr. William Clark, who succumbed to consumption in the spring of 1836. Eighteen-thirty-seven and 1838 were years of economic depression, during which the population dwindled from 1,200 or more to 700, few remaining who possessed the means of getting away. Dr. Erastus B. Wolcott came in 1839, Dr. John K. Bartlett in 1841, Drs. John B. Dous-

man and Francis Huebschmann in 1842, Drs. Walker L. Bean, Ferdinand Kalckhoff, Frederick August Luening and E. S. Marsh in 1843, Drs. James Johnson, J. Bristol and E. R. Hoyt in 1844, and Drs. James Porter Greves, Jeremiah B. Selby and F. M. Wilcox in 1845. Eighteen-forty-five was Milwaukee's final year of villagehood, her existence as a city dating from the granting of the Charter, on the last day of January, 1846, though the first election of municipal officers did not occur till the following April. Dr. Azariah Blanchard and Dr. Edward Wunderly settled in Milwaukee in 1846, their arrival possibly antedating the holding of the first municipal election.

In a history of Milwaukee, something beyond the arid listing of names is due to the memory of the pioneer physicians. As individuals they were interesting. As a class they were possessed of cultural training beyond the average of their fellow-townsmen. Other things being equal, intellectual equipment, even in a border environment, counts high among qualifications for leadership. Many were conspicuous in the social, religious, political and business life of the community. Nearly all were public-spirited and progressive. Out of proportion to their numbers, they constituted an element distinguished for its contribution to the upbuilding of the city.

Doctor Bigelow was not a "regular" practitioner, but a "Thompsonian," placing his main reliance on botanical preparations. Old settlers were wont to recall that his favorite prescription for fevers was a mixture called "hot drops," which he recommended as having wrought wonders among his patients in Michigan. The pioneers of Milwaukee in general enjoyed good health. At the outset they were nearly all young men, living for the most part out-of-doors. Fever and ague were less prevalent here than in Michigan and Illinois. Finding little demand for services as a healer of disease, Doctor Bigelow turned his attention to business, and erected a sawmill, the first in the place.

Dr. Barber was a native of Connecticut, well educated, brilliant, versatile, and energetic. Such a man would hardly be content to sit in an office twiddling his thumbs while waiting for practice. He took up a claim, and became interested in projects of town development. In 1838 he was elected to the Territorial House of Representatives, which chose him for speak-

er. During the period of depression he became identified with the promotion of settlement in the Rock River region, whose electors, following Milwaukee's example, made him their representative in the Territorial Assembly at the sessions of 1840 and 1841. Finally he returned to New England, where he lived to a good old age, never losing his interest in the well-being of Wisconsin. One of the Doctor's endowments was a sprightly literary style. No one wrote more graphically and entertainingly than he on the subject of pioneering days in Milwaukee.

Doctor Chase was a Vermonter by birth and a graduate of Dartmouth College. He had practiced for several years at Coldwater, Michigan, before coming to Milwaukee, and continued to answer calls for professional service for a number of years, though his time was principally devoted to other important interests after 1839. It was Doctor Chase who was summoned to the bedsides of Mrs. U. O. B. Smith and Mrs. William Sivyer, thus gaining the distinction of ushering into the world the first white girl and the first white boy who were born within the limits of Milwaukee. As early as 1836 Doctor Chase became engaged in business ventures. He took up land. He kept a store for the convenience of the cluster of settlers near the mouth of the harbor. Later he was identified with large enterprises like the manufacture of brick and glass. He was a member of the famous "Judiciary Committee" which passed upon the claims of settlers preceding the government land-sale of 1839. He served on the first Board of School Commissioners. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1849, 1851, 1853 and 1870. Winning at the outset and retaining to the end the respect and esteem of the people, Doctor Chase was a leading citizen of Milwaukee till his death on the 23d of August, 1892.

Doctor Castleman came from his native Kentucky in young manhood, having prepared for a medical career by attending lectures at Louisville. He was a man of gentlemanly bearing, alert intelligence and energetic disposition, socially popular, successful as a physician and interested in various directions in the upbuilding of the settlement. In 1847 he was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He was president of the State Medical Society in 1850, 1851 and 1855, and for several years a regent of the State University of Wisconsin. When the Civil war broke out

he was active in raising troops and was commissioned surgeon of the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteer Regiment, serving under General Hancock till the close of 1863. While thus engaged he kept a diary, which he afterward published under the title of "The Army of the Potomac Behind the Scenes." Exposure consequent upon his service in the war had broken down his constitution, originally superb, and in 1873 he left for California in hope of physical betterment which he failed to receive. His death occurred in 1877.

Doctor Hewitt came from New York. His agreeable personality made him a social favorite, and he enjoyed a lucrative practice. He was the first president of the Medical Association of Milwaukee, organized in 1845, later, however, becoming a convert to the principles of Hahnemann, and losing standing with his former professional admirers, who dismissed him from their organization in 1848, which was the year of his death.

Of Doctor Noyes, who came from Franklin, New Hampshire, it was said that his jovial disposition carried an air of cheerfulness into the sick room. He had no difficulty in securing patients. The first medical society in Milwaukee, established in 1837, chose him to its presidency. By 1843 he had become engaged in various activities aside from medicine, and abandoned practice; yet when an epidemic of smallpox, the first in Milwaukee, occurred in that year, he was appointed chairman of the Board of Health called into existence to deal with the emergency. For a time he essayed hotel-keeping, as proprietor of the Milwaukee House. For several years he was Justice of the Peace, "the duties of which office," says Buck, "he performed faithfully and fearlessly, which could not be said of his compeers." In 1852 Doctor Noyes departed for California, but died before reaching his destination.

Locating on the west side of the river, early in 1836, Dr. Proudfit, who had come from Rome, New York, soon achieved reputation as a competent physician and an earnest, conscientious, industrious, benevolent-hearted man. He opened a drug store and enlisted the coöperation of a nurseryman in the experiment of growing medicinal plants. Employed by the village authorities to look after the health of children of immigrants temporarily in Milwaukee prior to taking up claims in the interior of the territory, he discovered conditions which appealed to his

humanity so strongly that he made them the subject of protest to the superintendent of the poor, Daniel Wells, Jr., the two devising a better system of poor relief than had previously been in vogue, and securing its adoption. Doctor Proudfit's death, a victim of pneumonia, which occurred in 1843, in his thirty-seventh year, was deeply deplored.

In his Medical History of Milwaukee Dr. Frank cites from the diaries of two of the early German practitioners whom he does not name the following extracts, for the purpose of throwing light upon the subject of doctors' fees:

"December, 1842, sixteen office visits, at 37½c, $6; solutions and powders, $2.52."

[The entry goes on to indicate that the total amount, $8.52, was paid not in cash, but by the delivery of a stove, the reader being left to wonder whether the stove was new or second-hand.]

"July 29, 1853, nineteen visits, at 50c, $9.50; 2 oz. syrup of rhubarb, 25c; opening of abscess of breast, $1; pencil fluid, 50c. Total, $11.25. Received 18 yds. of cotton for underwear, at 11c, $1.98. Balance, $9.27."

This suggests the question, Was the physician able to collect his balance? Throughout the period of settlement actual money was very scarce. Even in times of general prosperity, there are patients perfectly able to pay for medical services who show reluctancy in parting with their cash. Doctor Frank could have gathered interesting material for his history in old newspaper files if he had been afforded time and opportunity to engage in that description of research.

The following business-like announcement appeared in the *Sentinel* of July 22, 1837:

"Doctor Proudfit would respectfully give notice to every person who is indebted to him by note or book account, without single exception, to call at his office and cancel his debt by cash or a negotiable and endorsed note. On account of some recent disappointments and losses, he is under the necessity of taking this course to meet his own engagements with becoming promptness. Inattention to the above will be productive of costs.

"N. B. No part of the above is addressed to the destitute to whom he has rendered medical service."

For the purpose of comparison, it would be interesting to

know the amount of Doctor Proudfit's charges for professional service; but on this the record is blank. However, the value of money is relative, depending upon times and circumstances. There was practical good sense as well as a flash of humor in the remark of the visitor to the national capital who, when admonished, "Here is the place where Washington threw a dollar across the Potomac," responded, "Yes, but a dollar went further in those days than it does now." The dollar in pioneering days would buy more of some things than today, but it was harder to get. For this reason physicians who availed themselves of honest opportunities to acquire outside of professional service the means of paying their way in the world should not be subject to harsh criticism.

Born at Newberry, New Jersey, and graduated from Castleton Medical College, in Vermont, Doctor Gorham had anticipated carrying on business in drugs and miscellaneous merchandise in Milwaukee, but encountered competition in this field and devoted himself to practice. He is the subject of an anecdote recalling trying conditions and reflecting credit on human nature. Contrasting former times with the present, it has been observed that early-day practitioners were family physicians, who made rounds on horseback, with instruments in their saddle-bags, or later traveled in two-wheeled gigs, and that few were specialists and few attempted major surgery. In exigencies the old practitioner as a rule could be depended upon to do his best; nor was there lack of appreciation on the part of the laity. One day Doctor Gorham was called to attend a farmer at Spring Prairie who while engaged in clearing his land had been hit by a tree and was in need of trephining. Through pathless woods the Doctor hurried to the home of the injured man and performed the operation, the treatment involving subsequent visits and eventuating successfully, its beneficiary, who, like everybody else in 1838, was without ready cash, expressing gratitude in feeling terms. In many instances this might have been the end of the transaction. In this instance it was not, for early in the following spring the honest farmer came to Milwaukee, with men, teams, implements and sustenance for himself and all his force. He fenced a thirty-acre field belonging to the Doctor, plowed it, and, using his own seed, planted it to wheat. The crop thrived, enabling Doctor Gor-

ham when it reached maturity to harvest more than two hundred bushels of excellent grain. Nor was that the end of the pleasant episode. During several years thereafter Doctor Gorham received calls to make professional visits upon ailing people in the country as far away as the neighborhood of Janesville, indicating that his loyal patient had been singing his praises among farmer friends. The Doctor passed his declining years on a farm. He died in 1884.

When Dr. Loomis identified himself with Milwaukee in 1836, he brought a party of immigrants and located on Walker's Point. Later he purchased a homestead on what is now the square bounded by Reed, Hanover, Florida and Oregon streets. He was born at New London, Connecticut in 1798, and was a licentiate of the New York State Medical Association. He was in the enjoyment of a large practice when he died in 1849.

Dr. Weeks was a Vermonter, who had secured an academic education, taught school, studied medicine at Castleton, becoming a graduate in 1828, and engaged in practice at Fort Ticonderoga and Keeseville, New York. Enterprising, energetic, capable, honest in all his dealings, he acquired property interests at the outset of his residence here, and became so deeply concerned in the management of various enterprises of a developmental character that he had no time for anything else. He was the organizer and president of a mutual insurance company; he built elevators and dealt in grain; he carried on large market gardens; he was active in the promotion of the first railroad, and he platted Weeks' Subdivision. The panic of 1857 set him back financially, but did not quell his spirit. Even while living in retirement and broken health on a farm near Summit during the closing years of his life, his eagerness for scientific experimental investigation did not desert him. He was a pioneer among Wisconsin farmers in the successful use of the silo. He died, in his seventy-ninth year, May 7, 1884.

Another Milwaukee physician of the pioneer period who found that doctors were more numerous in the settlement than opportunities for medical practice was Doctor Messenger. He had practiced medicine in Massachusetts, but immediately upon his arrival here he engaged in real estate speculation, brick-making and contracting for the erection of buildings. The Doctor is remem-

bered for the conspicuous risk he ran at the time of the rescue of Glover, the runaway slave. When the crowd that had broken into the jail came out with the fugitive they spied Messenger seated in his buggy behind one of the speediest horses in Milwaukee. Knowing the Doctor's zeal in the cause of Abolition, they entrusted the refugee to his care, and the Doctor carried him beyond the reach of his pursuers. Legal proceedings were pending against Doctor Messenger, growing out of his unselfish but actionable participation in connection with the escape of a slave from his master, when he died, on the 4th of August, 1854, under circumstances which gave rise to conflicting reports. Some asserted that the cause of his sudden taking-off was cholera, while others attributed it to a general physical breakdown brought on by worry.

Lewis J. Higby's first glimpse of Milwaukee was obtained early in the fall of 1836, impressing him so favorably that after returning to the East he came back as a settler in November of that year, and was a conspicuous factor in the life of the place till after the close of the Civil war. The son of an Otsego County (New York) farmer, educated in the common schools, he had taught for three years and then begun the study of medicine with Dr. A. Spafford of Cooperstown, which he pursued for three years, meanwhile earning his living as a clerk in the drug store of Doctor Pomeroy, son-in-law of William Cooper, who was the founder of Cooperstown and father of the celebrated American novelist, James Fenimore Cooper. Relying upon Mr. Higby's judgment regarding the outlook for Milwaukee, Doctor Pomeroy supplied him with a stock with which he opened Milwaukee's first drug store, later adding groceries and dry goods to his wares. The young man's personal capital on his identification with Milwaukee was $10. By 1842 he had increased it to $4,000. Circumstances constrained him to the abandonment of his intention of following medicine as a profession. In 1846 he built a pier into the lake and became interested in forwarding and shipping. Later he owned elevators, becoming the first president of the Chamber of Commerce and a dominating figure in the grain trade of the West. No man in his day did more than he to advance the interests of Milwaukee.

Dr. Erastus B. Wolcott, who came to Milwaukee in 1838,

residing here, in the practice of his profession, from that time till his death on the 5th of January, 1880, was born October 18, 1804, at Benton, New York, and was graduated from the Medical College of Western New York in 1829. In 1835 he was appointed assistant surgeon of the army and stationed at Mackinaw, where he remained till he resigned his commission and came to this city with his first wife, who was Elizabeth Dousman, daughter of Michael Dousman, one of Solomon Juneau's partners in the platting of the East Side. Doctor Wolcott was appointed surgeon-general of the territorial militia in 1842, major-general of the First Division Wisconsin Militia in 1846, and surgeon-general of Wisconsin with the rank of brigadier-general in the Civil war. He was made manager of State asylums for the insane, and one of the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Doctor Wolcott built the first mill at Humboldt, the little village north of Milwaukee, whose former site is now well within the borders of the expanded city, being marked by the imposing highway known as Capitol Drive. He was among the prime movers for the first railroad, and one of the group of Milwaukeeans who lifted the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company from the status of a doubtful experiment to that of one of the great financial institutions of the United States. As early as 1850 he was a regent of the State University of Wisconsin. As a champion of human rights, he figured in the meeting summoned by Sherman M. Booth to assemble at Courthouse Park in March, 1854, which culminated in the breaking of the jail door and the rescue of the runaway slave Joshua Glover. When Booth several years thereafter was made defendant in a criminal prosecution, due as many of his fellow citizens firmly believed to be conspiracy against him by a group of his political enemies, Doctor Wolcott was one of those convinced of Booth's innocence, and stood by him in the dark hours when a considerable portion of the respectable citizens held aloft from him as a pariah. The trial resulted in Booth's release because the jury disagreed. Kind of heart, courteous in demeanor, distinguished in appearance, skillful in the surgical as well as the medical branch of his profession, and devoted to duty, Doctor Wolcott won at the outset and retained till the end of his life the confidence and esteem of the community. His ingenuity enabled him to devise many novel

expedients for the relief of human suffering. His most celebrated surgical operation was the removal of a kidney, performed at East Troy, with the assistance of Dr. Charles L. Stoddard, Sr., of that place, June 4, 1861, and said to have been the first instance of successful nephrectomy on record. Doctor Wolcott was among the originators of the Milwaukee City Medical Association, organized in 1845, and a member of the Milwaukee County Medical Society at its foundation in 1846. He was a faithful attendant upon the meetings of the early territorial medical societies held at Madison when winter journeys over wretched roads were formidable undertakings. The Wisconsin State Medical Society chose him for every position of honor in its power to bestow.

Dr. John K. Bartlett, born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1816, graduated from Yale College in 1836 and the New Haven Medical School in 1841, came to Milwaukee in the latter year, entering into partnership with Doctor Proudfit, their association continuing till the death of Doctor Proudfit in March, 1843. Doctor Bartlett was a great reader, collecting one of the largest private libraries in the city. He was a constant student in the line of his profession, and independently reached important conclusions differing from the theories of early writers on therapeutics but harmonizing with the views of medical authorities of the present day. Indiscriminate bleeding was much in vogue when he came. He set his face against it; nor was he ever favorable to the administration of large doses, or to the use of nauseating medicines when mild and palatable substitutes would suffice. He was a consistent worker for public sanitation, and a believer in organization among doctors for advancement of their profession. Indicative of the esteem in which he was held by his co-workers was the circumstance that in 1886 Milwaukee physicians, organized for the purpose of clinical study, named their association in his honor—the Bartlett Clinical Club. He was a member of the Milwaukee Medical Association, organized in 1845, the Milwaukee City Medical Association, organized in 1847, the Medical Society of Milwaukee County, organized in 1845 and reorganized in 1879; the Medico-Chirurgical Club, organized in 1851, and the Milwaukee Medical and Surgical Club, organized in 1869. At different times he served in the presidency of several of these societies. He was vice president of the American Medical Associa-

tion in 1872, one of the vice presidents of the International Medical Congress in 1876, and president of the Wisconsin State Medical Society in 1877. In the hope of bettering his health, he moved to California in 1886, dying at Berkeley in that State on the 26th of November, 1889. His library, purchased after his decease for the nominal consideration of $200, formed the nucleus for the large and valuable medical library of the Milwaukee Academy of Medicine.

A son of Michael Dousman, Dr. John B. Dousman was born at Mackinaw, July 30, 1807, receiving a classical education in New Jersey, and studying medicine for six years with Doctor Twichell, of Keene, New Hampshire, after which he attended medical lectures in Boston and New York. Coming to Wisconsin in 1840, he lived for two years at Waukesha, settling in 1842 at Milwaukee, which was his home from then till his death on the 4th of February, 1868. He was a competent physician and an upstanding citizen. Doctor Dousman is remembered today for his zealous interest in undertakings for the advancement of medical science.

The first German physician in Milwaukee was Dr. Francis Huebschmann, a native of Saxe-Weimar and a graduate of the University of Jena, who came to this city at the age of twenty-five in 1842 and identified himself with public interests from the moment of his arrival, rapidly acquiring recognition as a political and social leader. In 1846 he was a delegate to the first Constitutional Convention. He assisted Moritz Schoeffler in establishing the first German newspaper in Milwaukee. When Gottfried Kinkel, hero of the Baden revolution, who had been rescued from prison at Spandau by Carl Schurz, came to this country in 1853, the leading speakers at the public reception held in his honor in Milwaukee were E. G. Ryan and Doctor Huebschmann. During that year President Pierce appointed Doctor Huebschmann superintendent of Indian affairs, in which capacity he officiated till 1857. In the Civil war he went out from Milwaukee as surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, popularly known as "the German Regiment." As brigade surgeon, he rendered important service after some of the hottest actions in the war. With nine assistants and five hundred of the federal wounded he was captured by the Confederates at Gettysburg and held prisoner for

three days. Doctor Huebschmann was one of the founders of the German-English Academy and of the Milwaukee Musical Society. In the intervals of his public duties Doctor Huebschmann devoted himself to the practice of his profession. His death, at the age of sixty-three, occurred on the 21st of March, 1880.

Dr. Walker Linsley Bean, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, had been engaged in the practice of medicine at Charleston, South Carolina, before he came to Milwaukee. Here he entered into partnership with Dr. J. K. Bartlett, which relationship lasted until his death, in 1845. Doctor Bean was especially successful in the treatment of diseases of children. During the earliest smallpox epidemic he and Doctor Bartlett were in charge of the isolation hospital. It is said of Doctor Bean that he was the first physician in Milwaukee to place emphasis upon the importance of a limited diet in cases of acute illness.

Dr. Frederick August Luening, who was born at Harpstedt, Hanover, March 4, 1811, and educated in the universities of Bonn and Goettingen, was a man of high character and liberal political views who was welcomed as an accession to the citizenship of Milwaukee by such thorough-going German-Americans as Bielfeld, Preusser and Neukirch. He believed in freedom, which accounted for his hearty identification with the free-soil movement of 1848, and also for his objection to what he regarded as ultra-drastic legislation on the subject of liquor-vending. His enthusiasm for education was indicated by his friendship for the German-English Academy, of which he was one of the first directors. Doctor Luening died on the 19th of July, 1861.

The circumstance that Doctor Marsh was the first president of the Medical Society of Milwaukee, organized in 1845, when his residency in the city was barely of two years' standing, suggests that the founding of the Society may have been due to his suggestion. He was a well-educated physician. Before coming to Milwaukee he had been established at Rochester, New York. He and Dr. E. B. Wolcott quickly became fast friends, and went upon frequent hunting and fishing expeditions together. The golden lure of California enticed him, as it did others, and, more fortunate than many, he prospered there. Then he set out to return to Milwaukee, but was killed in a steamboat explosion at New Orleans.

Dr. Ferdinand Kalckhoff, whose native place was Duisdorf, Germany, was graduated in medicine from the University of Bonn, and came to the United States in 1839, spending four years in practice at Fort Wayne, Indiana, before settling in Milwaukee. Here he practiced medicine and conducted a drug store on the West Side. He died in 1872. Doctor Kalckhoff was the father of Dr. Alphonse Kalckhoff, who after an honorable career in the United States Army, became a practicing physician in Milwaukee. Dr. Alphonse Kalckhoff died in 1929 as the result of injuries sustained through being run down by an automobile truck while crossing the street near his home.

Dr. James Johnson, born in Ireland, emigrated to this country and obtained his degree at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Arriving in Milwaukee in 1844, his talents and character gained early recognition. Besides building up a lucrative practice, he took an active part in public affairs, being a ready writer and an effective speaker, with broad and practical views on the issues of the time. Knownothingism withered under his witty sallies. He was a leader in the defeat of the land-limitation bill. In contrast with the majority of his countrymen he allied himself from its organization with the Republican party. Doctor Johnson served as an alderman and as a member of the first Board of School Commissioners. He was a promoter of medical organization and public sanitation, his capable work at the head of the municipal Health Board deserving and winning grateful recognition from the medical profession and the public. Traveling in the hope of benefit to his health, which was shattered in his later years, Doctor Johnson died at Mobile, Alabama, in 1882.

Doctor Greves, born at Skaneateles, New York, passed his youth at Utica, where he was a student and a printer. In 1833 he received the degree of M. D. from Geneva Medical College, married, and removed to Marshall, Michigan, where he lived in a log house, and built up a practice in all the surrounding country, remaining till 1845, when he came to Milwaukee. Here he was engaged in the practice of medicine till 1856, after which varied land and mining investments absorbed his attention. He was one of the projectors of the city of Superior. In 1863, he was at Austin, Nevada, and by 1869 he had become a leading spirit in The Southern California Colony Association, which founded the

city of Riverside, where he resided until his death in 1889. Doctor Greves was a member of the Medical Association of Milwaukee, founded in 1845.

When Dr. Jeremiah B. Selby came to Milwaukee from Wayne County, New York, in 1842, he was a young man, engaged in the study of medicine, which he pursued in the offices of Doctors Bartlett and Bean, subsequently taking a course at Willoughby College, Ohio, and finally being graduated from the Medical Department of the University of New York. He is remembered as the first medical student in Milwaukee. While still a student, in 1843, he was placed in charge of the isolation hospital which was maintained during the smallpox visitation of that year. In 1845 he entered upon a career of practice which lasted till the close of the Civil war. Doctor Selby was a member of the first School Board. He was appointed pension agent by President Lincoln. Always interested in medical affairs, he was elected to the presidency of the Milwaukee County Medical Society in 1882. Toward the end of his life he suffered impairment of eyesight. His death, due to falling into an elevator shaft, occurred on the 1st of June, 1897.

Doctor Wilcox was an excellent physician, who came from the Lead Region and entered into partnership with Doctor Hewitt. He was one of the signers of the Constitution of the Milwaukee City Medical Association, organized in 1845, and remained in Milwaukee until 1849.

Kindly recollections of Dr. Azariah Blanchard linger in the memories of old Milwaukeeans. He was born in New York State in 1789 and was a graduate of Geneva Medical College. Until 1846 he had practiced in Courtland County. Undoubtedly he was attracted to this city by the fact that it had become the home of his daughters, Mrs. William Pitt Lynde and Mrs. John Nazro. At one time he was surgeon of the United States Marine Hospital. Doctor Blanchard was a good man and a faithful physician of the old school. He pursued a blameless and useful career till his death in 1868, at the age of seventy-nine.

Drs. J. Bristol and E. R. Hoyt were here only briefly, the latter remaining only till 1845, and the former till 1846.

One of the most ill-starred episodes in the history of modern colonization was the undertaking of an association of Germans

under the protection of the Duke of Nassau in 1844 to establish themselves in Texas. The annexation of the Lone Star to the United States did not take place till December of the following year. In 1844 it claimed to be an independent republic. The site of the proposed settlement, later known as the Town of New Braunfels, was at a considerable distance inland. When the first shipload of colonists arrived on the coast of the gulf, the unfortunates were obliged to go into camp, awaiting arrangements to convey them to their destination. This was in November, 1844. Soon they were joined by two other shiploads of 700 people. Under the circumstances, hardships were inevitable, but they proved light compared with what was endured by the larger group which came out in 1845. At the latter date all available vehicles had been commandeered with a view to employment in the threatened war with Mexico. With miserable shelter and a scant supply of food, this being inferior in quality, the immigrants found themselves compelled to go through a winter of extraordinary severity. Disease broke out among them, and hundreds died. The enterprise as a whole terminated in disastrous failure. One of the members of the first installment of colonists was a young physician, Charles Edward Wunderly, who when hope of success at New Braunfels had perished made his way to Milwaukee. Here he lived from 1846 till his death in 1859. In the first Milwaukee Directory he is listed as "Charles E. Wunderly, physician and surgeon, 261 East Water Street." In the Directory of 1856 he appears as "Wunderly, Edward, physician, Monroe, opposite Florida." Talented, educated, public-spirited, he became popular at once. At first he was associated with the Whigs, then with the Free Soilers. He was elected to the Board of Aldermen. In the first State Legislature he was a member of the Assembly from Milwaukee. In 1853 he helped to organize the pioneer society of German physicians in this city. In 1854 he was one of the delegates to the convention at Madison that founded the Republican party.

Prominent among Milwaukee physicians of the period between 1848 and 1876 was Dr. John Edward Garner. His forebears were established in America long before the Revolution. Born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, May 16, 1823, he received his preliminary education at William and Mary College and took his

degree of M. D. at the Baltimore School of Physicians and Surgeons, coming West in 1847 and entering upon the practice of medicine in this city in the following year. Dignity and gracious courtesy were blended in his manners. His professional services were at the command of all who needed them, regardless of station in life or ability to pay. In times of dire distress and general apprehension, as when the cholera raged in 1854, he took no thought of personal comfort or safety while engaged in labors for the benefit of humanity. Indicative of the esteem in which he was held throughout the State was Governor Randall's desire to commission him as surgeon-general, an appointment, however, which circumstances constrained him to decline. In March, 1876, Doctor Garner was called to the door of his home and mortally wounded by an insane woman who at one time had been his patient. While residing at a distance, she conceived the delusion that a group of Milwaukee physicians were "pursuing her with medicated vapors." Resolving to kill them all, she purchased a revolver and hastened by train to this city. The name of Doctor Garner happened to be the first on her list. Her prompt arrest saved the others. The Garner tragedy recalled an earlier instance in which a Milwaukee physician and surgeon had been the innocent victim of murderous impulse on the part of an armed assailant. Dr. Charles Warneke was for many years proprietor of a drug store on Third Street. In 1863, while he was at his place of business, a drunken man with a gun walked in, fired, and killed him without warning. The assassin was arrested and brought to trial. Ignoring a plea of irresponsibility on account of delirium tremens, put forward by the prisoner's counsel, the jury found him guilty of murder and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Mrs. Wilner, Doctor Garner's assassin, was duly committed to an asylum in which she was under constant surveillance till she died.

Dr. Ferdinand Rosenthal, of Milwaukee's medical accessions in 1848, was a native of Nordhausen in the Hartz. Born in 1814, he studied chemistry in his early years and later became a student of medicine at Halle, Jena and Berlin. After a year in Milwaukee, he yearned for rural surroundings, and removed to Good Hope, in the suburbs, where he could cultivate the land in the intervals of his practice. Accidents requiring surgical treatment

became common among the farming community after the introduction of threshing machines operated by horse power. The success of Doctor Rosenthal with such cases caused him to be in wide demand. A precaution he never neglected was the use of sterilized water, now a surgical commonplace, which was innovatory when he began it. After the Civil war Doctor Rosenthal made his home at Thiensville, where he died in 1884.

Dr. Lewis McKnight was born at Bordentown, N. J., in 1817. After graduation from Princeton College he studied medicine for two years at the University of Pennsylvania, and took a post-graduate course in Paris. For six years he was engaged in practice at Troy, N. Y., and then came to Milwaukee, arriving in 1848. He had a large general practice, and for thirty-six years beginning in 1858 was the medical director of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Dr. Chauncey Clark Robinson was a graduate of Geneva Medical College and came to Milwaukee in 1849, bringing with him what was a novelty here at that time, the system of auscultation and percussion in the diagnosis of pulmonary and heart diseases. He was active in combating the cholera scourge, which brought him into favorable notice, and soon he found himself in the enjoyment of a large practice. Fortunate investments in real estate enabled him to retire in 1870. He lived till June, 1897.

Dr. Joseph Stadler, who came to Milwaukee in 1846, and died in this city in 1887, was a Bavarian, born in 1813, and educated at the universities of Erlangen in his native land and Pavia in Italy. After practical training in the Hospital of Florence he had gone to Greece during the reign of King Otho I., receiving from that monarch appointment to the distinguished post of surgeon-general to the army. Like other Bavarians in royal favor he became a victim of the uprising of Greek nativists, suffering virtual imprisonment for a year and escaping to Smyrna, where Hamid Bey, the Turkish governor-general, attached him as surgeon to his official staff. He was at Smyrna during the terrific earthquake of 1845, losing nearly all his possessions in that catastrophe. Then he made his way to America and Milwaukee, his home being here for the remainder of his life except a brief period when he went to New Orleans to offer his services during the yellow fever epidemic of 1848. His back-

ground of adventure gave the Doctor anecdotal material upon which it was his custom to make liberal draughts, sometimes provoking his hearers to incredulity but never failing to enchain their interest. Doctor Stadler took an interest in politics from the time of his arrival, and was one of the early upholders of the principles of the Republican party.

Dr. Christian Fessel, born in Mecklenburg in 1801, was a man of broad education and liberal views, whose medical knowledge and musical achievements were noted, and who moved in high social circles at Prignitz and later in Berlin. The revolution of 1848 involved him in financial difficulties which were among the causes of his determination to come to America. In Milwaukee he was a welcome addition to the group of intellectuals which had gained for this city the title of "the German Athens." Doctor Fessel was one of the organizers of the Milwaukee Musical Society. Hans Balatka, who was his son-in-law, moved to Chicago in 1860, and Doctor Fessel followed him in 1863, both of them becoming favorites there as they had been in Milwaukee. He died July 11, 1888.

Dr. Hermann E. Hasse came to Milwaukee from Saxony as a young man in 1845. He studied medicine, first at St. Louis and later at the University of Wuertzburg, returning to Milwaukee in 1861 just in time to go to the front as assistant surgeon in the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry. Later he was made surgeon of the Twenty-fourth, with which regiment he remained till the muster-out at the close of the war. Doctor Hasse practiced in Milwaukee for twenty years, removing to California in 1884. In his later years he was engaged in botanical studies for the Smithsonian Institution.

Dr. Gottfried Aigner was an Austrian, a man of high culture, and rare charm, who came here in 1849. For the practice of his profession there was no opening at the time, but his literary ability attracted instant attention. Doctor Aigner lectured on historical themes before the Deutscher Maennerverein. He was one of the founders of the Milwaukee Musical Society. He was the first president of the German-English Academy and was made a regent of the University of Wisconsin. From 1851 to 1853, the year of his departure from the city, he was editor of the *Banner*. He was called to Chicago to become the editor of the

Democrat. The Doctor resumed medical practice in Chicago and New York City in his later years.

Dr. James Crugom, born in France, came to Milwaukee in 1850. In 1861 he went out with the First Wisconsin, as assistant surgeon, serving in that capacity to the close of the war, resuming his practice here and remaining for several years thereafter.

Dr. Hermann Naumann, who died July 4, 1903, at the age of eighty, had lived in Milwaukee since 1854, his residence during all that time being the northernmost dwelling in the quaint brick row at the southwest corner of Broadway and East Wells Street. For many years he was one of the leading physicians and surgeons in Milwaukee. His kindly nature as well as his skill endeared him to the people. Doctor Naumann was born at Jena, Saxony, in 1823, receiving his medical education and degree in that city, but beginning his practice at Leipzig. He was surgeon of the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry during the Civil war.

Dr. George Wilhelm Ferdinand Meinecke, born at Dedersdorf on the Weser in 1801, came to Milwaukee in 1856 and practiced here till his death in 1868. He was a man of culture and character, devoid of ostentation. While at Burhave, engaged in the practice of medicine, he proposed the improvement of the lowlands of Oldenburg by covering them with mud from the Gulf of Jade. The project was carried into execution, transforming sterile, sandy wastes to fertile farms, and eradicating malaria, which previously had cut short the lives of many of the inhabitants. In memory of his services the Archduchy of Oldenburg thirty years later bestowed the freedom of the city on his son, Adolph Meinecke of Milwaukee.

Dr. Ernst Kramer, born in Berlin, was graduated from the Frederick William University in 1856. After a year as surgeon on the North German Lloyd steamer *Bremen*, he came to Wisconsin in the fall of 1859, locating at Madison. In the war he was assistant surgeon of the Seventh Wisconsin Infantry and surgeon of the First Wisconsin Cavalry. In 1865 he came to Milwaukee. For twenty years he was examining surgeon for the pension board and house physician for the Salesanium, Pio Nono College and the St. Aemilianus Asylum at St. Francis. He enjoyed a large private practice in the city. Doctor Kramer died April 18, 1897. One of his sons, Dr. William E. Kramer, is an

honored member of his father's profession. The father of Dr. Ernst Kramer was a well-known aurist of Berlin, a writer, and the inventor of an aural speculum—one of the pioneers in otology.

Dr. Henry Harpke, born at Aschersleben, in the Hartz, in 1827, made his initial appearance in Milwaukee as early as 1851, establishing himself amid sylvan scenery two miles north of the city, and devoting his time to literary and scientific pursuits. He was one of the editors of the *Atlantic*, a publication of the early '50s which earned plaudits far and wide, but failed to become a source of revenue to its projectors. He made researches in chemistry, and, with his friend Doctor Brendecke, began the study of medicine. Determining to specialize in ophthalmology, he returned to Germany, spending the following three years in Wuerzburg and Berlin, part of the time under the instruction of the famous Albrecht von Graefe. He practiced here till 1892 and died in 1895, obtaining an enviable reputation. For several years he served as county physician. Later his attention was concentrated on diseases of the eye, earning the gratitude of his patients. Doctor Harpke is remembered for conscientious competency and a sublime disregard for the exaction of pecuniary compensation for the benefits he conferred upon his fellow men.

Before he came to America, Dr. Frederick Brendecke, who was born in the City of Brunswick, Germany, in 1810, had studied chemistry and pharmacy in the technical high school Carlo-Wilhemina and medicine at Berlin and Jena, receiving his degree at Jena in 1840 and practicing pharmacy at Gittelde during several following years. On his arrival in Milwaukee in 1852, he established a water-cure which attracted patients from various parts of the United States, and which he carried on till 1866. He was a musical virtuoso, his favorite instruments being the cello and clarinet, and an active member of the Milwaukee Musical Society. He died July 6, 1891.

The career of Dr. Alfred Spearman in Milwaukee began in 1852 and lasted till 1901, in which year he died after having remarked to a friend, "I have sacrificed everything to my profession except my life." He was born at Smyrna, Del., in 1830, and graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1852. His practice was large and successful. His recreation was the raising of blooded horses, of which he was said to have

had at one time as many as five hundred on his farms in the Town of Greenfield, where he spent practically all his time when not at his office or making calls upon patients. The Doctor never married. He never affiliated with organizations. He was noted for the positiveness of his convictions, and could not be changed by argument on matters concerning which he had made up his mind. On the subject of legislation for the regulation of medical practice he entertained extreme views, diametrically opposed to those of the generality of leaders of the profession. To his energetic and determined antagonism was attributed the defeat of every bill for the creation of a State Board of Medical Examiners which was introduced in the Legislature of Wisconsin during a period of twenty years.

Dr. Alois Graettinger practiced medicine in Milwaukee for forty-one years, enjoying a high standing among his fellow physicians and earning the confidence and esteem of the general public. In 1894 he was elected to the presidency of the German Medical Society (Verein Deutsche Aerzte). He was born at Passau, Bavaria, January 10, 1834, and after attendance at school and gymnasium in his native city until the age of nineteen, entered the University of Munich, continuing his studies and serving as assistant in the obstetrical clinic before coming to Milwaukee, where he arrived in 1857. In 1865 he received the degree of M. D. from the Chicago Medical College and in 1878 from the University of Munich. Failing health led him to abandon practice in 1898 and leave for California, where he died in October, 1907.

The first woman successfully engaged in the practice of medicine in Milwaukee was Laura J. Ross, M. D. She was a New Englander, one of the first three of her sex in the United States to receive hospital instruction with men, and obtained her degree in 1856, coming to this city in 1857. Her admission to the Milwaukee Medical Society, opposed for a time because she was a woman, was conceded eventually by reason of the able championship of a group among the members headed by Dr. E. B. Wolcott, who during all his life was a noted exponent of liberal ideas. In 1869 Doctor Ross and Doctor Wolcott were united in marriage. The equestrian statue of Milwaukee's most outstanding pioneer physician which ornaments Lake Park was erected in 1919 with

money bequeathed for the purpose by his widow, Laura J. Ross Wolcott.

Dr. Julius Kasten, who practiced medicine in Milwaukee from 1861 to the end of his life, was a native of Hanover and a graduate of the University of Goettingen. He was a county physician for many years. Doctor Kasten died at the residence of his daughter in Minneapolis, August 11, 1902.

A number of medical men who had served as surgeons during the Civil war made their homes in Milwaukee during the years that followed, and several of them gained recognition as leaders in their profession.

Dr. William Thorndike, born at Beverly, Mass., in 1835, was a graduate of Harvard and its medical school, after which he entered the Massachusetts General Hospital as a house pupil, and also spent some time as a student at the Rainsford Island Hospital, before taking up independent practice. It was after four years in the field as a surgeon during the Civil war that he came to Milwaukee in 1865. He was one of the original members of the Medical and Surgical Club and the Bartlett Clinic, and a man of refined tastes and scholarly accomplishments. He died January 29, 1887. The present Dr. William Thorndike is his son.

Dr. James M. Allen, who came to Milwaukee soon after the Civil war and enjoyed an extensive practice till the time of his death, in August, 1902, was a native of Boston, born in 1831, and was graduated from Harvard University in 1849 and from Columbia Medical School in 1857. He served as surgeon in the navy and as contract surgeon for the army before coming West. In Milwaukee he was county physician for a number of years. The Doctor was an accomplished linguist and a man of fine literary taste. He was the father of Dr. Stanton Allen.

Another accomplished physician who settled in Milwaukee at the close of the Civil war was Dr. James H. Thompson. He was a native of Maine, born in 1835, and was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1859, subsequently taking advantage of post-graduate study at the College of Physicians and Surgeons and in hospital clinics. After serving as assistant surgeon and surgeon in different regiments for three years he was made surgeon-in-chief of the District of St. Mary's on the staff of Gen. James Barnes, and served at Point Lookout in charge of prisoners. In

August, 1865, he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel of United States Volunteers, and in 1867 was appointed surgeon to the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers at Milwaukee. It was after three years in the latter post that he moved into the city and devoted himself to private practice. He died in California, in June, 1891.

Dr. Richard B. Brown was born at Hanover, N. H., in 1834 and graduated with honors from Yale in 1860. Having taught in the interim, he began the study of medicine at Dartmouth and pursued it in the Harvard Medical School and the College of Physicians, New York City. Graduated in 1864, he entered the army as assistant surgeon of volunteers in a Massachusetts regiment, and was brevetted major when mustered out of service at the close of the war. He settled in Milwaukee in 1866. The Doctor enjoyed a large private practice. For years he was a medical examiner for the Board of Pensions and surgeon for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway. His death, from angina pectoris, occurred in October, 1894.

Dr. Byron H. Kilbourn, the only son of Byron Kilbourn, who platted Milwaukee on the west side of the river, was born here March 20, 1840, and died at his home on North Lake, August 24, 1897. After attendance at the Milwaukee schools and a course at an academy at Cheshire, Pa., he entered Yale. His medical education was obtained at Rush Medical College and the similar institution at Louisville, from which latter he secured his degree. Enlisting at the outbreak of the Civil war, he was commissioned second lieutenant, and made a creditable record with Company D of the Third Wisconsin. After the war he spent several years in Guatemala, where he established a coffee plantation, when one of the innumerable political revolutions made it expedient for citizens of the United States to leave that country. Doctor Kilbourn was engaged for several years in the practice of his profession in this city, but toward the end of his life spent most of his time in the delightful environment of his country residence.

Dr. George Dutton Ladd, born at Woodstock, N. Y., October 7, 1850, came to Milwaukee at the age of six, receiving the groundwork of his education at the Milwaukee public schools and Markham's Academy. After beginning the study of medicine with Dr. Moses Barrett, he attended Rush Medical College, from which he

was graduated in 1875, in the same year entering into partnership with Dr. Solon Marks. Doctor Ladd was elected to the presidency of the State Medical Society of Wisconsin in 1890. A paralytic attack in January, 1906, was followed by his retirement from practice. He died August 15, 1913.

After the death of Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Dr. Solon Marks, who had been his partner, rose to a position in public regard similar to that which Doctor Wolcott had formerly held as Nestor of his profession in Milwaukee. Doctor Marks was a Vermonter by birth, his natal year being 1827. His removal to Wisconsin took place in 1848. In 1853 he was graduated from Rush Medical College at Chicago, and between that time and the breaking out of the Civil war he practiced first at Jefferson and then at Stevens Point. He went to the front as surgeon of the Tenth Wisconsin, serving throughout the war, at one time as chief surgeon of the First Division, Fourteenth Army Corps. Among his experiences were those of being wounded and captured by the enemy. With the return of peace, he settled in Milwaukee. In 1866 he was made chief surgeon of St. Mary's Hospital. In 1873 he visited hospitals in England, Ireland and France. He made numerous valued contributions to medical literature. In 1870 he performed a successful operation for the removal of a bullet from the region of the heart, the patient having carried the leaden intruder since 1864. Among his publications are: "Mechanical Treatment of Diseases of the Hip Joint," 1868; "Aneurisms—Treatment and Report of Case," 1868; "Observations on European Methods," 1874; "The Animal Ligature as a Haemostatic Agent," 1875; "Treatment of Un-united Fractures," 1871; "Sewerage and Drainage," 1876; "Hydrophobia," 1877; "Prevention of Typhoid Fever," 1878; "Dislocation of the Fifth Cervical Vertebra, Report of Case," 1898. This very partial list indicates the wide range of interests represented by the Doctor and the long period of time during which he continued to write for the benefit of younger members of his profession. From 1870 to 1901 he was chief surgeon of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company. He was a prominent member of the National Association of Railway Surgeons. From the time of its organization he was a member of the Wisconsin State Board of Health, and for many years its president. He was professor of military sur-

WATER TOWER AND OLD ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, 1875

gery, fractures and dislocations in the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons, and was the donor of that institution's laboratory equipment. Doctor Marks died September 29, 1914, having attained the ripe age of eighty-seven.

Dr. Frederick C. John, born in Saxony, in 1829, and educated in medicine at the University of Bonn, spent two years in the Homeopathic Clinic at Koethen, beginning the practice of medicine at Hamburg, and coming to Wisconsin in 1856. He settled at Sheboygan, where he remained till his removal to Milwaukee in 1866. In 1878 he received the degree of M. D. from the Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago. The Doctor had a large and lucrative practice and was held in high esteem by the people of Milwaukee. He died August 27, 1892. Dr. F. F. John, a well-known practitioner of Milwaukee, is one of his sons.

Dr. Charles E. Houghman, who maintained an eye and ear infirmary in Milwaukee from 1869 to 1885, earned the gratitude of many patients whose means were small and who would have suffered permanent impairment of sight or hearing but for his benevolent services in their behalf. Educated in the East, he had specialized in ophthalmology before coming to Milwaukee, and was credited with skill in surgery and a record in the army.

Dr. E. W. Beebe, who, after several years as a general practitioner of medicine, specialized in treatment of the eye and ear, earned a reputation as a quiet, capable, successful physician, devoted to the interests of his patients. He was a good citizen as well as a conscientious and competent aid to the afflicted. He was the father of Dr. Claude S. Beebe.

Dr. Jacob Lang, born at Weingarten, Wurtemberg, 1838, completed a course in medicine at the University of Tuebingen and spent a year and a half as interne of St. Katherine's Hospital at Wildbad, before coming to Milwaukee in 1867. Here he lived and practiced till his death a few years ago, looked up to by the younger men of the profession and respected by the entire community. An active member of the Society of German Physicians, he was several times elected to its presidency.

Wells, Somersetshire, England, was the birthplace of Dr. Edward G. H. Meachem. Coming to this country at an early age, he received his education in the State of New York, being graduated in medicine from Geneva Medical College in 1843, after

which he was in practice for several years at Geneseo. He devoted a year to the study of law. Coming to Milwaukee in 1868, he resided here till his death in 1887. Doctor Meachem served as president of the Pension Board for the Milwaukee district and was one of the State medical examiners for many years.

A kindly, sympathetic nature, cloaked in a brusquerie that might have been deliberately assumed, distinguished the professional manner of Dr. Louis Reinhard, who came to Milwaukee in 1870, quickly acquiring a large practice, and ranking with the leading medical men of the city. He was born at Melsungen, Hessen-Nassau, in 1842, and after attending the gymnasium at Hersfeld began the study of medicine at Marburg and Wuerzburg. The two years following his graduation from Wuerzburg were passed in Berlin and Prague, and during the succeeding two years he was physician and surgeon on one of the North German Lloyd steamers plying between Bremen and New York. Then he came to Milwaukee. Wide and deep was the sense of loss occasioned by his sudden death from heart-failure succeeding an attack of influenza, which occurred on the 20th of November, 1893.

Doctor Senn was born at Buchs, in the Canton of St. Gall, Switzerland, October 31, 1844, coming in 1852 to the United States with his parents, and settling at Ashford, Wis. He was graduated from the Fond du Lac High School in 1864, and after a period of teaching began the study of medicine with Dr. Emanuel Munk, then in practice at Fond du Lac, but for many years before and after that time a resident of Milwaukee. In 1865 he entered the Chicago Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1868. In 1869 he married and began to practice at Ashford. In 1874 he established himself in Milwaukee, being appointed chief medical director of Milwaukee Hospital, and building up in a short time the largest private medical practice in the city. Students flocked to him. Among those who owed much to his instruction and inspiration were Drs. Hein Ter Horst, John Bading, Gustav J. Kaumheimer, Joseph Hillmantel, Louis Nolte, William Jobse, Blanchard A. Lynde, Anna M. Connell, M. E. Connell, Doctors Fleischer and Lindenschmidt, Dr. Harriet Frances Sercombe, Dr. B. Frank Wiley of Fond du Lac; a cousin, Dr. Fred C. Schoen of Fond du Lac, and a number of others.

Closely associated with Doctor Senn in some of his experimental work were young physicians like Dr. Horace Manchester Brown, Dr. Gilbert E. Seaman and Dr. William Mackie. With a train of eager students he performed innumerable experimental operations upon dogs at the Milwaukee County Hospital. To the quizzes which he gave at his office in the evenings all young men interested in medicine who desired to attend were welcome. In the early part of his career Doctor Senn's work was inclined to be daring; later it was distinguished by wise conservatism, the outcome of careful experiment and observation. Operations performed for the benefit of his classes were rudimentary at first, but in the late '70s and middle '80s the most advanced surgery in the Northwest was performed at Milwaukee. Doctor Senn became a brilliant teacher. Students gave delighted attention to what he did in his illustrative operations and what he said in his talks. He never tired of answering questions, and always eagerly encouraged original investigation by the learners. As a teacher he exacted the best work of which each student was capable. Achievement on the part of one which elicited praise from him might gain no plaudit when equaled by another, the secret being that from the other he expected more and it was his policy to demand it for the purpose of keeping all at all times up to their best. He detested indolence. He accomplished so much in so many directions that it was a perpetual wonder how he found time for what he showed himself able to perform. Time was precious in his eyes, and never to be wasted. Doubtless the variety of his activities was helpful, for the reason that change from one to another afforded relaxation, so that he was fresh for each in its turn. His career as a teacher after he was elected professor of surgery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Chicago attracted wide attention. In 1888 he became professor of the principles of surgery at Rush Medical College, and in 1891 professor of clinical surgery. He likewise taught military surgery in the University of Chicago, and surgery in the Chicago Polyclinic. Military surgery was a branch to which he was especially devoted. In 1888 he was made surgeon-general of Wisconsin, which position he held until he left the State. In 1892 Governor Altgeld commissioned him surgeon-general of Illinois. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American war he assumed charge

of the camp at Springfield, and on May 13, 1898, commissioned lieutenant-colonel and chief surgeon U. S. V., he was assigned to duty with the Sixth Army Corps at Chickamauga Park, and placed in general charge of the Leiter Hospital. In July he accompanied the expedition under command of Brig.-Gen. Guy V. Henry to Santiago, Cuba, where he was chief operating surgeon in the field. Among his valuable contributions to practical surgery were ingenious original mechanical appliances for uniting severed intestines. His contributions to medical literature included textbooks on "Experimental Surgery," "Intestinal Surgery," "Surgical Bacteriology," "Principles of Surgery," and "Pathology and Surgical Treatment of Tumors." He delighted in travel, and wrote interesting accounts of his experiences in various countries of the world. One of his journeys carried him to Africa and another to the Arctic Circle. During the last two years of his life he suffered from chronic interstitial myocarditis, brought on by an ascent to the heights of 16,000 feet when he was mountain-climbing in South America. He died, January 2, 1908, at his home in Chicago. His benefactions were numerous. To the Newberry Library in Chicago he gave the renowned collections of Dubois-Reymond and of Professor Baum of Goettingen. At the height of his career Dr. Nicholas Senn was one of the most distinguished surgeons of the world.

Dr. Edwin W. Bartlett, born in Vermont, in 1839, was graduated from the medical department of the university of that State in 1866, attended lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City, and then passed two years abroad in attendance at clinics in Paris, Vienna and London, coming to Milwaukee in 1870. After three years he went back to Europe to devote himself to special study of diseases of the eye and ear. Then he returned to Milwaukee and opened an eye and ear infirmary. He was surgeon of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway for thirty-eight years, a member of the Milwaukee School Board from 1886 to 1889, and one of the trustees of the Public Museum for several years, part of the time serving as their president. Doctor Bartlett died September 11, 1913.

Dr. Lewis Sherman was a Vermonter, born at West Rupert in 1843, and carefully educated. After graduation from Union College, Schenectady, he entered Union College, New York City,

devoting two years to the study of theology, and following this with a full course in the medical department of the University of New York. When he entered upon the practice of medicine in Milwaukee, in 1871, he adhered to the tenets of the allopathic school, but later made a study of Homeopathic theories under the direction of Dr. James S. Douglas of this city, and was known as a Homeopathist during the remainder of his life, he and Doctor Douglas forming a partnership which continued till the death of the latter in 1878. Doctor Sherman was noted for his botanical researches. He was the author of two medical text books and numerous monographs. After the death of Doctor Douglas, Doctor Sherman conducted the Homeopathic pharmacy which had been established by the latter many years before. He succeeded his father, Dr. William Sherman, as president of the Jewett & Sherman Company, manufacturers of coffees and spices. Doctor Sherman died July 2, 1915.

Dr. Charles D. Stanhope, born in 1844 in what originally was the western part of Milwaukee County, but afterward was cut off to form Walworth County, served with credit in the Civil war. He was a graduate of Hahnemann Medical College, Chicago. Establishing himself in Milwaukee in 1873 he was engaged in the practice of his profession for half a century. Doctor Stanhope was interested in history and mineralogy. He was a member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and also of the Milwaukee Rifle Club. He was a famous shot, winning many medals and holding for a number of years the championship among the riflemen of the Northwest. He died, at the age of seventy-nine, September 18, 1923.

Dr. Jacob Mendel arrived in Milwaukee in 1873. He was born in Breslau, Silesia, in 1845, and after liberal preparatory education was graduated in medicine from the University of Breslau in 1870, after which he was engaged in hospital service in the Franco-Prussian war. Studious by nature, he was a systematic reader, and nothing bearing on the progress of medical knowledge escaped his attention. Doctor Mendel was a member of the Verein Deutscher Aerzte, and was selected as orator on the occasion of the banquet given by that organization when the distinguished physician Friederich von Esmarch visited Milwaukee. He died in 1895.

A member of the medical profession who came to Milwaukee in the early '70s and made this city his home for the remainder of his life was Dr. W. L. Candee. He had practically abandoned practice, and was attracted to Milwaukee because it was the residence of his son, W. L. Candee. Born in 1791 and educated for a physician, Doctor Candee served as a surgeon in the War of 1812, and was one of the last pensioners of that war to survive. After his return to civil life one of his patients was the renowned DeWitt Clinton. Among his interesting experiences was that of being a passenger on the first trip of the first railroad car built in the United States. He is remembered as a bright, intellectual man, with a wide fund of personal reminiscence illustrative of the march of progress. One of his recreational interests was the science of meteorology. Like Doctor Lapham, he kept a daily record of the weather at Milwaukee, and furnished weekly and monthly summaries of the temperature, the rainfall, etc., for publication in the newspapers. Doctor Candee was in the ninety-ninth year of his age when he passed away on the 12th of January, 1890.

Dr. Darius Mason, who had located at Prairie du Chien and served as surgeon of the Thirty-first Wisconsin Infantry in the Civil war, came to Milwaukee in 1877. He was a native of Massachusetts, where he was born in 1830, and a graduate of the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. Doctor Mason performed intricate surgical operations successfully. He belonged to several medical associations and showed deep interest in their proceedings. He was elected to the presidency of the State Medical Society in 1878. In 1887 he left for Spokane, where he was elected to the mayoralty. He died there in 1912.

Dr. William Fox, who practiced medicine in Milwaukee from 1878 to 1897, beloved and revered by a large clientele, and respected by the members of his profession, was born in Dane County, June 22, 1844. Between his fourteenth and twenty-first years he was a student first at Sinsinawa Mound Institute and then at the University of Wisconsin, entering Rush Medical College shortly after attaining his majority. He was graduated from Rush Medical College in 1867, and served a term as interne in Cook County Hospital. Before his arrival in Milwaukee he had practiced in Madison for several years. Doctor Fox was a man

of kind heart and cheerful disposition. Patients declared that his calls did them good, as well as his prescriptions.

Dr. William Mackie, who during eighteen years in Milwaukee stood high in the practice of his profession and in the friendship and esteem of his fellow-citizens, was a native of Aberdeen and a graduate of the university of that city. He was born in 1855 and received the degree of M. D. in 1881. He served for two years as interne in the Stockport Infirmary at Manchester, England. He was president of the Milwaukee Medical Society in 1897 and of the Wisconsin State Medical Society in the following year. With Dr. Horace Manchester Brown, he succeeded Doctor Senn in the medical directorship of Milwaukee Hospital. The death of Doctor Mackie from an apoplectic stroke occurred on the 9th of December, 1908.

Dr. William Henry Earles came of a family of Wisconsin pioneers. Born at Genesee, December 19, 1852, he passed his youth at Manitowoc, where he went to school to John Nagle and Judge Michael Kirwan, obtaining his later education at the normal school in Oshkosh and the University of Wisconsin and finishing at Rush Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1880. After a few years of practice at Wrightstown, he came to Milwaukee in 1885. In 1889 he and Dr. W. H. Neilson founded Trinity Hospital, where he was head surgeon. Breezy optimism was a characteristic of Doctor Earles which assisted him in his medical practice and was of value when he plunged into the responsibilities incident to the founding of Milwaukee Medical College. Of that institution he was president, holding the chair of professor of surgery. Upon the affiliation of the college with Marquette University he was made dean of the Department of Medicine, which position he held at the time of his death. Doctor Earles died April 28, 1908, in the prime of life and at the zenith of his career.

Dr. Frederic C. Gillen killed by the bursting of a heavy iron pipe containing steam, with which he was experimenting at his residence on Newhall Street, September 3, 1915. His brother William was blinded. The two were engaged in experiments for the cheap manufacture of potash, and the pipe had been made at their order, being a small pipe five inches in diameter and fourteen inches long, provided with a gauge. It had been supposed

capable of far higher pressure that that to which it was subjected when it burst. The two had built a fire on a stone and placed the pipe, filled with water and chemicals, in the fire, banking the coals about it. When the gauge showed a pressure of 250 pounds, they pulled the pipe out of the fire, and were waiting for it to cool when the explosion occurred.

Dr. Louis Frederick Frank, son of Friederich August and Anna Veronika (Kerler) Frank, was born in Milwaukee, April 15, 1857. He attended the parochial school of Grace Lutheran Church, the Lutheran High School, and Markham's Academy, and spent two years at the University of Michigan, before entering New York Medical College, from which he was graduated with the degree of M. D. in 1878. Going abroad, he passed another year in medical studies at Wuerzburg. On his return to Milwaukee he spent a year as assistant in the office of Dr. Nicholas Senn. Ten years later he studied dermatology under Unna in Hamburg, Kopos in Vienna and Fournier in Paris. It was in dermatology that he specialized in his later practice. Doctor Frank was elected president of the Milwaukee Emergency Hospital staff in 1888. He was one of the founders of the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons and at the outset a member of its teaching staff. He was a charter member of the Clinical Club, later the Bartlett Clinical Club, still later the Milwaukee Medical Society and finally the Milwaukee Academy of Medicine. He was also a member of the Verein Deutscher Aerzte and of the State Medical Society of Wisconsin. In hours which he could spare from his profession Doctor Frank was a devotee of music. He wrote "The Medical History of Milwaukee—1834-1914—Illustrated with Portraits, Photographs and Original Charts," which was published in 1914. Doctor Frank's first wife (Emily Inbusch, whom he married in 1882) died in 1890, survived by three children. In 1892 he married Miss Ella E. Schandein. The children by this marriage numbered two. Doctor Frank died May 12, 1918.

Dr. Ernest Copeland, who specialized in obstetrics and gynecology, winning high reputation, came to Milwaukee in 1880, remaining a resident of this city, in active practice, till shortly before his death on the 10th of September, 1929. In earlier years he was associated with Dr. F. E. Walbridge and later with Dr. William L. Le Cron. Born at Stony Creek, Mich.,

in the late '50s, Doctor Copeland was graduated from Cornell, studying for his profession at the College of Medicine of the University of Michigan and at Indiana Medical College, and receiving the degree of M. D. in 1879. A man of wide culture and deeply interested in art, Doctor Copeland had for years been a purchaser of paintings. His valuable collection was bequeathed to the Milwaukee University Club with the proviso that eventually it should become the property of the Layton Art Gallery. He also willed to the Gallery one-third of the proceeds of his estate, a remaining third being designated as an endowment fund for the training school for nurses of Columbia Hospital. The will directed the cancellation of all bills owing him for medical service. Almost from its foundation Doctor Copeland had been a member of the Milwaukee Academy of Medicine, and it was through his liberal aid that the organization was enabled to secure a home of its own in 1926. He was a member of the Milwaukee County Medical Society, the Milwaukee Surgical Society, the American College of Surgeons and the American Medical Association, as well as of social organizations, including the University Club, the Milwaukee Club and the Fox Point Country Club. Doctor Copeland was one of the trustees of the Layton Art Gallery and president of the Board of Trustees of the Layton School of Art. He was one of the founders and a trustee of the Milwaukee Art Institute. He never married.

"The Doctor's Park" is the name by which Milwaukeeans refer to a sylvan tract of sixty acres at Fox Point which was bequeathed to the public by Dr. Joseph Schneider. The place has a frontage of half a mile on Lake Michigan. It is remarkable for its natural beauty as well as for its thriving orchard and other trees forming the nucleus of an arboretum; also for its rose garden and its many beautiful varieties of flowers and shrubs. Wild birds rarely seen in the city are frequent visitors to the Doctor's Park. Dr. Joseph Schneider was born at Weigelsdorf, Silesia, December 10, 1845. After preparatory studies at Breslau he entered the University of Wuerzberg, and following his graduation from that alma mater of famous physicians engaged in general practice till the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, in which he was a surgeon in the Second Corps of the Bavarian Army. For ten years after the war he attended clinics

at Vienna, Paris, London and Berlin, devoting especial attention to otology and ophthalmology. For eight years he was assistant to Doctor von Welz, head of the Eye Hospital at the University of Wuerzburg. In 1881 he came to Milwaukee, beginning a career which was to continue for forty-five years and in which he won world-wide reputation as a skillful oculist. Doctor Schneider married in 1886 Miss Louise Preusser, daughter of Christian Preusser, a noted early resident of Milwaukee. Their children are two daughters, Mrs. William Marshall and Mrs. Gordon McGeoch. Doctor Schneider died June 4, 1927, only a few months after the death of his wife. During his long residence in Milwaukee he kept in touch with many of the famous members of his profession in Europe whose acquaintance he had formed in his earlier years. In 1890 he was a delegate to the International Medical Congress at Berlin. He recognized the value of medical organization. One of the bodies of physicians in which he took a deep interest was the Tri-State Medical Society, through which he established an annual fund for research on the subject of cancer.

Dr. Horace Manchester Brown, whose death at the age of seventy-one, in December, 1928, cut short a career which had attracted notice by members of the profession beyond the borders of Milwaukee, was a native of New Bedford, Mass. After receiving the degree of M. D. from the University of the City of New York, and pursuing advanced studies in Paris, Brussels and Berlin, he engaged for a time in work of a scientific and commercial nature which took him to Central America, establishing himself in the practice of medicine at Milwaukee in 1880. In 1882 he married Miss Fannie Eldred, who died in 1919. His second wife, whom he married in 1924, and who survives him, was Miss Fannie Fleck. Doctor Brown was a member of the Wisconsin State Medical Society, the Milwaukee County Medical Society and the Milwaukee Academy of Medicine. For a time he was a member of the faculty of Marquette Medical College. He was a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, a member of the Tri-State Medical Society, of which at one time he was president, and of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States. For twelve years he belonged to the Wisconsin National Guard, with the rank of captain in the Military

Corps, and during the World war he was chief surgeon of Advisory Board No. 2. From 1890 till 1919 he operated the Lakeside Hospital. From the latter date till his death he was on the staff of Columbia Hospital. Doctor Brown was gifted in many directions and independent to the verge of eccentricity. He was versed in modeling and music. As a writer he was entertaining and instructive.

Dr. Frank B. Golley, born in New York City in 1855, came to Milwaukee at the age of twenty-three, and practiced medicine in this city for half a century after receiving thorough training for his profession at Michigan and Columbia universities and Bellevue Hospital, New York. For many years he was head of the Johnston Emergency Hospital in this city. Dr. Golley was a member of the American Medical Association, the Wisconsin Medical Society and the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County. He was prominently identified with the Masonic fraternity. He died on the 29th of November, 1930.

Of the 2,643 men and women engaged in the practice of medicine in Wisconsin at the opening of the World war, 778 entered the military or naval service of the United States. In other words, one-third of all the physicians in Wisconsin left their homes in response to their country's call. The roster of physicians enrolled from Milwaukee in this exigency was as follows:

Aaron, Joseph; Ackermann, William; Adamkiewicz, L. L.; Albers, E. W.; Angell, E. D.; Armitage, J. E.; Bach, R. J.; Bachinski, L. J.; Bading, G. A.; Baer, C. A.; Bauer, E. F.; Bauer, W. W.; Baum, E. L.; Beffel, J. M.; Bibby, E.; Black, N. M.; Blumenthal, R. W.; Bornstein, M. A.; Brook, J. J.; Brown, G. V. I.; Brown, R. C.; Bruins, Dirk; Bundy, H. E.; Burbach, T. H.; Campbell, R. M.; Carrol, J. H.; Cooke, E. P.; Corcoran, C. J.; Core, W. J.; Curtin, A. L.; Dallwig, H. G.; Darling, F. E.; Darling, H. C.; Darling, W. G.; Darling, W. S.; Decker, H. G.; Dickenson, G. H.; Dudley, L. W.; Ebert, E. C.; Eichelberger, W. W.; Elliott, R. J.; Evans, E. P.; Farnham, C. R.; Fidler, C. A.; Fischer, E. H.; Fitzgerald, G. M.; Flancher, L. H.; Fleming, W. J.; Foerster, H. R.; Foerster, Otto H.; Foley, L. J.; Ford, W. B.; Forsbeck, F. A.; Fox, P. A.; France, J. J.; Frew, J. W.; Gilchrist, R. T.; Gillespie, W. W.; Gotterdam, E. A.; Graebner, H. H.; Gramling, H. J.; Gray, A. W.; Greenberg,

Harry; Grosskopf, E. C.; Grotjan, W. F.; Hake, Cecil B.; Hall, B. M.; Hall, R. M.; Hansen, J. W.; Harrington, T. L.; Heffron, J. J.; Heraty, J. A.; Herner, W. L.; Hitz, H. B.; Hoffman, G. H.; Hogue, G. L.; Howard, T. J.; Hyde, W. G.; Ivy, R. M.; Jenner, A. G.; Johnson, A. W.; Kampmeier, A. J.; Keenan, T. P.; Kenney, C. J.; Kenney, G. F.; Kenney, R. L.; Klein, J. T.; Korthals, P. J.; Kracow, F. C.; Kradwell, W. T.; Krygiar, A. A.; Kuhn, H. J.; Lademan, O. E.; Lando, D.; Lawhorn, C. C.; Leahy, J. D.; Leasum, C.; Lewis, S. T.; Liefert, F. C.; Lillie, O. R.; Linkman, E. G.; Lochemes, W. T.; Loughlin, T. F.; McCabe, H.; McCorkle, S. C.; McCoy, H. J.; McDill, J. R.; McJunkin, R. A.; McLaughlin, F. H.; McMahon, F. B.; McNary, J. F.; McNaughton, W. T.; Maercjlein, O. W.; Malkin, G. M.; Martin, C. D.; Mehigan, D. D.; Mehl, H. F.; Mensing, E. H.; Miller, W. P.; Mitchell, S. R.; Mitten, A. A.; Moeller, M. N.; Murphy, W. J.; Neilson, G. W.; Neilson, J. D.; Nugent, A. C.; Olson, R. E.; Patek, A. J.; Pfeffer, E. N.; Podlasky, H. D.; Randall, G. R.; Reichhoff, G. G.; Rigby, E. D.; Riley, D. B.; Roberts, D. W.; Rodecker, R. C.; Rogers, P. F.; Ross, P. M.; Ruhland, G. C.; Ruschaupt, L. F.; Russell, H. C.; Ryan, E. R.; Salinko, S. S.; Saltstein, H. C.; Sargent, H. L.; Schlaikowski, J. P.; Schmidt, H. E.; Scholter, E. A.; Schubert, F. J.; Schwartz, A. B.; Seaman, G. E.; Seeger, S. J.; Segal, G. M.; Senn, Ulrich; Sennatt, J. F.; Sheehan, J. R.; Sickels, W. A.; Sivyer, A. W.; Smith, E. A.; Smith, J. W.; Soudel, A. C.; Stamm, L. P.; Steenberg, H. S.; Stolz, C. E.; Sullivan, G. A.; Sutter, E. H.; Sykes, L. G.; Taylor, J. G.; Tharinger, E. L.; Thompson, F. A.; Trock, M. J.; Valentine, L. P. A.; Van de Erve, John; Wallschlaeger, G. G.; Warfield, L. M.; Weber, A. J.; Weingart, William; Wenn, J. F.; Westhofen, R. C.; Wheatley, C. I.; Wilkinson, J. J.; Williams, Maud R.; Wilske, C. A.; Wilson, R. S.; Wolters, H. F.; Yaffe, A.

As major and chief surgeon of the Wisconsin National Guard, Dr. Gilbert E. Seaman of Milwaukee directed the work at Waco, Texas, which insured model sanitary conditions at Camp MacArthur, where the Thirty-second Division, A. E. F., received preparatory training on the eve of its departure for France. As division surgeon, with the rank of colonel, he served throughout the war. Colonel Seaman was awarded the Distinguished Serv-

ice medal and the Croix de Guerre and made a member of the Legion of Honor.

From the period of villagehood there has been medical organization in Milwaukee which has constituted an important factor in the promotion of medical and community progress. Dr. Thomas J. Noyes was president of a medical society organized in Milwaukee in 1837. Of its proceedings no record is known to exist. The first officers of the Medical Association of Milwaukee, which was organized in 1845, were Dr. J. S. Hewitt, president; Dr. E. B. Wolcott, vice president; Dr. J. K. Bartlett, secretary; Dr. J. B. Dousman, treasurer. Its other members at the start were Drs. J. P. Greves, James Johnson, E. S. Marsh, J. B. Selby, F. M. Wilcox and Francis Huebschmann. Its early records seem not to have been preserved. Milwaukee became a city in January, 1846, and in December of the same year the Milwaukee Medical Association changed its name to the Milwaukee City Medical Association. December 9 of that year it elected Dr. E. S. Marsh as president, Dr. J. T. Spalding as vice president, Dr. J. B. Selby as recording secretary, Dr. Alfred Mercer as corresponding secretary and Dr. J. B. Dousman as treasurer, also appointing Doctors Mercer, Johnson, Bartlett, Wilcox and Shumway to prepare a new constitution and by-laws. January 6, 1848, the Association adopted the code of medical ethics recommended by the National Medical Convention of December 9, 1847, and forwarded to Washington a memorial asking for action by Congress to prohibit the introduction of worthless drugs and medicines. At a meeting held on the 27th of July, 1848, Doctor Van Dusen brought against Doctor Hewitt the charge of advocating the practice of Homeopathy, on which Doctor Hewitt was dismissed from membership in the Association.

It seems to have been at its meeting of April 6, 1849, that members of the Association indulged in interchange of opinion on the subject of Asiatic cholera, and, as noted by Doctor Frank in his "Medical History of Milwaukee," adopted the following resolution without a dissenting vote:

"Resolved, that no fact in medicine, in the opinion of this Association, is more clearly determined than that the Asiatic cholera is not contagious, and any action on the part of the authorities which is based upon the supposition that it is so, sub-

jecting the sick to inconvenience, is clearly unwarrantable and inhuman, and will not receive the sanction of any of its members."

Deaths to the number of 300 or more which occurred in Milwaukee that year were attributed to Asiatic cholera. The Milwaukee City Medical Association held no meetings between the spring of 1849 and the spring of 1855. On its resumption of activity, March 16, 1855, Doctor Dousman was elected president, Dr. Augustus P. Curtis vice president, Doctor Garner secretary, and Doctor Ortalli treasurer. Doctor Naumann offered a resolution committing the organization to the editing of a medical journal, but the consensus of opinion was that this would be inexpedient at the time. The same fate followed a proposition to establish a general hospital in connection with the Marine Hospital. The officers for 1856 were: President, Doctor Curtis; vice president, Doctor McKnight; secretary, Dr. S. L. Thorn; treasurer, Doctor Ortalli; censors, Doctors Dousman, Blanchard and Ortalli.

From May 6, 1859, to October 27, 1864, the Association went into recess. No records are available till November 19, 1868, when a meeting was held at the residence of Dr. J. K. Bartlett, at which Drs. Solon Marks and William Thorndike were admitted to membership, others in attendance being Drs. James Johnson, E. B. Wolcott, James Crugom, Herman Naumann, Lewis McKnight, Julius Kasten, and Francis Huebschmann. December 30th of that year the following were elected officers: President, J. K. Bartlett; vice president, Francis Huebschmann; treasurer, James Johnson; secretary, William Thorndike. A fee bill was adopted, and it was agreed that regular meetings should be held on the first and third Thursdays of every month, at the City Hall.

June 20, 1868, a committee of five—Drs. James Johnson, E. B. Wolcott, John E. Garner, Herman Naumann and Solon Marks—had been appointed to confer with Edward Salomon, regent of the University of Wisconsin, with reference to the establishment in Milwaukee of a medical college whose degree should be conferred by the university. At a meeting of the Association on January 7, 1869, Doctor Johnson, on behalf of the committee, reported that "in view of the pecuniary assistance likely to be required, together with other considerations, the committee has been led to decide that present action would be premature."

At this meeting a motion to admit to membership Dr. Laura J. Ross, the first woman physician in Milwaukee, was laid on the table. At the next succeeding meeting she was admitted at the intercession of Dr. E. B. Wolcott. Subsequently Doctor Ross became the wife of Doctor Wolcott.

Officers elected at the meeting of December 15, 1870, were: President, Dr. E. B. Wolcott; vice president, Dr. Francis Huebschmann; secretary, Dr. Ernst Kramer; treasurer, Dr. James Johnson; censors, Doctors Naumann, Thompson and Allen.

The fee bill adopted December 3, 1868, provided for a charge of $1 for office prescriptions, and for dressing simple wounds or performing vaccinations at the office; $1 to $5 for examination and verbal advice at office; $2 for ordinary visits, or for vaccination of patients at their residences, and $5 to $10 for night visits after 10 o'clock. For two visits in a single day the charge was to be $3, and for consultation $5 to $10. The fee bill went on to specify charges for surgical operations of different descriptions, and contained the observation that fees for "operations not specified, like the removal of tumors, etc., must be governed by the difficulty and danger attending in each case."

The Medical Society of Milwaukee County, founded at a meeting held at the courthouse on the 5th of May, 1846, was recruited largely from physicians residing in the city, its officers at the start being: President, Dr. E. L. Marsh; vice president, Dr. A. L. Castleman; secretary, Dr. J. K. Bartlett; treasurer, Dr. J. B. Selby; censors, Doctors Dousman, Johnson and William Graham. In May of the following year the society was incorporated, one of the articles providing for the granting of diplomas with the seal of the organization attached. After holding bi-weekly sessions till 1853, the society went into a state of hibernation in which it continued till 1879, when an undertaking for its revival was led by Doctors Marks, Senn, Ladd, Bartlett, Wight and others, who kept it going till 1885. Sixteen years later witnessed a clash between Dr. Horace Manchester Brown and others acting in the name of this organization on the one hand and members of a rival organization on the other, both sides claiming authority in themselves as legally constituted representatives of the higher interests of medical practice in Milwaukee County, and each

group denying the validity of its adversary's pretensions in this regard. For a time there seemed to be a prospect of resort to the courts to settle the dispute, which was intensified by the circumstance that its outcome might have a bearing upon the material interests of one or another of the two medical colleges existing in Milwaukee at the time. Early in 1902, without proceeding to litigation, an adjustment was effected, the newer of the warring associations surrendering its charter and being admitted to membership in the original Medical Society of Milwaukee County, which thereafter maintained an active existence, enjoying affiliation with the State Medical Society of Wisconsin and the American Medical Association.

The Medico-Chirurgical Club, organized January 8, 1851, by Drs. J. K. Bartlett, J. B. Dousman, T. H. Brown, James Johnson, John E. Garner, T. Spencer and J. B. Selby, with Doctor Spencer as president, accepted a proposition of $600 to care for the county poor—$225 being allowed for those living in the almshouse and $25 per ward for those in each of the five wards of the city. Doctors Wundsch, Huebschmann, Seibert, Van der Hoeven, Zimmermann and Fessel were later admitted to membership in this organization, which, apparently, ceased to function after February, 1853.

Doctors Luening, Wunderly, Ortalli, Wundsch, Fessel, Weitze, Krak and Fuchs organized in 1853 a society of German physicians, of which Doctors Kissling and Munk became members. The organization published popular treatises on sunstrokes and other subjects.

The Milwaukee Medical and Surgical Club, of which Dr. J. K. Bartlett was president, Dr. James Johnson vice president, and Dr. William Thorndike secretary and treasurer, began its career on December 11, 1869, other members being Drs. William Gorham, R. MacArthur, Solon Marks, Edward H. G. Meachem and James Crugom. Later Drs. Julius Kempe, August Liljencrantz, Edwin Bartlett and S. F. Fuller were admitted. In January, 1871, the name was changed to the Milwaukee Medical Society. During that year the organization conducted a dispensary, with Doctors Kempe and E. Bartlett in attendance daily from 4 to 5. In December Doctor Liljencrantz withdrew from the society, having adopted the theories of Homeopathy. No meet-

ings were held from December 21, 1871, to April, 1876. On their resumption at the latter date the following new members were elected: Drs. N. Senn, Edward Rosenkranz, A. Graettinger, George Ladd and Herman Hasse. In 1877 Drs. James Dorland and William Ross joined the society and Drs. R. H. Williamson and Theodore Stark were elected visiting members. The following names were added to the list of visiting members in 1878: Drs. F. Breinig, E. Bristol, Alvin Eyer, Lytton Flynn, Henry Harpke, P. Langland, J. Stearns, James Thompson, Charles Betzel, William Schorse, William Fox, Heber Elderkin, Louis F. Frank, John Bading, Darius Mason, Francis Mueller, Orlando W. Wight and Albert Zinns. A resolution that the members of the Milwaukee Medical Society and others interested meet in convention at the Milwaukee County Courthouse for the purpose of organizing a county medical society conformable to the Revised Statute Laws of 1878, State of Wisconsin, seems to have been referred to a committee consisting of Doctors Senn, Williamson and Day, which recommended that the society be changed into a legal county medical society. This report was accepted at the meeting of February 19, 1879, and the following were elected as officers of the Medical Society of Milwaukee County: President, E. W. Bartlett; vice president, F. Day; recording secretary, George Ladd; corresponding secretary, R. Williamson; treasurer, James Johnson; censors: Marks, Senn and Graettinger. A committee consisting of Doctors Williamson, Dorland and E. Bartlett, appointed to make an examination regarding the legality of articles of incorporation, the necessity of registration, etc., reported March 13th, which gave rise to a motion to so amend the constitution as to take back the old name of the society. In 1879 Doctors Bristol, Mason and Bading were chosen as permanent members, and Doctors Robbins, Marden, Richards, Hare, McNutt and Leffingwell as visiting members. At a special meeting called by President Graettinger for February 10, 1880, there were in attendance Drs. E. W. Bartlett, N. Senn, Darius Mason and John Bading. A motion that the society permanently discontinue its meetings was carried by the unanimous vote of those present.

The Brainard Medical Society, named in honor of Prof. Daniel Brainard, of Rush Medical College, Chicago, was organized in 1872 by Drs. Nicholas Senn, then of Ashford, E. M. Rogers of

Hartford, S. L. Marston of Campbellsport and several others, including Drs. L. Loehr, A. W. Lueck, G. F. Hunt, E. F. Dodge, William Hausmann and others, some of them residing in Chicago. Until 1893 it held quarterly meetings at Oshkosh, Madison, Chicago, and other places, and after that time at Milwaukee, these meetings usually being combined with a clinic at Milwaukee Hospital.

The Verein Deutscher Aerzte, organized in Milwaukee, March 16, 1883, was as its name implies a society of German physicians. Its charter members were Drs. Nicholas Senn, Carl Reinhard, Julius Kasten, Louis Reinhard, Herman Hasse, Jacob Lang and Jacob Mendel. Doctor Senn was its president at the beginning, and Dr. Louis Reinhard its secretary. Others added to the membership of this society from time to time were Drs. Edmund Kovatz, Alois Graettinger, Carl Zimmermann, Joseph von Szoldrski, Louis F. Frank and Arthur J. Puls. John R. McDill was elected an extraordinary member, in January, 1896. Dr. Siegmund Graettinger, elected a member in January, 1900, resigned. The object of the society was declared to be the promotion of professional interests. Scientific discourses with demonstrations were features of its meetings, and it maintained a circulating library of medical journals. In 1907, after its membership had been greatly diminished by death, the society was discontinued. Numerous distinguished names were on the list of honorary members of this society, among them that of Dr. Friederich von Esmarch of Kiel. He and his charming wife, Henrietta, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein, visited Milwaukee in October, 1888, attending a dinner given in their honor by the Verein Deutscher Aerzte. The noted guest was known to the profession throughout the world as the inventor of bloodless surgery.

With the Clinical Club, the Bartlett Clinical Club and the Milwaukee Clinical Society as its precursors, the Milwaukee Medical Society was organized in January, 1891, its first officers, elected in 1892, while it flourished under the last designation, being Dr. U. O. B. Wingate, president; Drs. L. F. Frank and Harriet Frances Sercombe, vice presidents; Dr. W. H. Washburn, secretary; Dr. F. E. Walbridge, treasurer; Doctor Clark, librarian, and Dr. Lorenzo Boorse, curator. A few words re-

garding its antecedent organizations will be followed by a sketch of its career.

Clinical Club—This was organized January 12, 1886, with Dr. James Dorland as president, Dr. A. B. Farnham as secretary, and Dr. Samuel French as manager, the other members being Drs. Louis F. Frank, Robert Hawley, Henry Ogden and F. Walbridge. Meetings, preceded by dinners, were to be held on the second Tuesday of each month. November 9th an honorary dinner was tendered to Dr. J. K. Bartlett, prior to his departure for California.

Bartlett Clinical Club—At this meeting the name of the organization was changed to the Bartlett Clinical Club, in reference to that gentleman's lifelong devotion to the cause of medical progress in Milwaukee. The following additions to the membership were made in the years preceding 1890: Drs. J. A. Bach, J. A. McLeod, William Thorndike, Horace Manchester Brown, W. Batchelor, Ernest Copeland, John McDill, U. O. B. Wingate, Emil Wahl, A. J. Puls, Solon Marks (honorary), Louis Nolte, James O'Brien, Ralph Chandler. January 11, 1887, new clubrooms at 416 Milwaukee Street, for the rent of which Doctor Bartlett had offered to be personally responsible, were occupied for the first time, and a dissecting section, with Doctor Hawley as chairman, was organized, to occupy quarters on Chestnut Street near Third Street. July 12, 1887, the club gave a dinner and reception for Doctor Goodell of Philadelphia. July 10, 1888, it named Doctors Wingate, French and Copeland, with Mrs. Frederick Abbot and Mrs. John L. Mitchell, as a committee to organize and control a directory of nurses. In 1889 the annual dues were fixed at $40. Three special meetings to consider the purchase of 466 Marshall Street as a clubhouse were held in that year, but the project was dropped. At the annual meeting in January, 1890, the following officers were elected: General manager, Dr. Samuel French; secretary, Dr. U. O. B. Wingate; treasurer, Dr. F. Walbridge, who was also named as curator; librarian, William Washburn.

Milwaukee Clinical Society—In February, 1890, the name of the Bartlett Clinical Club was changed to the Milwaukee Clinical Society.

Milwaukee Medical Society—In January, 1891, pursuant to

the report of a committee which had been appointed to consider the subject of enlargement of the scope and membership of the Milwaukee Clinical Society, the organization adopted the name of the Milwaukee Medical Society.

The year 1892 is looked back to by historians of finance as resembling 1836, 1856 and 1872 in that it was a year of super-optimism. Everybody—doctors included—had come to regard improved real estate at any price as a safe purchase. The Milwaukee Medical Society, feeling that its purposes would be promoted by the acquisition of a permanent home, appointed Doctors French, Wuerdemann, Farnham, Walbridge and Copeland a committee to discover a suitable location and suggest means of raising money for its purchase. This was done in May. At a later meeting Doctors Frank and Puls were added to the committee, which in due course recommended the purchase of the property at 558 and 560 Jefferson Street, at that time known as the Luening Conservatory of Music. It was to be had on a land contract for $30,000—$5,000 down, the balance, drawing 5 per cent interest, to be payable at the end of ten years, or sooner at the option of the society. If the society decided to buy, the Elms Hospital, which also was looking for a new location, would lease a part of the building, paying rent of $1,000 a year, equivalent to more than half the expense of maintaining the whole property. A motion to make the purchase was carried by unanimous vote, and $5,000 paid to bind the contract. The society changed its meeting-place to 560 Jefferson Street.

Officers elected for 1893 were: President, Dr. A. B. Farnham; secretary, Dr. W. H. Washburn; treasurer, Dr. F. Walbridge; librarian, Dr. Robert Newton Hawley; curator, Dr. F. J. Tower. New members joining in 1893 were Drs. A. J. Schweichler, Thomas G. Walsh, Charles Albright, Samuel Friend, F. H. Hagermann, A. H. Purdy, Henry B. Hitz, William Mackie, O. Chrysler, E. Kalmerton and N. Peterson.

After the speculative delirium of 1892 came the panic of 1893, which shattered other cheerful prospects along with those of the Milwaukee Medical Society. There had been expectations of a "windfall," but these went glimmering. A committee to collect subscriptions had been appointed. Interest, taxes, insurance, and ordinary running expenses, added to the cost of maintaining

the library, were in excess of receipts. The despairing subscription committee resigned in a body. At a meeting held on the 23d of January, 1894, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Whereas the Milwaukee Medical Society cannot now afford to maintain the premises known as 558 and 560 Jefferson Street, and could not afford to maintain them if it owned said property free of debt and unincumbered, therefore be it resolved to secure release from the land contract and seek other rooms for the accommodation of the society." March 27th, 1894, the society removed to quarters in the Goldsmith Building, secured on terms equivalent to exemption from payment of rent. At the same time the annual dues from members were reduced to $40.

In his "Medical History of Milwaukee," published in 1915, Doctor Frank observed that when the Milwaukee Medical Society began its career, Milwaukee, then a city of 160,000 inhabitants and 140 practicing physicians, was without a medical organization or a medical library. Besides forming a nucleus of fraternal feeling, and fortifying themselves professionally, the members of the Milwaukee Medical Society kept public needs constantly in view. Through its efforts the school of nurses advanced, its student body reaping the benefit of instruction by members of the society. The Directory for Nurses, which proved a blessing to the community, was organized from its midst, as also were the Elms and Emergency Hospitals.

The Practitioners' Society of Milwaukee was organized in 1893, at the time of the establishment of Trinity Hospital, its meetings being held at that institution semi-monthly. The officers were Dr. W. Neilson, president; Dr. W. H. Earles, vice president; Dr. Charles Lemon, secretary and treasurer. The members, exclusive of officers, were Drs. S. Sperry, E. Purtell, A. Moeller, J. Moeller, Warren Hill, W. Sweemer, A. Drexel, M. Rosenheimer, P. Dempsey, B. Brown, W. Kelly, Philip Schmidt, J. Scollard, H. Leffingwell, G. Kaumheimer, A. Nagle, W. Luffman and Charles Egan.

The Milwaukee Physicians' Association, incorporated and organized July 18, 1908, had for its objects the promotion of fraternal spirit and good fellowship as well as improvement of the business methods of its members. Its first officers were Dr.

A. R. F. Grob, president; Dr. A. Bernhard, vice president; A. A. Cooper, secretary and treasurer.

The date of organization of the Milwaukee Dermatological Society was January 28, 1910. Its officers were Dr. Louis Frank, president, and Dr. Robert Washburn, secretary. Dr. Otto Foerster was its president for 1911, after which it ceased to meet.

December, 1910, witnessed the organization of the North Side Physicians' Club, of which the following were the first officers: President, Dr. Franz Pfister; vice president, Dr. Gustav Kaumheimer; secretary and treasurer, Dr. Alvin Brah. The officers for 1914 were: President, Dr. A. E. Mieding; vice president, Dr. W. F. Grotjan; secretary and treasurer, Dr. George R. Randall. The objects of this organization as formulated in its constitution were the promotion of good fellowship and esprit du corps. The club had 100 members.

Discussion of the vicious results of "fee-splitting" was general in 1913. The Milwaukee Surgical Society, founded in February of that year, took noteworthy stand against an unethical practice by adopting a by-law requiring signature of the following agreement as a condition of candidature for membership in its organization: "I hereby promise upon my honor as a gentleman that I will not, so long as I am a member of the Milwaukee Surgical Society, practice division of fees in any form; neither will I collect fees for others referring patients to me; nor will I permit others to collect my fees for me; nor will I make joint fees with physicians or surgeons referring patients to me for operation or consultation; neither will I in any way, directly or indirectly, compensate anyone referring patients to me; nor will I utilize any man as an assistant as a subterfuge for this purpose." The founders of the Milwaukee Surgical Society were Drs. H. A. Sifton, Ernest Copeland, W. Batchelor, H. M. Brown, Henry B. Hitz, R. Sayle, J. L. Yates, F. Gaenslen and Curtis Evans. Its members are restricted to men devoting their time entirely or chiefly to the practice of surgery who have been at least five years in practice in Milwaukee. The first officers of the Milwaukee Surgical Society were Dr. H. A. Sifton, president; Dr. H. M. Brown, vice president, and Dr. F. J. Gaenslen, secretary and treasurer. Early additions to the membership were Drs. Gilbert E. Seaman, P. F. Rogers, E. A. Fletcher and R. G. Gayle.

The Milwaukee Oto-Ophthalmic Society, organized January 20, 1914, was the successor of the Oto-Ophthalmic Club, which had flourished for seven years previously, with Dr. H. B. Hitz as its first president, and Dr. Nelson Black as its first secretary. The officers elected in 1914 were: President, Dr. H. B. Hitz; vice president, Dr. F. Pfister; secretary-treasurer, Dr. G. I. Hogue. Council, Drs. H. B. Hitz, F. Pfister, G. Hogue, P. Dernehl and C. Zimmermann. Other members at the time of its establishment were Drs. J. A. Bach, J. S. Barnes, C. S. Beebe, E. F. Bauer, N. Black, M. Barndt, C. J. Coffey, W. E. Grove, H. J. Heeb, S. G. Higgins, A. G. Kreutzer, C. Messmer, H. F. McBeath, R. H. Rice, E. D. Regan, G. E. Seaman, W. S. Stanley, L. Schmidt, A. J. Taugher, S. G. Todd, Thomas Phillips and G. F. Zaun, all of Milwaukee, Dr. L. B. Allen of Oshkosh, and Dr. L. M. Willard of Wausau.

In a sketch of the history of hospitals in Wisconsin, Dr. Charles R. Bardeen, dean of the Medical School at the University of Wisconsin, points out a distinction between the underlying aim when certain early institutions for the ailing were established and that which governs the planning of such institutions at the present time. Insane asylums and pesthouses at first were designed for the protection of the public, the comfort of their inmates being a subject of subsidiary consideration when considered at all. Pesthouses were buildings with few conveniences, which stood empty between epidemics, and into which victims of smallpox or cholera were thrust willy nilly when visitations of those dreaded maladies occurred. At Milwaukee a pesthouse was erected as early as 1843. Caretakers as a rule were picked up more or less by chance. It is Doctor Bardeen's opinion that the pesthouses did little good, and that enforced vaccination was what eventually checked the ravages of smallpox. Of isolation hospitals he entertains a high opinion. The isolation hospital erected in Milwaukee in 1877, well out on Mitchell Street, on a site remote from other buildings at the time, he describes as "a pesthouse with a few modern improvemnets." It could be used only for the care of smallpox patients, and was put to that purpose in the mild epidemics of 1882 and 1894. In 1903 Milwaukee rented a building previously used as a private general hospital and converted it into an isolation hospital for the care of acute contagious

diseases other than smallpox, such as scarlet fever and diphtheria. In 1912 the first wing of an isolation hospital was erected after modern plans. It became the largest in the State.

Doctor Bardeen observes: "Milwaukee in the early days was the chief city for the reception of immigrants. This introduced special problems in the care of the sick. Those who had not yet had time to establish homes obviously could not be cared for at home. This condition appears to have been a leading factor in the establishment of the first general hospitals in the State."

In 1845 Bishop Henni requested the Superioress of the Sisters of Charity of the Order of St. Joseph, at Emmitsburg, Maryland, to send Sisters to help in charitable work. In response to this call six Sisters came to Milwaukee in the following year, doing much good among the poor. Later they were joined by four more and established the pioneer hospital in Milwaukee, St. John's Infirmary, in a two-story frame building at the southeast corner of Jackson and Oneida streets. Later the institution was removed to a larger building, which was so cold, however, that, cheerful though shivering, the Sisters gave it the name of "the Crystal Palace." In 1848, the Milwaukee Medical Society appointed twelve of its members to respond to their calls, and subsequently physicians generally stood ready to serve charity patients in the Sisters' hospital free of charge.

Sad scenes marked the cholera epidemics in 1849 and 1850. Milwaukee, being the door through which poured most of the immigration entering the State, found itself with a serious problem on its hands. Frequently victims of the dread disease were deserted by their families and friends. Strangers died in the streets. The poorhouse burial plot, located on the upper East Side, was the resting-place of many whose corpses were hurried underground without ceremony and with no record of their names. The Sisters worked heroically in this time of trial, and their hospital was a blessing to the community. They and the doctors who assisted in their humane labors earned public gratitude and were the means of saving many lives. A merited recognition came to the Sisters when their institution was affiliated with the Marine Hospital Service of the federal government. In addition to caring for the seamen, the infirmary gave shelter to the homeless sick of the city and its surrounding territory.

In 1857 the city of Milwaukee gave three acres of land, part of its original poorhouse tract, as a site for what came to be the first St. Mary's Hospital, and subscriptions were collected to raise money for erecting the building constructed in the following year. During the ten years beginning with 1862 the State of Wisconsin appropriated a total of $15,350 toward its support, a part of this sum being compensation for the care of sick and wounded soldiers of the Civil war. All along, the value of the service rendered by this pioneer hospital was out of proportion to the cost, for the reason that the Sisters conducting the establishment worked without thought of pecuniary reward. By rigid economy, annual expenses were kept down to something less than $8,000, with a daily average of forty patients, all of whom were poor and many unable to pay anything whatever for their care and keep. The principal receipts came from the sum allowed by the Federal government for the care of seamen. In 1878 the amount from this source reached $3,731, and that from pay patients other than seamen $2,618, leaving a deficit of $1,542. The present St. Mary's Hospital, modern in design and construction, was completed in May, 1910 at a cost of half a million dollars. It has a capacity of 200 patients, with seventy-five private rooms and twenty wards, convenient operating rooms, a perfectly equipped maternity department and a sheltered roof garden. By 1912 the number of patients treated at St. Mary's had risen to 1,406 in the course of a year.

Milwaukee Hospital owes its existence to the initiative of the Rev. William A. Passavant, who organized it in 1863, placing it under the immediate charge of the Order of Protestant Deaconesses of Pennsylvania. For much of the purchase money laid out in the acquisition of the land and the building used in the beginning he made himself personally responsible, but was subsequently reimbursed by subscriptions from citizens of Milwaukee. The Rev. Johannes Muehlhauser, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, who had directed his attention to the good such an establishment would make possible in Milwaukee, assisted his canvass for financial support. One of the earliest contributors was Daniel Newhall, who also was credited with supplying Doctor Passavant with a list of names which greatly aided him in his quest of means. The old Asahel Finch residence, at what was

at that time the western extremity of State Street, was purchased for twelve thousand dollars—a brick house surrounded by ample grounds. For twenty years the mansion sufficed for the accommodation of patients. Two-thirds of all for whom the hospital provided a haven were too poor to pay, and the compensation received from others was exceedingly moderate. Facilities were limited, and forty was the largest number that could be taken at one time. The total of patients cared for in 1871-2 was 152. In the latter year this was the only institution in Milwaukee that would receive cases of smallpox, of which fifty-two were treated during the twelvemonth, forty-six being paid for by the city, while the remaining six were able to pay for themselves. Between 1865 and 1872 the State appropriated sums aggregating $7,500 toward the support of Milwaukee Hospital, but since that time the institution has depended upon donations from individuals and receipts from patients. The city grew apace. Modernization and expansion of facilities for the care of the sick demanded renewed attention. The Finch mansion had become hopelessly obsolete. A new building, erected in 1883, at a cost of $90,000 was destroyed by fire on the eve of its readiness for occupancy. By September, 1884, it had been reconstructed, and Milwaukee Hospital found itself equipped for an enlarged career of usefulness. Extensive improvements were made in 1901 and 1902. Frederick Layton always had been a cheerful giver. In 1907 the Layton Home for Invalids was erected at his expense and a new memorial annex added to the hospital proper.

The first director of Milwaukee Hospital was the Rev. Brother Schladermundt, who had Barbara Kaag for his efficient helper. Her brother-in-law, William Huth, looked after the inmates of the pesthouse which the city erected on the premises for use during the smallpox epidemic of 1868-9. Martha Gensike was Directing Sister for a quarter of a century following 1885. The Rev. J. F. Ohl was Rector and Director from 1893 to 1898. For several years succeeding the death of his father, the son of Doctor Passavant was active in the hospital's affairs. He died in 1901, after which the Rev. W. H. Roth of Pittsburgh was in charge till August 18, 1902, when the Rev. H. L. Fritschel, who is the present incumbent, was installed in the office of Director and Rector.

In the early years of Milwaukee Hospital the attending

physicians were Drs. E. B. Wolcott, J. K. Bartlett, Herman Naumann and Henry Harpke. Dr. Nicholas Senn became chief medical director soon after his arrival in the city in 1874, continuing to act in that capacity till his departure for Chicago in 1893. His successors were Drs. William Mackie and Horace Manchester Brown, acting in alternation, till the death of Doctor Mackie in December, 1908, after which Dr. H. A. Sifton was chosen as chief of staff.

Milwaukee's hospital provision at the present day compares favorably with that of any city of its size in the United States, the latest additions which it has received being the spacious and admirably equipped new establishment of the Sisters of St. Joseph; the new City and County hospitals, the Children's Hospital, with its auxiliary institutions made possible by the Matthew Keenan Foundation and the Charles G. Stark Foundation; Columbia Hospital; the Deaconesses' Hospital; Mount Sinai Hospital; Misericordia Hospital; St. Luke's Hospital; and Shorewood Hospital; as well as the Sanitarium of the Sacred Heart, conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, and a number of excellent smaller hospitals under private but competent management.

The Health Department of the City of Milwaukee, which is one of the best in the United States, constitutes a monument to the ability, the energy and the magnificent, self-effacing public spirit of members of the medical profession to whose suggestions and labors it owes its existence. It is the subject of separate treatment in a division of this work devoted to the review of city government in Milwaukee.

Provision for medical education in Milwaukee was an early aspiration of forward-looking representatives of the profession, destined to remain unrealized for many years.

At the final session of the Legislative Assembly, which opened at Madison February 7, 1848, only a few months before Wisconsin's admission to Statehood, that body passed an act constituting thirteen designated citizens of Milwaukee as a body politic and corporate to be styled and known by the name of "the Wisconsin Medical College," and by that name and style to remain and have perpetual succession. The act provided that the college should be located in or near the city of Milwaukee; that the number of its trustees should not exceed thirteen, exclusive of the president

of the college, who should be a member of the board, and that its property, real and personal, should at no time exceed the value of two hundred thousand dollars. It contained the declaration that "the object of this incorporation shall be to promote the general interests of medical education and to qualify young men to engage usefully and honorably in the practice of medicine and surgery." Following is the list of persons named in the act as trustees: Eliphalet Cramer, Edward D. Holton, George H. Walker, Daniel Wells, Jr., Alanson Sweet, James Bonnell, Joseph Cary, E. A. Guilbert, A. Finch, Jr., H. Bosworth, Homer M. Hard, William A. Prentiss and Sidney L. Rood. The name of Guilbert has not survived in the memories of Milwaukeeans of later days, but all the others are easily recalled, with possibly the exception of Homer M. Hard, who was the only physician in the group. The first City Directory of Milwaukee lists him as a physician and surgeon, with an office at 166 East Water Street. The numbering has been changed; 166 in those days would not be so far south as it is at the present time. Doctor Frank's History of Medicine in Milwaukee says Doctor Hard came in 1846, and established and conducted for a time an institution which he called the Sydenham Infirmary. It adds that he was expelled from the Milwaukee Medical Association for transgressing the code of ethics by advertising. Reputable physicians in the early days of Milwaukee saw no harm in paying for the publication of their professional cards in the newspapers, but afterward, for excellent reasons, this was tabooed. Apparently the Syndenham Infirmary was not a source of great income to its proprietor, as he left Milwaukee in 1849. Perhaps his departure accounts for the circumstance that this first charter for a medical college in Milwaukee never was put to any practical use.

Drs. E. B. Wolcott and James P. Whitney planned the establishment of a medical college at Milwaukee in 1850. Several meetings were held, and officers elected—Doctor Wolcott president, A. D. Smith (subsequently Circuit and Supreme Court Judge) secretary, Eliphalet Cramer, treasurer. Doctor Wolcott was to be professor of surgery, Doctor Whitney professor of the institutes of medicine, and Judge Smith professor of medical jurisprudence. But the project failed to develop beyond the initial stage. The idea was revived in 1868, in June of which year a

special meeting of the Milwaukee Medical Association was called to confer with Edward Salomon, afterward Governor, then one of the regents of the University of Wisconsin, with reference to establishing a medical department of that institution at Milwaukee. To look into the matter, the meeting appointed a committee of which Dr. James Johnson was chairman. Six months were devoted to investigation. On January 7, 1869, Doctor Johnson submitted the committee's conclusion, which was that in view of the pecuniary assistance which would be required, as well as of other considerations, "present action would be premature."

Doctor Senn's experimental researches and his illuminating informal discussions of medical and surgical topics had attracted wide attention among young men in Milwaukee and its vicinity anxious to enter the profession. In 1885 a number of leading physicians of the city held a meeting at the residence of Doctor Senn, and came to agreement that the time was ripe for a Milwaukee school providing instruction in the primary branches of medicine and surgery. Soon afterward there was incorporated under the laws of the State an association with the following officers: President, Dr. N. Senn; secretary, Dr. Horace Manchester Brown; treasurer, Dr. William Mackie; directors, Doctors Senn and Brown, Dr. William Fox, Dr. James Dorland and Dr. A. B. Farnham. Rooms were secured and a course of lectures arranged to begin on about the 1st of March and continue for three months from that date. A list of the lecturers and their respective subjects has been preserved. It is as follows: Surgery, Dr. N. Senn; Surgical Anatomy, Dr. William Mackie; Descriptive Anatomy, Dr. H. M. Brown; Principles of Medicine, Dr. James Dorland; Obstetrics, Dr. Robert Herdegen; Gynecology, Dr. William Fox; Chemistry, Dr. A. B. Farnham; Physiology, Dr. John Bading; Materia Medica, Dr. Henry V. Ogden. Financial support which had been anticipated failed to materialize, and the promising project was abandoned.

Following a meeting held on the evening of December 21, 1891, at the office of Dr. Louis Frederick Frank, the establishment of a medical college in Milwaukee was again brought under serious consideration. Doctor Ladd was chosen to preside. On motion of Doctor Washburn, a committee was appointed by the chair to secure money for the enterprise, and on motion of Doctor

Puls another committee was deputed to consider the establishment of a dispensary. The members of the finance committee were Doctors Frank, Puls, Wuerdemann, Levings and Burgess; those of the committee on the dispensary were Doctors Wingate, Washburn and Boorse. Another committee, with Doctor Mackie as chairman and Doctors Wuerdemann and Bradley as his colleagues, was named to ascertain what facilities could be obtained in the hospitals. At a second meeting, held at Doctor Frank's office on the 11th of January, 1892, reports were received indicating that funds aggregating $3,500 had been guaranteed; that talk with the board of charities on the subject of the dispensary had resulted indefinitely; that Doctor Boorse, who had talked with county supervisors, believed they would abolish the office of county physician and help a dispensary; that St. Mary's Hospital would be willing to admit students in case the college should be established. The upshot of the matter was that while the project was welcomed in certain quarters, the financial encouragement available was deemed inadequate to warrant further proceedings.

Within three years from that time two medical colleges were functioning in Milwaukee—the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons and the Milwaukee Medical College and School of Dentistry. The first of these had been incorporated in May, 1893, and opened in October of that year, with the following faculty: Thomas P. Russell, M. D., Oshkosh, Emeritus Professor of Surgery; A. Hamilton Levings, M. D., President, Professor of Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; D. J. Hayes, M. D., Professor of Genito-urinary Surgery and Clinical Surgery; A. J. Burgess, M. D., Professor of Gynecology and Clinical Gynecologist; U. O. B. Wingate, M. D., Professor of Hygiene and State Medicine; W. H. Washburn, M. D., Vice President, Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Thomas Fitzgibbon, M. D., Professor of Gynecology and Clinical Gynecology; H. A. Albers, M. D., Secretary and Treasurer, Professor of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; John D. Scollard, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics; James A. Bach, M. D., Professor of Ophthalmology; H. V. Wuerdemann, M. D., Professor of Otology, Rhinology and Laryngology; L. F. Frank, M. D., Professor of Dermatology; Fred R. Weber, M. D., Professor of Pathological Anatomy and Bacteriology; J. H. Junge, M. D., Pro-

fessor of Anatomy and Histology; L. Boorse, M. D., Professor of Physiology; Stanton Allen, M. D., Professor of Orthopedic Surgery; Dwight Mereness, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; F. J. Tower, M. D., Professor of Chemistry; H. G. Berger, M. D., Professor of Diseases of Children; H. A. Sifton, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Demonstrator; John T. Kelly, LL. B., Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence; Gilbert Seaman, M. D., Lecturer on Mental and Nervous Diseases.

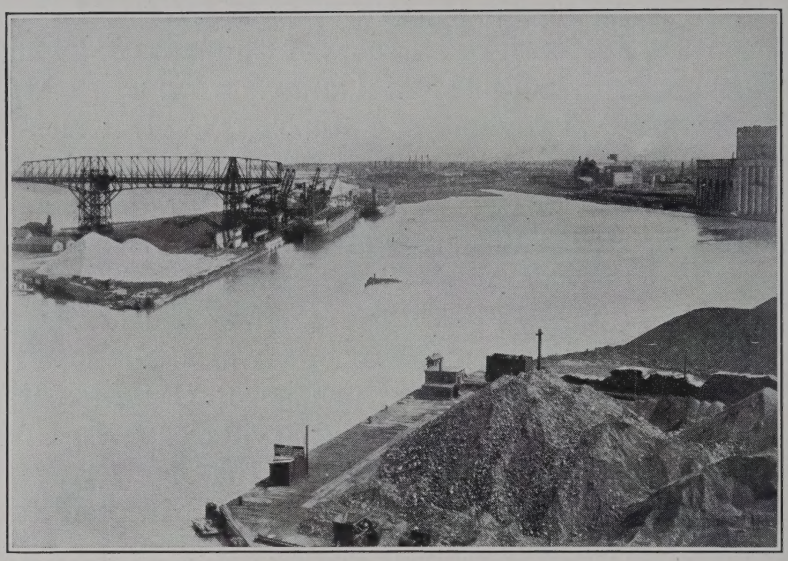
The first location of the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons was the corner of Walnut and Twenty-fifth streets. In 1898 it entered upon the occupation of a commodious structure designed especially with a view to its requirements, at the corner of Fourth Street and Reservoir Avenue. Started with a capital stock of $1,500, this was increased from time to time till it amounted to $100,000, all of which, in 1906, was surrendered by the holders to the college. A dental department was opened in 1899. Chemical, pathological and bacteriological laboratories were a gift to the college from Dr. Solon Marks. Soon after it opened, the institution became a member of the Association of American Medical Colleges. Its curriculum covered four years of study, regular examinations being required of each student preparatory to his passage from one year of the course to the next.

Incorporated in the fall of 1893, Milwaukee Medical College opened in January, 1894, with departments of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy, its location being a four-story structure adjoining the Trinity Hospital of that time, which, with the hospital was subjected to enlargement to meet the growing needs of a rapidly-growing student body. Two years later the old hospital was torn down to make way for a new building covering the entire lot. The capital stock of Milwaukee Medical College was $150,000. The faculty of the institution at its outset was as follows: William H. Earles, M. D., Dean, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; W. H. Neilson, M. D., President of Board of Directors, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; E. F. Fish, M. D., Professor of Gynecology; F. J. Cameron, M. D., Professor of Anatomy; B. A. Brown, B. D., M. D., C. M., Secretary, Professor of Ophthalmology and Otology; F. Shimonek, M. D., Professor of Gynecology and Clinical Gyne-

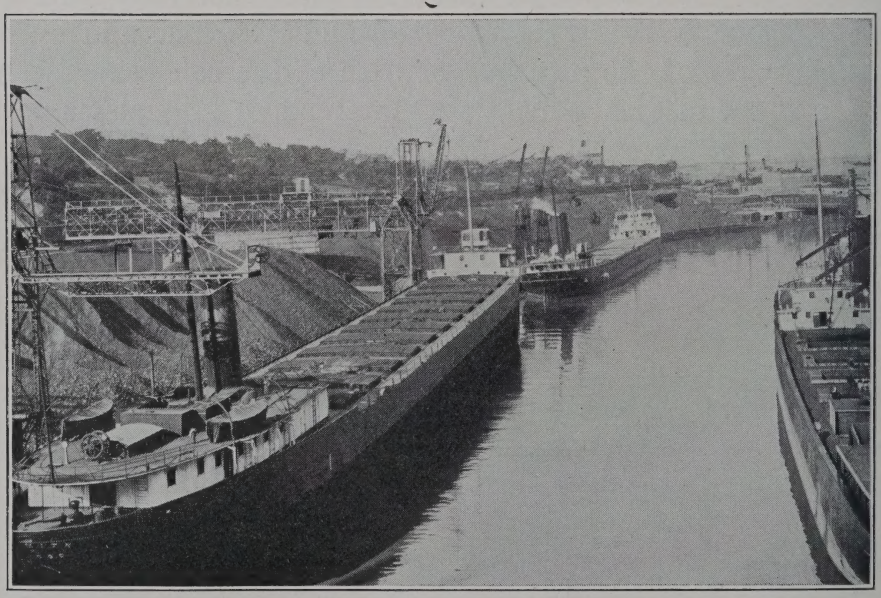
cology; T. A. Berwick, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics; William Sweemer, M. D., Professor of Diseases of Children; J. D. Kiernan, M. D., Chicago, Professor of Mental and Nervous Diseases; W. A. Evans, B. Sc., M. D., Professor of Pathology; C. H. Lemon, M. D., Professor of Orthopedic Surgery; G. B. Bjorkman, M. D., Professor of Physiology; A. Drexel, M. D., Professor of Dermatology; Warren B. Hill, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; B. G. Maercklein, M. D., D. D. S., Professor of Oral Surgery; A. S. Mitchell, Ph. C., Professor of Chemistry; Almon Clarke, M. D., Sheboygan, Professor of Physical Diagnosis; D. S. Rose, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence; O. M. Waterman, M. D., Professor of Rhinology and Laryngology; L. G. Nolte, M. D., Professor of Operative Surgery on the Cadaver.

Both institutions had earnest, capable men in their faculties and fine material in their student bodies. Both sent forth graduates admirably equipped, some of whom are leaders today in Milwaukee and elsewhere.

In 1906 Marquette College expanded into Marquette University, Milwaukee Medical College becoming affiliated with it in May of the following year. In 1913 the University took over the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons and by purchase outright of the property of both of the colleges effected a merger of the medical educational interests of Milwaukee.



KINNICKINNIC BASIN LOOKING SOUTH
Portion of the Jones' Island Area seen to the left



LAKE COAL CARRIER UNLOADING

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PRESS

A GLIMPSE OF NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER MEN CONSPICUOUS IN THE LIFE OF MILWAUKEE DURING THE CHANGING CONDITIONS OF ITS CENTURY OF EXISTENCE.

Milwaukee's first newspaper, begun on the 14th of July, 1836, was the *Advertiser*, published weekly by Daniel H. Richards, with encouragement from Byron Kilbourn. Its first editor was Hans Crocker, and valuable contributions to its contents were made by Mr. Kilbourn, I. A. Lapham and John H. Tweedy. Politically the *Advertiser* was an exponent of Andrew Jackson Democracy. Townsite development was the leading interest in Wisconsin, and most of the advertising patronage at the outset was derived from projectors of future cities in the region bordering on Lake Michigan. Kilbourn's interest lay on the west side of the Milwaukee River, and the office of the *Advertiser* was on that side of the stream. It was the third newspaper in Wisconsin. June 27, 1837, it began to have a rival, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, also issued weekly, which was published by John O'Rourke. Equipped with a press and type, Mr. O'Rourke had been induced to come out from New York State and try his fortunes in Milwaukee, financial responsibilities attending the venture in the beginning being assumed by Solomon Juneau. The *Sentinel's* office was located on the east side of the river.

In 1841 Mr. Richards sold his paper to Josiah A. Noonan, who changed its name to the *Courier* and was its responsible conductor for four years. Appointed to the postmastership, Mr. Noonan moved the establishment of the *Courier* to the east side of the river and engaged John A. Brown as its editor. In May, 1845, he sold it to William H. Sullivan, who retained the editorial services of Mr. Brown.

Meanwhile the *Sentinel* had undergone vicissitudes. Three months after his arrival, Mr. O'Rourke broke down and died of consumption, and Mr. Juneau gave the paper into charge of Harrison Reed, apparently with the understanding that he could have it if he could "make it go," Mr. Reed continuing in actual or nominal control till 1842. He was a Whig, and as soon as he warmed in his editorial seat the fact began to appear in what he wrote. Late in life he furnished a narrative of his experiences in which he observed:

"The paper was published on the then common credit system, and afforded but a meager subsistence. The office was located in the upper story of the small store building of Messrs. Pixley, on the river lot next above the warehouse of Mr. Juneau, on the corner of Wisconsin and Water streets. It was required to be removed from there because of the occasional necessity of night work, which disturbed the rest of the proprietors occupying below. It was then transferred to a little building at the northeast corner of Wisconsin and Water streets, over the jewelry store of Mr. Jones. Afterward it found a more commodious and permanent domicile over the saddle and harness shop of a Mr. Dewey, on the diagonally opposite corner, where I left it in 1842. The first two years of its publication were memorable in the history of pioneer life at Milwaukee. The inflation of 1836 had collapsed, and most of the population were left with limited supplies of cash or provisions for subsistence, and dependent on the East for both. It was during this period that the *Sentinel* met with the severest trials. Its income would not afford much hired force, and consequently I had to be editor, printer and purveyor, and was obliged to labor about eighteen of the twenty-four hours to meet daily necessities. Seeing the winter approaching, with short supplies and no money, I applied to the mercantile firm of Miller & Brown, who were about the first to open a general store on the East Side, and obtained a barrel of flour on credit at the current price of twelve dollars, to be paid in printing and advertising. This secured me and my family of mother and sister against want for the winter. In carrying out my contract for printing I was required to print an eight-sheet handbill, to do which I worked all night as type-setter, roller boy and pressman, while enduring the cursing of my landlord, whose rest in a room

below was so disturbed by the clatter of the press that I was compelled to vacate the premises."

Until 1840 the people of Wisconsin had not divided on party lines. That was a Presidential year. The Whigs, with young Reed doing what he could to help them, organized for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," making a respectable showing at the election while their party at large swept the country. In 1841 the *Sentinel* came out for Jonathan E. Arnold, Whig candidate for Congress. Mr. Reed's financial necessities had constrained him to borrow money, giving a chattel mortgage on his paper which found its way into the hands of H. N. Wells, prominent in the councils of the Democrats. At the height of the canvass Mr. Wells obtained control of the *Sentinel* by foreclosure proceedings and put Clinton Walworth in the editorial chair. Great was the discomfiture of the Whigs when the *Sentinel* suddenly switched its support from Arnold to Henry Dodge, the Democratic Congressional nominee, who carried the election. Subsequently Mr. Reed regained control of the *Sentinel*, but failed to command the confidence of the Whigs, and shortly afterward took his departure from the city. In the spring of 1842 the *Sentinel* went into the hands of Colonel Elisha Starr, who was backed financially by George M. Shipper. Colonel Starr carried on the *Sentinel* as a weekly and also issued a tri-weekly publication under the name of the *Commercial Herald*. In May, 1844, C. L. MacArthur became associated with him as editor. December 4 of that year was marked by the appearance of Milwaukee's first daily newspaper, the *Sentinel*, with David M. Keeler as manager and Mr. MacArthur as associate editor, the *Commercial Herald* continuing under the management of Colonel Starr. Keeler bought the *Sentinel* property outright, but must have found it heavy to hold, for on the 1st of March, 1845, he sold it to John S. Fillmore and Jason Downer, the latter figuring as editor from that time till the fall of the year, when he retired and was succeeded by General Rufus King.

In October, 1845, William Duane Wilson began the publication of the *Daily Gazette*, identical in political aims with the *Sentinel*. Milwaukee was not large enough for two Whig daily newspapers. After four months of struggle the *Sentinel* and the *Gazette* were consolidated. A few months later General Rufus

King purchased the interest of Mr. Wilson, subsequently disposing of a half-interest to W. J. A. Fuller.

Meanwhile the *Courier*, as a straight-out Democratic weekly, was holding its own, with Brown as editor and Sullivan as publisher. The enterprise of Keeler in the daily field provoked the publisher of the *Courier* to rivalry, and on the 19th of March, 1846, the *Courier* appeared as a morning daily. Under pressure of expenses the daily issue was suspended in July, the weekly coming out as usual. On Washington's Birthday, 1847, another effort was made, the *Courier* appearing as a daily published in the afternoon. Once more the financial burden became too great for Mr. Sullivan to sustain. On June 2, 1847, the *Courier* came out for the last time, with notification to its readers that its material and good-will had been disposed of to William E. Cramer and Joseph Curtis, who one week later began the publication of the *Daily* and the *Weekly Wisconsin.* Subsequently a tri-weekly was added to the Wisconsin's issues, which, excepting the tri-weekly, were prosperously maintained as long as Mr. Cramer lived and for many years thereafter.

The connection of General King with the *Sentinel* continued from the autumn of 1845 till the spring of 1861, during which time he was one of the most interesting and influential individualities in the life of the community. It has been truly said of him that when Milwaukee was in the making he helped to make it—that he served Milwaukee and Wisconsin faithfully and well with the high object of furthering the public good and with little heed to pecuniary reward. A graduate of West Point, in sympathetic contact with affairs and men, active physically and mentally, he made friends and inspired confidence at the outset of his career, maintaining the public's good opinion to the end. Indicative of his versatility it is enough to recall that besides being the editor of the *Sentinel*, he was an officer of the volunteer fire department, a favorite in social gatherings, a speaker at public dinners, a member of the School Board and for a time superintendent of schools, a delegate to the second Constitutional Convention, a regent of the State University, a president of the Milwaukee Musical Society, one of the organizers of the Milwaukee Light Guard and major-general of the State militia. He helped efficiently in the movement to provide Milwaukee with railroads.

In the proprietorship of the *Sentinel* William H. Watson and J. S. Fillmore became joint owners with General King in 1848, Watson disposing of his interest to King in 1856 and Fillmore in 1857. The panic of that year caught General King at a disadvantage, and he disposed of the paper to T. D. Jermain and Horace Brightman, who devoted themselves to the department of business management, retaining him as editor till he resigned to accept the appointment of minister to Rome which was offered to him by President Lincoln. This position he relinquished at the outbreak of the Civil war to take a command in the army.

Under Jermain & Brightman, probably for the first time in its history, the *Sentinel* made money. With part of their profits they erected the three-story building on Mason Street which housed it for many years. Following General King the editors in succession were C. Latham Sholes, Major J. M. Bundy, C. W. Willard and Hayden K. Smith. Jermain & Brightman became interested in a paper mill which turned out a losing venture, being wrecked by a boiler explosion in 1867. Mr. Jermain's health becoming unsettled, he sold his interests to Mr. Brightman and went into retirement at Adrian, Michigan. In 1870 Mr. Brightman disposed of the *Sentinel* to A. M. Thomson, Daniel Wilcox, W. G. Roberts and others, who organized under the name of the Milwaukee Publishing Company, the corporate name being changed to the *Sentinel* Company in 1872. From 1870 to 1874 A. M. Thomson was editor of the paper and president of the company. Senator Matt H. Carpenter had a controlling interest in the *Sentinel* at the time of the annual meeting in 1874, at which his law partner, N. S. Murphey, was elected president of the company, and Thomson summarily deposed. From that time on, for the space of nearly eight years, Mr. Murphey exercised control, the editors during this period being in turn A. C. Botkin, Dr. J. L. Kaine, Amos Wright and Theron W. Haight. Men who followed General King in the editorship of Milwaukee's great morning daily were accomplished writers, and its various departments were ably maintained. Without disparagement to others A. M. Thomson deserves mention as the most outstanding, Horace Rublee alone excepted. As president of the company while incumbent of the editorial chair, he had a free hand, and before attaining to that dignity and responsibility

he had enjoyed a large experience in affairs and a wide acquaintance with the public men of the State. In his later years Mr. Thomson found time to write an interesting and illuminating book on the political history of Wisconsin.

Sherman M. Booth's *Free Democrat* was a weekly until September 16, 1850, after which it added tri-weekly and daily editions, the daily coming out in the afternoon. From the outset it kept the community in constant excitement. The object of Booth, to which he sacrificed everything he possessed, was to bring about the abolition of negro slavery. He broke up the old Whig party in Wisconsin, brought about the demoralization of the Democratic party, and was a factor of no small consequence in the organization of the Republican party. With a genius for business as well as for incisive writing, he made his paper financially profitable at the start, but came to wreck by reason of the tangle of litigation following the Glover rescue in 1854. During the ensuing seven years he passed most of his time in court, in prison, or as a fugitive from officers of the law armed with warrants for his arrest. The *Free Democrat* passed into other hands, and after frequent changes of proprietorship was merged with the *Sentinel* in 1862.

The *Commercial Advertiser*, started in 1848 by Lucas Seaver, as an organ of the "old Hunker" Democrats, controlled sufficient political patronage to keep it precariously alive till 1852, when it was purchased by Daniel Shaw, who changed its name to the *News*, and two years later disposed of it to George W. Clason and C. F. Huntsman. In 1856 J. R. Sharpstein became its editor and proprietor. Sharpstein was an influential factor in the Democratic politics of the time. After figuring as postmaster and superintendent of schools he departed for California, where he enjoyed a long and prosperous career. In September, 1862, the *News* was bought by J. M. Lyon and George H. Paul, in whose hands it underwent a change of form which distinguished it from its contemporaries in the West, all of which were "blanket sheets," of four pages, whereas the *News* was brought out as a five-column quarto of eight pages—much more convenient to handle. This innovation was effected in 1863. The death of Mr. Lyon occurred in 1868. Under the management of Mr. Paul the *News* attained influence and prosperity. He was a man of high

scholarship, polish and executive ability and a zealous Democrat. He made his paper useful to the city and interesting to the general public. In 1871 he organized the Milwaukee News Company, with himself as president and Sylvanus Cadwallader as secretary, and about this time became secretary of the Milwaukee Cement Company. He was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee in 1872-73 when it elected its State ticket for the first time in sixteen years. He was superintendent of the Milwaukee public schools, a member of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners, State senator for two terms and member and president of the Board of Regents of the State University. After Mr. Paul's retirement from the *News* Dr. E. W. Magann was prominent in its control. In 1880 he sold it to James S. White, and toward the end of the same year Mr. White disposed of it to the syndicate which started the *Republican* and needed an Associated Press franchise.

The decade of the '70s was marked by numerous attempts to establish afternoon daily newspapers in Milwaukee, all of which came to grief, though one of them maintained under different managements a struggling existence for nearly six years. This was launched by Hamilton Wicks and W. J. Ryckman, under the name of the *Times*. In 1871 it was taken over by Henry A. Chittenden and W. H. Bishop, associated with whom was E. B. Northup. They changed the name to the *Commercial Times*, and sank some twenty thousand dollars contributed by Chittenden, who was backed by a rich uncle in New York. The *Commercial Times* was eminently readable as well as "newsy." Sometimes it was "sensational" to an extent which provoked protest. Advertising patronage was far from lavish in the era of depression following the panic of 1873. When Chittenden's uncle stopped sending remittances the *Commercial Times* went to the wall.

The first undertaking in Milwaukee to publish a newspaper at the price of a cent was made by E. R. Godfrey, with the *Daily Guide*, a small sheet containing no dispatches, little miscellaneous reading and only a modicum of local news baldly set forth in paragraphs. After the appearance of the *Commercial Times* the *Guide* flickered and went out, without attracting much attention. The first one-cent newspaper that succeeded was the *Daily News*, under the management of William H. Park and Melvin Hoyt, in

1889. Mr. Park's career as a publisher began in 1886, when he started a weekly, the *Labor Review*, devoted to the interests of workingmen belonging to the unions. After a year he issued the *Daily Review*, carrying on independently for two years and then entering into association with Mr. Hoyt, who assumed editorial functions, Mr. Park concentrating on the business management, and the name of the publication being changed to the *Daily News*. Bright and popular, the *News* made and kept for itself a place which it held till the end of the World war, when it was absorbed in a merger with the *Evening Wisconsin* and the morning *Free Press* to form the basis of the *Wisconsin News*. Mr. Park enjoys the distinction of being the only native Milwaukeean who has attained the proprietorship of a Milwaukee daily newspaper. He not only started the *Daily Review* and participated in the carrying on of the *News* for the best part of thirty years, but for several months in 1918 was in possession of the *Evening Wisconsin*, which he purchased in the spring of that year and sold in the fall to Arthur Brisbane, who subsequently disposed of it to W. R. Hearst, who is its present owner.

Among the foremost names which have been identified with the editorial profession in Milwaukee is that of Horace Rublee, though he had passed the middle years of life and made his reputation as a writer and a public man before he became a resident of this city. He was born at Berkshire, Vermont, on the 19th of August, 1829. On his father's side he was descended from Huguenots. His mother was a daughter of one of the first settlers of the Green Mountain State, a participant in the proceedings by which Vermonters declared their title to recognition as an independent colony. After spending his early years on a farm and obtaining the rudiments of education at a district school, he came to Wisconsin with his parents at the age of eleven and qualified himself for teaching. Then he entered the State University, from which he was matriculated with the class of 1849. Illness set him back for a time, but in the winter of 1852-53 he began his newspaper career as reporter of the proceedings of the Legislature for the *Wisconsin Argus*. The year 1854 found him writing editorials for the *Madison Journal*, of which after a short time he became one of the proprietors. He was in at the birth of the Republican party, participating in its first State con-

vention, which was held at Madison on the 13th of July, 1854, after being chosen as one of the secretaries. In 1856 and 1857 he held the office of State Librarian, and in 1859 was made chairman of the Wisconsin Republican State Central Committee, which position he held for the ensuing ten years. Mr. Rublee's editorial work went on in connection with his other duties till 1869. He had been a delegate to the national convention of 1868 which gave General Grant his first nomination for the Presidency. In 1869 General Grant selected him for the post of minister to Switzerland. Always a student, Mr. Rublee's scholarship ripened with the progress of the years. After his return from Europe he was chosen for his old position of chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Wisconsin, conducting a brilliant and successful campaign for honest money, and winning fresh prestige as a writer and a man of affairs. Toward the end of 1880 he became identified with an undertaking to establish a new morning newspaper in Milwaukee. This was the origin of the *Republican and News*, which purchased the Associated Press franchise of the old Democratic *Morning News* and put forth an ably-edited publication that attracted general attention without, however, commanding financial results satisfactory to those whose money was invested in its promotion. In the spring of 1882 the proprietors of the *News* obtained control of the *Sentinel*, effecting a consolidation, with Mr. Rublee in editorial charge. The name *Republican Sentinel* was used till the end of the year, after which that of the *Sentinel* was resumed, Mr. Rublee remaining at its head till his death in 1895. He was an able executive. He gathered about him a group of capable young men by whom he was admired and revered. Under his direction the newspaper was a pride to its owners without being also an expense. As a writer, Mr. Rublee never indulged in effusive praise. His style was incisive and polished. His judgments were sound. With a gift for satire, he never indulged it at the expense of good taste. Under his guidance the *Sentinel* was an interesting, reliable and influential newspaper, helpful as a rule to the Republican party, while keenly critical of those aspiring to be its leaders.

Having published and edited a daily newspaper in Milwaukee for only eighteen days less than fifty-eight years, William E. Cramer, born at Waterford, New York, October 29, 1817, died

on the 21st of May, 1905. At Union College he studied under the noted Professor Tayler Lewis, and was graduated in 1838, after which he read law and was admitted to the bar. Following an illness with scarlet fever, his sight and hearing became defective. He turned his back upon Coke and Blackstone, and decided upon a journalistic career.

When, in 1840, he first visited the scene of his life's labor, as the guest of his elder brother, who had settled here in 1837, the place contained only eighteen hundred inhabitants, and was too small to support a daily newspaper. He went back to his home in the East, equipped himself more fully for the enterprise upon which even then he had set his heart, and returned when Milwaukee had become a city of eleven or twelve thousand people, bringing out the first issue of the *Daily Wisconsin* on the 8th of June, 1847, and continuing in the harness till he died.

He held an influential place in the civic life of the community from the year after the incorporation of the city—the year before the admission of Wisconsin to the Union of States. Other newspapers sprang up and withered and disappeared. His newspaper remained and flourished. Other editors came and won friends and made enemies and moved away or died. Some had long careers of usefulness, but none so long as his.

The public sentiment he helped to make was wholesome, progressive and beneficial to Milwaukee. He believed in improvements, but hated extravagance. He wanted to keep the city's credit as good as the nation's. Mr. Cramer had grown up a Democrat—his father was a Presidential elector for Thomas Jefferson. But he sympathized with the Free Soil movement, and when Fremont was nominated, in 1856, the first Presidential candidate of the Republican party, he swung his newspaper into the Republican column, where he kept it to the day of his death. He was a leader in the liberal movement which gave property rights of women the protection of law. He was a pillar of the Union cause during the Civil war. He and one other editor, A. M. Thomson, then of Janesville, led the newspaper campaign which made Matt H. Carpenter a United States senator in 1869. He was an uncompromising advocate of sound finance, and a stalwart opponent of greenbackism, free silverism and asset currency. His ideal of journalism was that a newspaper should be a faithful

mirror of facts, and that its opinions should be unpurchasable, representing the personal convictions of the editor. His habit of alert investigation kept him in constant touch and sympathy with the people. He preserved a feeling heart as well as an understanding mind. He gave freely in charity. When he died his will was found to be replete with benefactions to his fellow citizens of every shade of religious belief.

Physical infirmities burdened but did not bow down Mr. Cramer's later years. He lost the precious gift of sight, and his hearing was impaired to a deplorable degree; but by constant exercise of the faculties he retained he not only preserved his usefulness in the community, but kept his whole nature sweet and sound. Industrious, cheerful, benevolent, public-spirited, mentally alert to the end of a long life, he furnished a bright example of the power of the intellectual and moral nature of man to rise superior to the shocks of fate. Here was a hero who fought the battle of life with a broken sword and came off victor!

In the fall of 1882, L. W. Nieman, who had obtained an insight into journalism beginning in the composing room, continuing as reporter, city editor and managing editor of the *Sentinel*, and even extending to the business department during an essay to place the *Dispatch* upon a paying footing in St. Paul, conceived the idea of embarking on his own account. While he was engaged in preliminaries to this undertaking, Peter V. Deuster and Michael Kraus began the publication of the *Journal*, an English afternoon daily designed to promote Mr. Deuster's campaign for re-election to Congress on the Democratic ticket. Mr. Deuster's interest in the fledgling enterprise was purchased by Mr. Nieman, who from that time to this has devoted his abilities and energies to making the *Journal* one of the best equipped and most profitable newspaper properties in America.

With Mr. Nieman as editor and Mr. Kraus as business manager, the *Journal* underwent gradual development till 1890, when organization on a stock company basis was effected, with L. W. Nieman as president, L. T. Boyd as secretary and J. W. Schaum as treasurer. The interim has witnessed innumerable changes of minor personnel, but Mr. Nieman has continued to retain the presidency of the company and direct the policy of the paper, at the head of whose opinion page is still retained the legend he

placed there in 1882, "An Independent Newspaper," the meaning of which seems to be that the *Journal* will be partisan when and as it chooses, but not when or as professional politicians may seek to dictate. Often it pursues a course provoking criticism from one or another element among its readers, but always keeps the public interested in what it has to say. It covers the whole field of news. A magazine as well as a newspaper, it provides a wide range of entertainment for patrons of every age and taste. One of its attractive specialties, the colored illustrations of local and general significance in its Sunday supplements, combines artistic taste with costly enterprise in a degree not exceeded by the achievements of ambitious publishers at the East.

One of the factors making newspaper property in Milwaukee heavy to hold in the era beginning with the new century was excessive competition created by the establishment of the daily *Free Press*, which in its essence was not a business enterprise but a publication projected and maintained regardless of expense for the promotion of political propaganda. Its originators were supporters of Robert M. La Follette, and its heavy cost was defrayed for many years out of the plethoric purse of Isaac Stephenson of Marinette, one of the wealthiest men in the State, who for a time stood ready to contribute lavishly to whatever would advance the interests of the La Follette faction of the Republican party in Wisconsin and thwart the plans of that energetic campaigner's opponents. When the *Free Press* was projected, Charles F. Pfister of Milwaukee was in negotiation for the purchase of the *Sentinel*, whose general course had been favorable to the La Follette contingent since Mr. La Follette's breach with Senator Sawyer and the conservatives in 1892. The purchase of the *Sentinel* by Mr. Pfister was practically contemporaneous with the setting up of the *Free Press*, in editorial charge of H. P. Myrick, who had been the managing editor of the *Sentinel* under the Rublee regime. Gradually the political understanding between La Follette and Stephenson came to an end. In 1914 the *Free Press* threw its support for the governorship to Emanuel L. Philipp, who was a conservative. Later it was sold to a syndicate of Milwaukeeans, who eventually disposed of it to Mr. Brisbane. While the *Free Press* continued to exist it was a disquieting element in the newspaper situation at Milwaukee from the stand-

point of people interested in newspapers as business investments, for the reason that the struggle for advertising engendered by its existence took bread from their mouths. Mr. Myrick and the members of his staff were adepts in the journalistic profession and made the *Free Press* attractive to their readers. It gained a large circulation in Milwaukee and had many enthusiastic patrons throughout the State, though its financial backers were put to enormous expense to maintain it. Meanwhile the *Sentinel*, so common report alleged, occasioned a heavy drain upon the resources of Mr. Pfister, who while continuing the morning edition, had supplemented this with an afternoon edition. A Sunday issue of the *Sentinel* had been undertaken in the spring of 1873 and abandoned in the fall of the same year because it failed to pay. It was resumed in 1879 and continues to the present time. Mr. Pfister was reported to have completed arrangements for the disposal of his controlling interest in the *Sentinel* at the time of his death, which occurred on the 17th of November, 1927. He had entrusted the *Sentinel* to the charge of Judge August C. Backus, who remained in control of its affairs till the completion of arrangements for its transfer to the new owners. The name of Paul Block, well-known in newspaper circles throughout the country, stands at the head of the *Sentinel's* editorial columns as president and publisher at the present time.

Beginning with the *Banner*, founded by Moritz Schoeffler in the fall of 1844, newspapers printed in the German language constituted for many years a phenomenal part of the journalistic output of Milwaukee. Politically the *Banner* was Democratic, and to offset its propaganda with that of the Whigs Messrs. Wilson and King of the *Sentinel* toward the close of 1847 induced Frederick Fratney to come out from New York and engage in the editorship of the *Volksfreund*, which, after initial assistance, secured an independent status that lasted until 1855. In 1850 the *Banner* had blossomed into a daily. In 1855 Fratney and Schoeffler joined forces, the *Banner und Volksfreund* entering upon an existence that continued till 1880, which was several years after both Schoeffler and Fratney had gone to their long rewards. Its successor, the *Freie Presse*, bearing the name of an afternoon paper which had been started by Richard Michaelis in 1878, became a morning issue, under the able editorship of Her-

man Sigel, and came out regularly for ten years, till the middle of June, 1890. Then it passed into the hands of Paul Bechtner, who altered its hour of publication and changed its name to the *Abendpost*, retaining Mr. Sigel as editor and installing a fast press and other modern equipment, but sinking money, and finally retiring from the field of journalism. The death of Herman Sigel occurred in 1894.

The *Seebote*, begun by a stock company in 1851, became the property of August Greulich, P. L. Rickert and N. Paul, the interest of Rickert and Paul being purchased by P. V. Deuster in 1856. For several years it was the leading Democratic paper in Wisconsin printed in the German language. Mr. Deuster was its editor and sole proprietor from 1860 to 1879, at which time Michael Kraus and Julius Muehle were admitted to partnership, under the firm name of P. V. Deuster & Company. When Mr. Kraus retired in 1882, Mr. Deuster's son, Dr. Oscar V. Deuster, became the managing editor, performing the duties of that responsible position with fine ability. In 1886 the *Seebote* changed its time of publication from the afternoon to the morning.

Bernhard Domschke, who had come to America with the German revolutionists of 1848 and to Milwaukee in 1854, was a brilliant writer, but innocent of the practical qualities demanded in a successful publisher. Till 1860, when he entered into association with William Werner Coleman his lot was "cast in shallows and in miseries." Together in that year they began the publication of the *Herold*, which was a success at the outset, but was sadly hampered when Domschke, together with the men from the composing room and the clerk in the counting room, enlisted to go to the war. Seriously crippled by this patriotic defection, the *Herold* reverted to the status of a weekly. When the war was over, and Domschke back in his editorial chair, the daily edition was resumed, Mr. Coleman organizing the German Printing Company to assist in its financing. His energetic management wrought wonders with respect to circulation and advertising. When Mr. Domschke died, in 1869, the editorship was entrusted to C. J. Palme. The paper acquired ownership in the Associated Press, and won great prestige for the efficiency of its news service during the Franco-Prussian war. By 1875 Mr. Coleman had purchased additional stock as opportunity offered, till he was

practically the sole proprietor. He changed the name of the corporation to the *Herold* Company and moved into one of the most comfortably equipped newspaper offices in the West. At his death in 1888 the *Herold* was a very valuable property. His sons, Edgar W., H. H. and H. A., together with his widow, carried on the publication with enterprise and profit for many years, finally joining forces with the Brumders, another family which had made the publishing of German newspapers a road to fortune.

Under the name of the German Protestant Printing Company, a group of Milwaukeeans brought out the *Germania* as a weekly in 1873 and soon thereafter started a daily issue, which entailed outlay that precipitated financial difficulties. George Brumder became the principal owner and changed the name of the corporation to the *Germania* Company, suspending the daily edition and concentrating his attention on the weekly till it commanded recognition as the leading German-language weekly in the United States. In effecting this consummation he was greatly aided by the distinguished ability of his leading editorial writer, George Koeppen. The daily edition was revived in 1891, at the height of the Bennett Law excitement, and this time met with easy success. After the sudden death of Mr. Koeppen he was succeeded by Ernst von Schleinitz, whose editorial capacity was of a high grade and was seconded by the competent and faithful lieutenancy of experienced journalists like Gustav Haas.

It was in the nature of things, and foreseen from the beginning, that conditions favoring the spectacular prosperity of foreign-language dailies in American cities would diminish with the progress of the years—that rising generations born of immigrant ancestry, as well as a large proportion of the immigrants themselves, would come to find the language of the country most convenient for the ordinary purposes of life, and to recognize in the wide range of reading matter printed in English provision for most of their literary needs. Of the German daily newspapers which have flourished in Milwaukee the *Herold* is conspicuous as a survivor.

The late Victor Berger, whose Socialistic propaganda for many years had been carried on chiefly with publications in the German language, made a significant shift when he brought out the *Leader* as an addition to Milwaukee's English afternoon

dailies. In addition to political discussion the *Leader* covers the field of State and local news and presents a variety of interesting miscellaneous matter for home reading.

Of Polish newspaper ventures, which have been many, few have yielded lasting results. A notable exception is the *Kuryer Polski.* Begun as a weekly in 1885, the *Kuryer* was raised to the rank of a prosperous daily by the genius and industry of Michael Kruszka. He died in 1919, but the *Kuryer* continues to hold its own.

SEAL ENCLOSURE, WASHINGTON PARK

CHAPTER XXXIV

HOW WOMEN HELPED

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PIONEERS—SOCIAL LIFE IN THE VILLAGE PERIOD AND THE EARLY DAYS OF CITYHOOD—ORGANIZED WORK OF CHARITY AND PATRIOTISM IN WHICH WOMEN TOOK THE LEAD.

Mrs. Elizabeth Martin, who came to Wisconsin in 1837 as the bride of Morgan L. Martin, living at Green Bay, but from time to time, as the settlement at this place developed in importance, making visits to Milwaukee, survived her distinguished husband for many years, dying in 1902. She is remembered as a woman of innate refinement and keen interest in people and affairs. Gifted with a comprehensive and accurate memory, and possessed of literary ability in an unusual degree, she devoted a part of the leisure of her later years to the writing of reminiscences of early Wisconsin. Here is an extract from a contribution which Mrs. Martin made to the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of December 5, 1897, recalling the family life of Solomon Juneau, with whom her husband was associated in the platting of Milwaukee:

"The courteous affability of Solomon Juneau, that grand pioneer, has never been excelled by any of the more pretentious citizens of later years in Wisconsin. Nor has any mother of boys and girls in Milwaukee ever possessed more refined, ladylike instincts, despite her lowly training, through childhood and youth, than Madame Juneau. As the writer remembers the group of children seated at social domestic table, or gathered about the ingleside of the modest home in Milwaukee, she can speak of it in that primitive day as a household of sweet accord, that affected every member of it, which in those cruder years was phenomenal. It constituted a model of wise, gentle, cheerful domestic ministration. If any member in after years roamed astray,

none could look backward to illbred manner or morose intercourse within the home fold as apology for derelict conduct."

In his pioneer history of Milwaukee, James S. Buck pays the following feeling tribute to the memory of one of the earliest of the women from the East who presided over a home in Milwaukee:

"Mrs. Sarah Childs died at Harper Hospital, Detroit, May 18, 1880. She came to Milwaukee with her husband, John Childs, July 6, 1835. She was among the first white women in Milwaukee, only Mrs. Enoch Chase, Mrs. Samuel Brown, Mrs. Paul Burdick and one or two more, having preceded her. Her first home was the log tavern which was the place of accommodation for travelers in Milwaukee. Many a poor wanderer's last hours were cheered by her gentle voice, while his dying pillow was smoothed by her hand. My first home in Milwaukee was her house, and no mother could be kinder than was she to me. She was of commanding presence. I well remember the old house on Hanover Street which was long her home. She was the mother of four children, two of whom died in infancy. Of those who grew to womanhood, Sophia married Captain Leander Waffle, and Angeline married Captain J. M. Jones. Both preceded their mother to the Better Land. Mr. Childs died in 1846." It may be remembered that Dr. Lucius I. Barber, on his arrival in Milwaukee, recognized Mr. and Mrs. Childs as his friends and former neighbors in Connecticut.

Mrs. Quartus Carley was the first white woman in Milwaukee, coming in the spring of 1834. A native of Paris, New York, she had attained the age of eighteen when at Brownwell, in that State, she married Mr. Carley and with him set off on quest of fortune in the West. They journeyed by way of Ohio, and became disenchanted with Chicago, where she remained while Mr. Carley departed with the Fowler party to look over the ground farther north. What he saw here must have been reassuring, and he brought his wife, secured work in the sawmill north of the future city, and remained for several months, eventually moving to the vicinity of Racine, and then to places in the interior.

Mrs. Enoch Chase came in May, 1835. She was credited with being the first white woman settler on the South Side. The steamer *United States*, arriving on June 17, of that year. brought

Mr. and Mrs. U. B. Smith and Joel Wilcox. Mrs. Smith became the mother of Harriet Milwaukee Smith, the first white child born in Milwaukee. Mrs. P. Balser traveled from Michigan City with her husband and his friend Holmes in an open boat drawn by a horse following the beach.

One of the women who arrived in 1835, and who lived in this city till her death on the 23d of October, 1896, is remembered as the mother of the first white boy born in Milwaukee. She was Lucy Durant Sivyer, the wife of William Sivyer, a building contractor, who had been at work in the erection of a hotel in Chicago, where he received word that Solomon Juneau desired him to come to Milwaukee and enter business as a building contractor. The Sivyers were English people and had been only a short time in the United States. So much was Mr. Sivyer interested in Juneau's proposal that he chartered a boat and came with his wife and an infant child to take advantage of the opportunity. The vessel grounded in the shallow water of the river at the place where Wisconsin Avenue bridge now stands, no landing being possible till Mr. Juneau and a number of Indians came to the rescue, making an improvised bridge of trees, which was pushed out to the boat, and over which the Sivyers scrambled into Milwaukee on the 27th of October, 1835. For a time they were guests at Juneau's log cabin. Then they went out to Oak Creek to spend the winter with friends from England, returning to Milwaukee in the spring, and taking possession of a little frame house which had been purchased by Mr. Sivyer and floated on the river from the neighborhood of the present Juneau Avenue to a location now covered by the building of the First Wisconsin National Bank. It was here that Charles Milwaukee Sivyer came into the world in the fall of 1836. Not long afterward the Sivyers moved to a lot on the west side of Jackson Street not far north of Mason Street, where in course of time Mr. Sivyer built one of the first brick houses in Milwaukee, and this was Mrs. Sivyer's home for the remainder of her life, which was devoted to the rearing of her family, giving her little leisure for participation in social and other matters outside of the home.

Like the New England Pilgrims, from whom many of them were directly descended, the majority of Milwaukee's early white settlers were indebted to their wives for assistance in the estab-

lishment of their new home. When circumstances favored preliminary expeditions by married men to view conditions in the frontier settlement before commitment to it, this precaution was observed, but wives were brought out as soon as provision could be made to secure roofs over their heads. Young men who had come West unmarried generally entered the estate of matrimony at the earliest opportunity, many of them making trips to the East for the purpose and bringing back conjugal partners with whom they had perfected an understanding before departing to seek their fortunes in the West. The immigrants from Europe who began arriving only a little later than the Americans came with their families as a rule. From the beginning, therefore, Milwaukee had the characteristic which often has caused it to be spoken of as superlatively "a city of homes." In this respect it was in striking contrast with many of the later settlements farther west, especially in mining regions, which were camps, peopled almost wholly by men. Bringing their wives with them, the pioneers of Milwaukee brought civilization at the start. Even before the departure of the Indians, the settlement was noteworthy for home comforts and for exemplary maintenance of order. There was society. Soon there came to be churches. Public schools were on a slender footing at first, but eventually they flourished, and there were good private schools even at the beginning. Long before the community as a political entity took upon itself the obligation of systematic provision for relief of the distressed, private initiative, in which women were actively concerned, set examples of efficiency in this direction that exerted a stimulating influence upon the policies of the State.

There was so much social life in the new town that ladies who had been accustomed to refined society in the East and had come to Milwaukee as brides did not grow homesick. The first large party ever held in Milwaukee was given by Mrs. Don A. J. Upham. A lady who was among the guests and who described it in later years said that she could not fix the date, but she remembered Alexander Mitchell was there, and it was before he was married. Mr. Mitchell was married in October, 1841. Among the other guests, besides the members of Milwaukee society of the time, she mentioned Lieutenant T. J. Cram, Lieutenant (afterward General) Joseph Webster, and other officers of the

United States Topographical Engineer Corps, who were in the city making a survey of the harbor. The survey in which these gentlemen participated was an event of 1836. Mr. and Mrs. Upham at that time lived in a one-story house on the north side of Wisconsin Street, not far from Jefferson Street. Wisconsin Street was a thoroughfare only two or three blocks long, and to get from Jefferson Street to the lake it was necessary to climb a path up a hill, descend into a ravine, and then toil up a bluff fifty feet in height, surmounted by a lighthouse, which overlooked the bay. Jefferson Street was opened for only a short distance to the north, and in the woods between the present site of the post office and the old courthouse there were Indian families living in wigwams and tepees. So closely did the new order press upon the old!

Writing in 1840 from Milwaukee to Dr. J. K. Bartlett, then of New Haven, Connecticut, but afterward a resident of this city, Charles J. Lynde observed: "We have a very interesting society of young people, more so than you will find at any place in the East three times the size of this. There are more educated, accomplished, refined and withal pretty young married ladies than I ever knew among the same number of young ladies." New York and New England contributed very largely to the peopling of early Milwaukee, and a fair proportion of the settlers was composed of men of fine education. The bar was one of the most distinguished in the West, and the other professions were represented by men of a superior type.

So much for the period of villagehood. Testimony survives regarding Milwaukee society at a somewhat later date, when the population had increased to an extent warranting incorporation under a municipal charter:

"The social life of Milwaukee when it became a city was almost ideal. The population at the start was composed exclusively of young people and necessarily of people of bright and active minds and natures, or they would not have 'gone West.' Many of them, especially the lawyers and doctors of that time, were young men, from New England and New York families, persons of fine education and much refinement and culture. With them sometimes, and sometimes later, came their wives and sisters to make their new homes, many hundred miles in distance

and weeks of time in travel, from their old homes. A large part of every year they were almost as completely cut off from the world they had left, as the traveler to the North pole. Naturally they came together. They all depended on one another. Their ways of life were of necessity simple. They lived in small houses. Their domestic surroundings, though often tasteful and attractive, were not expensive. But in these simple homes of the early days there was a real society of the best kind and no one who enjoyed the days in the 'forties in Milwaukee will ever forget their cheer and good fellowship."

Mrs. Martha Mitchell, whose maiden name was Reed, came with her parents and brothers from their early home in Maine in 1836. One of the brothers was Harrison Reed, who succeeded John O'Rourke as the editor of the *Sentinel*. Her marriage to Mr. Mitchell occurred in 1841. It used to be said that Mr. Mitchell's attention was attracted to Miss Reed soon after his arrival in Milwaukee in 1839, by the striking figure which she presented on horseback, for she was a skilled and graceful rider. Her position as the wife of Mr. Mitchell, as well as her mental alertness and engaging manners, made her from the first a prominent figure in Milwaukee's social life. Very early she became interested in charities. Patriotic movements always enlisted her support. In 1858 she was elected vice-regent of the Wisconsin branch of the Mount Vernon Association, holding that office till her death. Many charities in Florida received generous aid from her purse, among them St. Luke's Hospital at Jacksonville, of which she was the leading benefactor. She was prominent as a patron of art, and was concerned in more than one of the early undertakings to stimulate intelligent appreciation of art in Milwaukee. Mrs. Mitchell lived to the age of eighty-four, and died at her Florida residence on the 14th of February, 1902.

Mrs. Susan Judith Brown, widow of William Brown, Jr., who died at her home, 500 Van Buren Street, August 9, 1897, at the age of eighty-six, was the sister of Daniel Wells, Jr., C. K. Wells and William Wells and mother of Mrs. Edward Ferguson. She was the widow of William Brown, whom she married here in October, 1839. Born at Waterville, Maine, October 17, 1810, she left Bloomfield in that State June 1, 1837, and came to live with her brother, Daniel Wells, Jr., who at that time occupied a large

frame house at the southwest corner of Main (now Broadway) and Wisconsin Street. On her journey by lake so many storms were encountered that the vessel was obliged to put into nearly every harbor between Buffalo and Chicago. Arriving off Milwaukee, the captain decided that landing his passengers would be hazardous on account of the rough weather, and pushed on to Chicago, whence Miss Wells and her fellow travelers were obliged to make their way from that place to Milwaukee overland. Mr. Brown, who died in 1862, was one of the early merchants of Milwaukee.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Pierce, who died in Milwaukee, February 8, 1901, came here with her father, Paul Burdick, May 10, 1835, when she was eight years old. He had built a frame house, claimed to be the first in Milwaukee, at Second and Cherry streets the year before. Mrs. Pierce attended the school kept by David Worthington on East Water Street, near the corner of Wisconsin Street, in 1836 and also the first Presbyterian Church in the city, where Martha Reed, afterward Mrs. Alexander Mitchell, was her Sunday school teacher. In June, 1846, she married Robert W. Pierce, who survived her, as did several children.

Mrs. Mary Hollister came to Milwaukee in June, 1836, and at once took a prominent part as a willing worker in every movement likely to exert a healthy influence upon the morals of the embryo city. The financial standing of Mr. Hollister at that time gave her not only abundant means for charity but position and influence in society. She was possessed of a strong will and sound judgment. She returned to the East in 1839, and did not revisit Milwaukee till 1869. The death of Mr. Hollister in California in 1859 left her with a young and helpless family to provide for, and no resources, Mr. Hollister's fortune having been swept away, but she brought up her children to be honored members of society. She left four children, including her son Junius S. Hollister, with whom her last years were spent in Milwaukee. While absent from home on a visit she died at Parsons, Kansas.

Mrs. Laura A. Hustis, who came to Milwaukee in 1839 as the bride of John Hustis, was a daughter of Lewis Ludington. James Ludington was her brother. To the then far western settlement on the verge of the wilderness she brought with her from New York manners and culture that had graced the most refined

assemblages of the East. She cheerfully accepted the conditions of her new environment. Her first home in the budding city was on Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth. Half a block to the east was the marsh, bounded on one side by the river and extending southward from Chestnut Street to Spring Street. Tamaracks and cedars stood in water from two to six feet in depth. Every year there was a bounteous crop of wild rice, with Indians at hand to gather it. Yet, as attested by Charles J. Lynde in the letter referred to above, there was refined society. Mrs. Hustis, one of the most brilliant of the set, was among the last to survive, living to the age of eighty-six and passing away on the 27th of December, 1900. She possessed a decided and individual character, and her reminiscences were vivid and entertaining.

Mrs. William Pitt Lynde and her sister, Mrs. John Nazro, were social leaders in Milwaukee for many years. They were daughters of Dr. Azariah Blanchard, of Tuxton, New York, who, on their account, made this city his home in his later years. Mrs. Lynde was the first of the sisters to come to Milwaukee. Immediately after the ceremony which united the fortunes of Mr. and Mrs. Lynde they journeyed by carriage to Syracuse, where they took passage on the Erie canal to Buffalo, coming then on the steamer *Wisconsin* to this city. This was in 1841. On their arrival they were entertained at the residence of Mr. Lynde's brother, Charles J. Lynde, corner of Mason and Jackson streets, which at that time was the edge of the settlement. Mrs. Lynde was fond of relating her experiences as an early settler. The first time she attended church, the officiating minister and many of the members of his congregation were obliged to cross the river on a scow to reach the meeting-house, which was on the west side of the Milwaukee River. Three weeks after her arrival, Charles J. Lynde, with his wife and a younger brother, Watts Lynde, went East. The steamer on which they embarked at Buffalo on their return trip was burned shortly after leaving its dock, and both the young men lost their lives. Prior to her marriage Mrs. Lynde, then Miss Mary E. Blanchard, was graduated from the Albany Female Academy, where she received the first prize for composition, her essay being read before the faculty by William H. Seward, afterward governor of New York and Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Lincoln. Mrs. Lynde was one

of the founders of the Protestant Orphan Asylum and of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, and was active in furthering the interests of education. For many years she was a member of the Social Science Association of the United States. Governor Fairchild appointed her a member of the first board of directors of State charitable institutions, and she fulfilled the duties of the position for four years. In 1886 she was appointed a member of the Visiting Board of the State University of Wisconsin. Mrs. Lynde died on the 26th of June, 1897.

When Mrs. Eliza Minerva Ely, widow of Ambrose Ely, died at Kilbourn City, September 25, 1891, her remains were brought to Milwaukee for interment at Forest Home Cemetery beside those of her husband. Mr. and Mrs. Ely, with their two children, came to Milwaukee in the spring of 1840, making the journey in an emigrant wagon. Mrs. Ely spent her life in doing good. She lived until most of the members of the generation which knew her most intimately had preceded her to the tomb. For years her home was one of the centers of social life in the city. During the Civil war she was active in work for the soldiers and served as a member of the board of directresses of the organization that originated the Milwaukee Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Veterans, the president of the organization being her daughter, Mrs. Lydia Ely. From the time of her arrival in the city till within three years before her death Mrs. Ely's home had been in Milwaukee. In 1888 she had gone to Kilbourn to reside with a married daughter.

Mrs. Charles Schley, who died February 21, 1904, at the age of seventy-two, had long presided over one of Milwaukee's homes noted for free-hearted hospitality. The Schleys, who established their residence in this city immediately following their marriage in 1849, were members of noted Maryland families. Mrs. Schley's brother was General Bradley T. Johnson, prominent at the bar and in politics, who served in the Confederate Army and became the author of several books of merit, including a life of Washington. One of Mr. Schley's cousins was Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, who won distinction in the war with Spain. Besides writting well in prose and verse, Mrs. Schley read widely and was a mistress of the now neglected art of conversation. Never affecting great entertainments, she kept her parlor and her dining

room open to her friends, and presided with cordiality, simplicity and grace. A notable event of her life was her conversion to the Catholic faith. Upon the occasion of the last visit of Cardinal Gibbons to Milwaukee a luncheon in his honor was given by Mrs. Schley.

Mrs. James Sidney Peck died July 18, 1909. She was born at Hartland, Vermont, February 17, 1838, and at the age of three was brought with her father's family to Palmyra, Wisconsin. Her father was Henry W. Hayes. She was educated at Milwaukee Female College, from which she was graduated in 1856. June 29, 1870, she married James Sidney Peck, a prominent business man of Milwaukee. She was active in church, educational, charitable, social and patriotic work for many years, one of her favorite charities being the Mission Band and another the society known as Charities and Corrections, which led to the establishment of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls. She was a charter member of the Woman's Club of Wisconsin, of the Atheneum Association, of the Art and Science Class and of the College Endowment Association, and one of the organizers of the Milwaukee Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution as well as regent of the State society for ten years. She was a charter member of the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Wisconsin. She helped to organize the Society of Mayflower Descendants, and was its governor. She organized the Milwaukee Branch of the Consumers' League. Mrs. Peck was the author of an interesting book, "Travels in the Far East."

Mrs. Hannah R. Vedder, who died March 4, 1910, came with her parents to Milwaukee from Utica, New York, in 1849. She was a sister of J. Franklin Peirce. From 1852 till the end of her life she resided in the old Peirce homestead on Tenth Street. In 1860 she was married to A. H. Vedder, who died in 1869. She was a graduate of the Milwaukee Female College. She took an active part in soldiers' relief work during the Civil war and was one of the leaders in the Soldiers' Home Fair. Later she assisted in the founding of the Industrial School for Girls, and at one time served as president of the Ladies' Art and Science Class. In 1892, as president of the Milwaukee College Endowment Association, she raised the membership from a small number to 700.

Mrs. Vedder belonged to the Daughters of 1812 and the Woman's Club of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Papendiek died May 18, 1910, at her home in the Martin apartments on Wisconsin Street. Though for many years ill health had compelled her to lead a very quiet life, she had participated in charitable work in an unostentatious way and exercised a generous hospitality. Mrs. Papendiek was a member of one of Milwaukee's oldest and most distinguished families, her father, Asahel Finch being one of the founders of the law firm of Finch & Lynde, established in 1842, later Finches, Lynde & Miller, which continues in existence under the style of Miller, Mack & Fairchild. Her mother, whose maiden name was Mary DeForest Bristol, was a direct descendant of Governor Stephen Goodyear of the New Haven Colony and of the old De-Forest family of New York. Born at Adrian, Michigan in 1832, the future Mrs. Papendiek came to Milwaukee with her parents in 1839. Her earlier religious life was connected with Plymouth Church, of which her father was a deacon. For the twenty-five years immediately preceding her death she had been identified with St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and the beautiful reredos in that edifice was a gift from her in memory of her father. She also gave the church the rose window in its tower. Mrs. Papendiek was high-spirited, sensitive, delicate, a talented musician, a bright intellect, a beautiful woman, for many years a notable factor in the social life of Milwaukee. She had survived nearly all of the generation to which she belonged. Milwaukee Hospital occupies a part of the tract of twenty acres that once comprised the grounds of the Finch home on State Street. Later Finch homes were on the west side of Milwaukee Street, at what was Division Street, now East Juneau Avenue, and on the east side of Cass Street at Ogden Avenue. She had participated in the life of Milwaukee from its village period till its development into a modern metropolis.

Mrs. Elizabeth Hayman Layton, wife of Frederick Layton, died June 2, 1910. She was a daughter of Joel Hayman, and Mary, his wife, who came to Milwaukee in 1836, from Devonshire, England, settling at Oak Creek, where she was married to Mr. Layton in 1851. She was eighty-one years old when she died. She was an invalid for many years, but participated in her

husband's generous gifts, the Hospital for Incurables, for instance, enlisting her sympathy and eliciting suggestions from her which led to the generous provision for its establishment and endowment.

Mrs. Electa Fay Cramer, widow of Eliphalet Cramer and mother of John F. Cramer and other children, came to Milwaukee on her marriage in 1838 and resided here continuously till 1890, when she went to Chicago to reside with her son Frank. She died August 10, 1910, in the ninety-second year of her age. Mrs. Cramer was identified with the church and social life of Milwaukee, and for years was one of the group who carried the burden of financing the Protestant Orphan Asylum.

Mrs. Waity Arnold Blanchard, widow of Danforth Willard Blanchard, who came to Milwaukee in 1856, was a native of Uxbridge, Massachusetts. On the 2d of October, 1910, she celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of her birth, and died on the 23d of the following month, at the home of Mrs. J. H. Booth. Mrs. Blanchard was a cultivated and beautiful woman. For many years prior to her death she had been the oldest member of the Grand Avenue Congregational Church.

What has been hastily presented must not be mistaken for an attempt at formal listing of the worthy and brilliant women who laid the foundations of social life in Milwaukee. A few out of many have been cursorily recalled as in important ways representative, which is all that limitations of space and time permit.

A gathering notable in the history of the city, arranged by James S. Buck of the Pioneer Association and M. A. Boardman of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee, took place on the 22d of August, 1889. The place of meeting was the residence of Mr. Boardman, 1530 Grand Avenue. Those in attendance were women residents of Milwaukee whose identification with the locality antedated the period of cityhood. Thirty to whom invitations had been sent were unable, for various reasons to attend, these being Mrs. M. L. Skinner, Mrs. L. H. Lane, Mrs. J. L. Bean, Mrs. Jesse S. Hewitt, Mrs. Frederick Wardner, Mrs. L. J. Higby, Mrs. Joshua Hathaway, Mrs. Cyrus Hawley, Mrs. Henry Williams, Mrs. Hans Crocker, Mrs. Josiah A. Noonan, Mrs. Clinton Walworth, Mrs. W. H. Metcalf, Mrs. G. D. Norris, Mrs. E. P. Allis, Mrs. Joseph Sivyer, Mrs. William Sivyer, Mrs. William

PIONEER WOMEN OF MILWAUKEE

The Picture, which was taken on the 22d of August, 1889, shows all who were in attendance at a gathering given for survivors of the Milwaukee women whose arrival antedated the chartering of the city in January, 1846, their names, from left to right being: Top row—Mrs. Enoch Chase, Mrs. J. C. Coleman; Second row—Mrs. F. Y. Horning, Miss Bashua Cornwall, Mrs. D. D. Sibley, Mrs. L. Ransom, Mrs. Noah Prevo, Mrs. Joseph Williams; Third row—Mrs. E. D. Holton, Mrs. I. P. Tichenor, Mrs. Hiram F. Story, Mrs. E. C. Jennings, Mrs. W. P. Merrill, Mrs. M. Souther, Mrs. R. W. Pierce, Mrs. James Holton; Bottom row—Mrs. Mary Sheldon, Mrs. Reuben Strong, Mrs. A. D. Seaman, Mrs. John Ogden, Mrs. Philander Kane, Mrs. Joel Wilcox, Mrs. James S. Buck, Miss Elizabeth Trowbridge and Mrs. James Murray.

Pitt Lynde, Mrs. John Hustis, Mrs. Matthew Keenan, Mrs. A. O. T. Breed, Mrs. Garret Vliet, Mrs. D. H. Richards, Mrs. R. D. Jennings, Mrs. David Ferguson, Mrs. Chauncey Simonds, Mrs. Daniel Schultz, Mrs. George Abert, Mrs. John H. Tweedy, Mrs. Theodore Terhune. Those in attendance were as follows, each name being accompanied by the date of its possessor's arrival in Milwaukee:

Mrs. R. W. Pierce, May, 1835; Mrs. Joel Wilcox, July, 1835; Mrs. D. D. Sibley, June, 1836; Mrs. Noah Prevo, June, 1836; Mrs. W. P. Merrill, June, 1836; Mrs. Joseph Williams, June, 1836; Mrs. I. P. Tichenor, August, 1836; Mrs. John Ogden, September, 1836; Mrs. Reuben Strong, November, 1836; Mrs. Enoch Chase, March, 1837; Mrs. L. Ransom, June, 1837; Mrs. C. W. Schmitz, June, 1837; Miss Elizabeth Trowbridge, June, 1837; Mrs. M. Souther, June, 1837; Mrs. James S. Buck, September, 1837; Mrs. James Murray, June, 1838; Mrs. Mary Sheldon, September, 1838; Miss Bashua Cornwall, October, 1838; Mrs. H. G. Story, July, 1839; Mrs. F. Y. Horning, May, 1841; Mrs. James Holton, June, 1841; Mrs. Philander Kane, April, 1842; Mrs. E. C. Jennings, May, 1843; Mrs. J. C. Coleman, May, 1844; Mrs. Edward D. Holton, September, 1845; Mrs. A. D. Seaman, November, 1846.

The occasion was quite informal and wholly delightful. A photograph of the interesting group is one of the treasured possessions of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County.

From the time when Mrs. Juneau sat up all night to guard white settlers against the threatened vengeance of the Pottawatomies, Milwaukee women always have been alert to recognize and improve opportunities for public service. Their initiative and their helpful work contributed to the building of the churches and the schools. They ministered to the ill and unfortunate before there were hospitals and official provisions for relief of the poor. Orphan asylums and other institutions of charity owed their rise largely to the tender hearts and thoughtful, practical minds of the women of Milwaukee.

Mrs. William Pitt Lynde presided at a meeting held on October 30, 1847, which resulted in the formation of a society to help the destitute. It was officered by Mrs. G. P. Hewitt, president; Mrs. M. B. Taylor, vice president, and Mrs. Eliphalet

Cramer, treasurer. The immediate incentive for the meeting was a season of depression in business which had thrown great numbers out of work. The city was districted and visitors were appointed for each district. Work was found for many, and subscriptions were made to purchase necessaries for distribution. In June, 1848, the society received a gift of one hundred dollars from the custodians of the Irish Relief Fund, Gen. Rufus King, John White, and R. Murphy. The officers of the Ladies' Benevolent Society in 1849 were: President, Mrs. A. D. Smith; vice president, Mrs. William Pitt Lynde; treasurer, Mrs. J. H. Tweedy. At the annual meeting of 1850 the secretary reported a grant from the city of $500 for the foundation of an asylum for orphans. Separate establishments eventuated, one conducted by the Protestants in a small rented house on Van Buren Street; the other, under the direction of Bishop Henni. Thus originated two institutions still existing, the Protestant Orphan Asylum and St. Rose's Orphan Asylum. The first officers of the board which managed the Protestant Orphan Asylum were Mrs. G. P. Hewitt, president; Mrs. Elisha Eldred, vice president, and Mrs. Benjamin McVickar, treasurer. Other presidents in succeeding years were Mrs. Clarence Shepard, Mrs. William E. Smith, Mrs. J. H. Van Dyke, Mrs. J. C. Coleman and Mrs. Charles G. Stark. The treasurer for many years was Mrs. James G. Jenkins. In 1851 Mrs. William P. Young gave the Protestant Orphan Asylum a lot on Marshall Street, upon which a building was erected in 1853. This was sold later and the institution removed to a location on the lake front at the head of Division Street, where it remained till 1873, when the city gave the five acres of land on North Avenue, which form the site of the present commodious and sightly home of the Protestant Orphans.

Nobly planned and ably executed was the programme of Milwaukee women during the Civil war. Patriotic as the armies in the field, they worked for the Union by providing for the sustenance and comfort of men who were fighting to save the Union. Supplies of every description were forwarded to the camps. Army hospitals were objects of especial care. Regiments passing through the city were entertained on their way to the front, and also, after the struggle, when returning to their homes.

The first soldiers' aid society organized in Milwaukee was the Ladies' Association for the Aid of Military Hospitals, which was the outcome of a meeting held on the 17th of October, 1861. Its first officers were: Mrs. G. P. Hewitt, directress; Mrs. M. A. Jackson, recording secretary; Mrs. Joseph S. Colt, corresponding secretary; Mrs. John Nazro, treasurer. That its membership comprised residents in all the divisions of the city is indicated by the fact that its managers were Mrs. Button for the First Ward; Mrs. Delafield for the Second Ward; Mrs. Dyson for the Third Ward; Mrs. James Holton for the Fourth Ward; Mrs. Larkin for the Fifth and Eighth Wards, and Mrs. Cicero Comstock for the Ninth Ward. Mrs. W. DeLoss Love, Mrs. M. Finch, Mrs. John A. Dutcher, Mrs. Delafield, Mrs. E. Boardman, Mrs. Anthony Green, Mrs. Charles F. Ilsley, Mrs. Levi Hubbell, Mrs. T. W. Goodrich, Mrs. John Nazro, Mrs. Ody, Mrs. George H. Walker and Miss Langdon were constituted a soliciting committee. The Association's place of meeting was the schoolroom of Messrs. Shepard & Kursteiner, in the basement of Summerfield Church, on Van Buren Street.

A few days later another organization, devoted to similar objects, was organized on the South Side, under the name of the Fifth and Eighth Wards Relief Association. Its secretary was Mrs. L. Hendee.

Both societies worked energetically, collecting various supplies of food and delicacies such as would minister to the needs of sick and wounded soldiers, and forwarding them to hospitals in St. Louis. On the 29th of November, the Rev. Robert Collyer, then of Chicago, delivered a lecture at Plymouth Church, the proceeds of which were given to the society whose meeting place was on the East Side. In December the latter formed an auxiliary organization, whose function was to supply the soldiers with mittens, thousands of pairs of which were dispatched to the men at the front during the course of the winter.

By the beginning of 1862, under the leadership of the two societies, the women of Milwaukee were very generally enlisted in the work of making and forwarding comforts to the soldiers, those in the camps as well as those in the hospitals. Moreover, similar organizations of women had been effected at points throughout the State, and were sending consignment after con-

signment to Milwaukee, whence they were forwarded to the quarters of the Sanitary Commission at Chicago and St. Louis, hospitals at Louisville, Wisconsin regiments on the Potomac and at Pittsburg Landing. There were also distributions at Milwaukee to men in regiments leaving for the front. The work of packing and shipping all the supplies was performed as a labor of love by John Nazro. In June, 1862, a large box of hospital supplies was sent to Madison, in charge of the wife of Governor Salomon, who herself attended to the work of distributing its contents to stricken soldiers.

As time went on innumerable auxiliary societies sprang up in connection with churches, schools and miscellaneous groups, enlisting support from every element in the community, notable among them being the West Side Soldiers' Aid Society, whose officers at the outset were: President, Mrs. Alexander Mitchell; vice presidents, Mrs. Gideon P. Hewitt, Jr. (afterward Mrs. Lydia Ely), Mrs. E. L. Buttrick; secretary, Mrs. A. J. Aikens; treasurer, Mrs. D. A. Olin; managers, Mrs. S. T. Hooker, Mrs. Byron Kilbourn, Mrs. P. R. Isham, Mrs. Vedder, Mrs. Messer, Miss Phelps, Mrs. James Holton, Mrs. Battell, Mrs. Charles Bigelow, Mrs. John Ogden, Mrs. McCombs, Miss Hooker, Miss Battell. The promenade festival held by this organization in Birchard's Hall, in February, 1863, was a brilliant social affair, with tableaux by the West Side Turners and music by Christian Bach's Orchestra. This was the group of efficient workers which toward the close of the war reorganized as the Soldiers' Home Association, whose independent activities formed a glorious addition to the labors performed in behalf of Union soldiers by the women of Milwaukee.

Meanwhile the East Side organization continued its career of patriotic usefulness, not only collecting and dispensing supplies through agencies with which it had worked from the start, but sending Mrs. Colt, its corresponding secretary, on expeditions to the front, for the purpose of making personal examination of conditions and thus discovering the channels in which relief work could be directed for the attainment of the greatest good. In company with Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and Mrs. Hodge of Chicago, she made an extended tour of inspection in the spring of 1863 among the hospitals along the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi

rivers, obtaining practical information of the utmost consequence to workers for the sanitary relief of the men in the Union armies, thousands of whom were found to be suffering from the ravages of scurvy and other scorbutic diseases consequent upon the lack of fresh vegetable food. Then it was realized that potatoes, radishes, onions, and pickles would be as welcome as mittens to the fighting men at a distance from their homes. From soldiers' friends on farms throughout Wisconsin came liberal consignments of what was needed, and these were promptly forwarded to the hospitals and the camps. Mortality in the hospitals decreased. "I went to Franklin on Saturday," said the writer of a letter of grateful acknowledgment addressed to Mrs. Holt; "at that place there are eight thousand men, and Doctor Perrine, the medical director, says the potatoes supplied by our Sanitary Commission have saved eight hundred of them. In view of reiterated assurances of this kind, I ask every farmer in the State to send cabbages, onions and potatoes for the soldiers." The German Soldiers' Aid Society made large collections which it turned over for distribution to the East Side organization. In September, 1863, the latter changed its name to the Wisconsin Soldiers' Aid Society, and became a branch of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission. Following are the well-known and honored names that were on the list of officers of the Wisconsin Soldiers' Aid Society for 1864: President, Mrs. C. A. Keller; vice presidents, Mrs. Alexander Mitchell, Mrs. Delafield, Mrs. F. G. McClure; secretaries, Mrs. William Jackson (recording), Mrs. Joseph S. Colt (corresponding), Mrs. F. Ogden (assistant); treasurer, Mrs. John Nazro; managers, Mrs. W. DeLoss Love, Mrs. Levi Hubbell, Mrs. George H. Walker, Mrs. Staples, Mrs. W. Sanderson, Mrs. McVickar, Mrs. Ashley, Mrs. A. F. Clark, Mrs. Ody, Mrs. S. H. Martin, Mrs. Ingraham, Mrs. Castleman, Mrs. A. Greene, Mrs. Aikens, Mrs. Kelley, Mrs. French, Mrs. R. D. Jennings, Mrs. M. Finch, Mrs. Charles Caine, Mrs. W. L. Hinsdale, Mrs. T. M. Gwynn, Mrs. D. Keene, Mrs. J. Inbusch, Mrs. R. N. Austin, Mrs. Price, Mrs. D. P. Hull, Miss Mygatt.

Toward the end of the conflict Milwaukee women conceived the idea of adequate provision for ill and disabled veterans incapacitated for resuming the industrial occupations they had relinquished at the nation's call. This led to the establishment of

National Soldiers' Homes, and money raised by means of the Soldiers' Home Fair—an enterprise planned and largely conducted by women—secured the building of one of the first of these homes in the environs of Milwaukee.

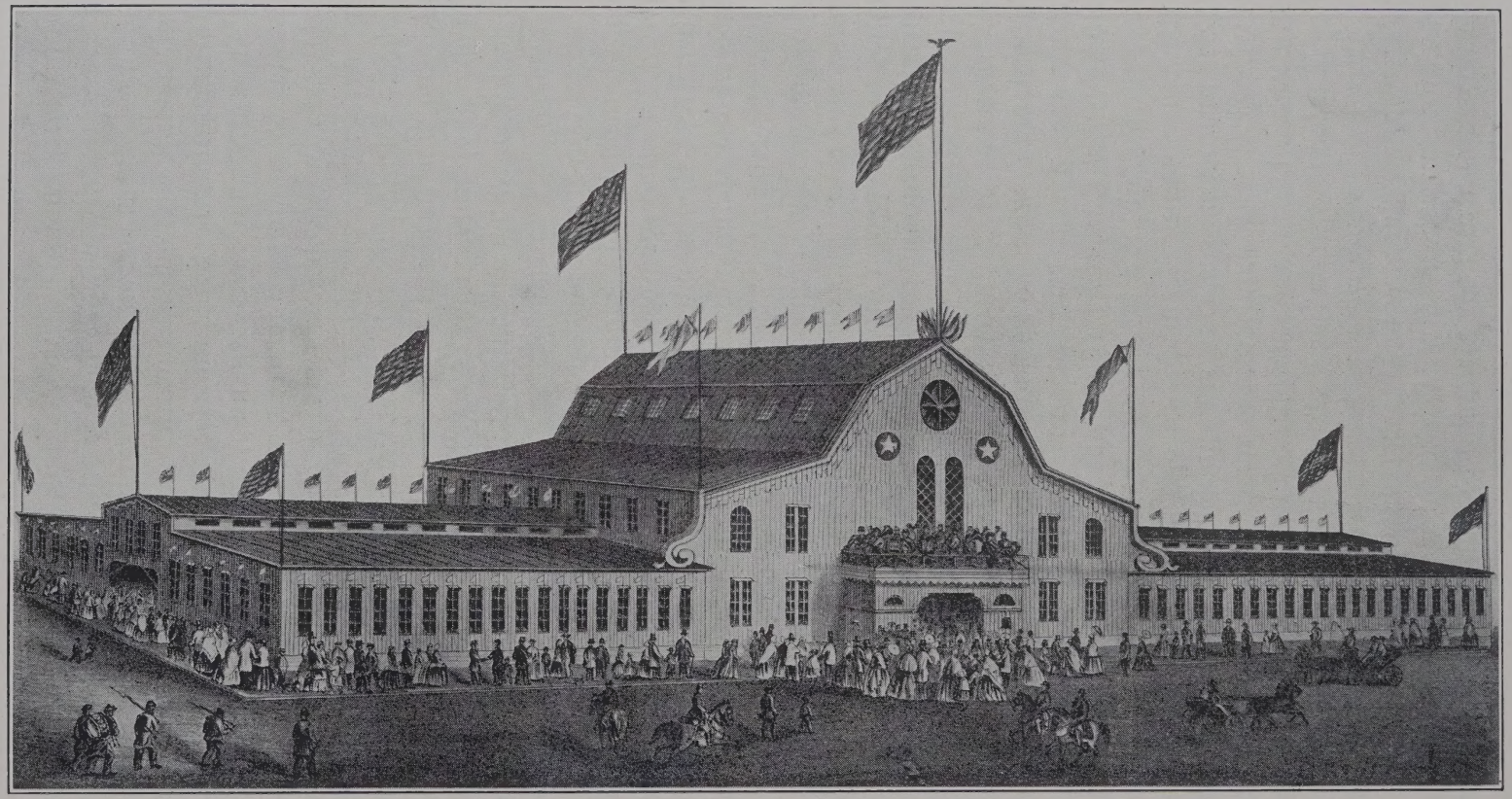
Mrs. Lydia Ely was chairman of the first soldiers' relief committee appointed in Wisconsin during the Civil war. She assisted in the establishment of the hospital and retreat for wounded soldiers in Milwaukee which afterward was taken over by the Federal Government and became the Northwestern Branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Veterans. Many years later she conducted on behalf of the soldiers an undertaking almost wholly her own—raising the bulk of the money necessary for the erection of the Milwaukee Soldiers' Monument. The commission for the monument had been given with the understanding that United States Senator John L. Mitchell would defray its cost. Business reverses befell him in the panic of 1893, making it impossible, in view of other onerous commitments claiming priority, for him to carry out his intentions in this respect. Then Mrs. Ely came forward, sending word to the sculptor to go on with his work and promising that the money should be forthcoming. She devised and carried out the plan of the Bazaar of All Nations, held at the Exposition Building, which brought in a goodly sum. Another expedient to which she had recourse was the gathering of autographs from famous people, to be sold for the benefit of the fund. By her personal exertions three thousand valuable autographs collected from men and women of distinction in America and throughout the world were arranged in a huge album decorated with designs by artists of repute and substantially and beautifully bound. This album was sold at the bazaar to the highest bidder, the purchaser, Capt. Frederick Pabst, paying the handsome sum of $15,000 for the prize. By her achievements in portraiture Mrs. Ely demonstrated a rare degree of ability as an artist. In her capacity of teacher of drawing and painting, and also as organizer and director of exhibitions of good pictures at a time when outside of the homes of a few collectors of wealth and taste such things were rarely seen in the West, she accomplished much to inspire and foster an intelligent appreciation and love of art. By enlisting the interest of their possessors, she contrived to have many privately owned treasures made acces-

sible to public view. The first undertaking of this character in which she engaged was a feature of the Soldiers' Home Fair in 1865. The second was the Loan Art Exhibition, in 1879. Finally, in connection with the establishment of the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition, in 1881, opportunity for usefulness in this direction presented itself on a grander scale, and she improved it, inducing artists and dealers in the East to coöperate in making the annual displays of paintings at the exposition representative in a high degree of the best work of living American artists.

The patriotic service of Milwaukee women in the ordeal of the World war is a recent memory, worthy of a volume by itself.

Another volume might be written on the systematic charities by which Milwaukee women made permanent contributions to the amelioration of distress and rescued social stragglers from pernicious environments that would have wrecked their lives. The Industrial School for Girls is an institution which was founded as an experiment by women of Milwaukee, proving so useful that its maintenance and management were taken over by the State. The movement which originated in the establishment of the Home for the Friendless occurred in 1868, bringing into existence another charity which has been the means of help to many and still continues to afford refuge for women and children in need of temporary aid. Among the kind-hearted women who were its founders was Mrs. H. H. Button, who served as president of its board of managers for many years.

Consequent upon industrial distress following the panic of 1873 child vagrancy, involving conditions leading to moral turpitude, presented a problem toward the solution of which a group of women with Mrs. Lynde as their leader opened a school and home to keep friendless girls off the street. This was early in 1875. Subsequently a State appropriation for the erection of a building was procured, and the city gave a tract of eight acres for its site. Judge E. G. Ryan, Congressman William Pitt Lynde and Judge James A. Mallory framed a law which was enacted by the Legislature under whose provisions incorrigible girls and children of parents undergoing penal servitude might be committed to the care of this school, where, under competent instructors, they are fitted for industrial pursuits and honest, useful lives. The school was a pioneer in a field in which it was needed for the



SOLDIERS' HOME FAIR, 1865

This temporary structure stood on the west side of Broadway, south of Michigan Street.

good of the community. Other similar institutions, all performing meritorious work, have followed.

Homes for the aged and mission kindergartens, a children's hospital, and various other important agencies for the relief of suffering humanity have flourished largely by reason of the unselfish exertions of women, and in numerous instances owe their existence to women's initiative.

Mrs. Frances J. Crosby was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Jefferson Noyes, and was said to be the second white girl born in Milwaukee. Coming into the world on the 17th of November, 1837, her home was here till she closed her earthly career on the 9th of February, 1907. One of the influences to which she ascribed the zeal with which she enlisted in undertakings for amelioration of misfortune was the inspiration she absorbed while receiving her education from the Sisters of Notre Dame. Mrs. Crosby was one of the workers in soldiers' relief enterprises at the time of the Civil war. She was conspicuous in directing helpful activities on behalf of the people of Chicago after the great fire of 1871. She was one of the noble band that brought about the establishment of the Industrial School for Girls. She was the founder of the Woman's Exchange, and one of the most prominent, if not the first, of those who suggested the introduction of cooking as a branch of instruction in the public schools. Her other charitable interests were many. When the Newhall House was destroyed she prepared a washboiler full of steaming coffee for the firemen, who were at work in a temperature far below zero. At the time of the Spanish war she helped to alleviate the sufferings of fever victims sent north from camps in the South.

The Boys' Busy Life Club, whose name came to be shortened to the Boys' Club, is a Milwaukee institution which for more than forty years has performed valuable service in its especial field besides promoting social uplift enterprise in various other profitable directions. It originated in the devoted labors of Mrs. Henry Whitcomb, whose maiden name was Annabell Cook, and of whom Miss Marion G. Ogden has written as follows:

"For background, let us take a world in which such people as Miss Jane Addams and Jacob Riis were already beginning to make an impression. Mrs. Whitcomb's mother and father were both physicians, and for a woman to study and practice medicine

in those days implied a degree of originality and ability arguing for other progressive experiences. These people did a joint philanthropic work among their patients that made a deep impression upon their two daughters, both of whom as the years passed devoted much time to nature-study. There are people of today who probably will remember Mrs. Whitcomb as the woman who told the boys, and others, about birds.

"In the '80s, the Rev. Mr. Titsworth came to Plymouth Church in Milwaukee, the church which then stood on the southeast corner of Milwaukee and Oneida streets. He came with an avowed interest in institutional work for churches. Perhaps today he might have called this a project for the churches. We have a very few churches here conducting the institutional project today, and one of them is Plymouth. In this church, in 1887, was Mrs. Whitcomb, conducting a Bible class for big boys. It was at one time called the Plymouth Atheneum, and seems to have comprised some twelve to fourteen members. Having the problem of the neglected boy greatly at heart, and finding ample encouragement in many conferences with Mr. and Mrs. Titsworth, with the coöperation of her class and the very special help of two of its members, Messrs. Will Johnson and Guy Gregg, she opened in the fall of 1887 an evening meeting for boys. Though an outside room in the Third Ward had been arranged for, it was not used, as the Church offered room, heat and light. The meetings were held once a week, and the average attendance was fourteen. The Atheneum spent $11.22 that first year. The Atheneum disbanded in 1891.

"The new church on Van Buren and Oneida streets, built about 1889, had rooms especially suited to club and reading-room activities. The club activities included stencil drawing, water color work, picture-cutting, basket-making, tailoring for repairs of the boys' own clothing, chair-caning, telegraphy and typewriting. These shifted as teachers volunteered, but later there was a paid teacher in clay modeling. Printing was put in, and became self-supporting. But the wood-working was the crowning glory. Concerning this we shall quote Mrs. Whitcomb:

" 'It was in July, 1890, that classes from the Boys' Club were started in wood sloyd in the rooms of the People's Institute. Mrs. Bradbury had learned of the work and of Miss Ericson. Circu-

lars were sent out, and we received enough money to buy tools and benches. As the church did not at that time care to take the carpenter work under its roof, we furnished rooms given us by the People's Institute for the summer, and later by the W. C. T. U., so that these institutions have the honor of testing the work which has proved so valuable, and to them our boys are indebted for a year's hospitality. In June, 1891, our part of the tools, etc., was brought to the church. Since then both club and pay classes have been held in the church. During the experimental year, Mrs. Bradbury and I paid Miss Ericson no stated salary. Part of her living expenses had been promised by Mrs. J. C. Drake, who proved an earnest friend in that trying time, and the income from paying pupils was enough to give our teacher all we had promised, food and shelter. In the spring of '91 we made a great effort to introduce instruction in sloyd into both public and private schools, but although pleased with the work, no one had the necessary money to train children's hands. For a time it seemed as though the work was doomed, as of course Miss Ericson could no longer give her services for so little. However, Professor Mapel and the Normal School came to our rescue, and for two years have employed Miss Ericson regularly. We also have been able to supply from two to four lessons a week. We feel this work to be an absolute necessity, in the mental and moral training of children, especially those whose literary side is weak.' "

Mrs. Whitcomb was accustomed modestly to assert that the plans for the Boys' Club were not original—that they followed what had been undertaken in other States, notably Massachusetts and New York. Undoubtedly she had carefully studied Eastern accomplishments as a preparation for formulating the programme she proposed, but she showed wisdom in selecting what was best, and included improvements of her own. The underlying idea was to withdraw the boys from surroundings tending to the formation of idle and vicious habits, and to interest them in activities that would exercise wholesome influence on their future lives, giving them training for useful and profitable employments.

Early in 1888 Robert C. Spencer and Oren E. Britt were made acquainted with what was proposed, and contributed financially to put the Club upon its feet at the start. At the beginning the

management devolved upon Mrs. Whitcomb, with the assistance of members of the Plymouth Atheneum. From 1893 to 1896 Mr. Paine and later Mr. C. S. Kitchell was on hand to meet the boys. After 1896 a paid superintendent was employed. The Club kept hundreds of boys off the streets and away from vicious associations. It gave them useful training, started them in right ways of living, and justified Mrs. Whitcomb's declaration that formative influences are better than reformative influences—that youngsters subjected betimes to correct formative influences will not need to be reformed.

Following is a passage from one of the appeals which Mrs. Whitcomb issued for the purpose of securing money needed to carry on the Boys' Club: "Boys need to be protected from every influence that would tend to degrade them. The great heart of universal parenthood will respond to these children in their great peril. Whatever be the cause—be it poverty or ignorant parentage or intemperance—the fact remains that on our streets today [this was written in 1899] are two thousand children ready to be made into law-respecting, self-supporting men and women, or, for lack of opportunity for right development, ready and sure to enter upon a depraved and criminal life."

Mrs. Whitcomb went on to supply statistics of the causes of juvenile arrests, which ranged from grand larceny and drunkenness to bathing in forbidden places. Outgrowths of the campaign for better things which she conducted with vigor for many years were the appointment of truancy officers, the increase of manual training opportunities in the schools, the organization of special classes for mentally deficient children—in short, the more effective adaptation of the schools to the manifest educational needs of the growing city.

Here were the people who worked in an executive or an advisory capacity with Mrs. Whitcomb for the good of the Boys' Club in 1898:

Executive Board.—Mrs. Henry F. Whitcomb, chairman; Mrs. J. V. Quarles; Mrs. Judson Titsworth, secretary; Mrs. G. I. Lindsay, treasurer; Mr. J. W. Skinner; Mr. A. F. Chapman; Mr. H. F. Norris.

Advisory Board.—Mesdames O. J. Hiles, Charles Norris, S. L. Graves, Perry Williams, J. R. Butler, F. C. Winkler, H. R.

Vedder, G. H. Noyes, E. J. Curtiss, J. H. Thompson, Elias Friend, F. J. Crosby, O. W. Robertson, James Peck, George Swallow, C. B. Whitnall and S. S. Merrill; Misses Ellen Sabin and Kate Pier; Messrs. F. G. Bigelow, R. C. Spencer, G. I. Lindsay, George W. Peckham, Henry Thompson, Charles Quarles, John Johnston and George W. Marling; Rev. Judson Titsworth and W. G. Eliot, Jr.; Drs. Walter Kempster and W. F. Becker, and Judge J. M. Pereles.

Many others assisted the Boys' Club work from time to time, but these were enlisted at or near its beginning, and most of them continued active till long after it had passed the experimental stage and attained the standing of an institution.

Miss Ogden, whose volunteer participation in work for boys was one of the factors promoting the club's success, has written a history of that and cognate enterprises which is reproduced in substance as follows:

"Mrs. Whitcomb had all the time been thinking and talking about the boy who did not fit in school, and in the spring of 1893 she was able to try a little experiment with an ungraded school in the club rooms. For lack of funds, it lasted only three months, but it was the tangible beginning of an effort that never ceased until rooms for exceptional children were opened in some of our public schools. What would a school system be without these rooms today? The same year the club conducted the first vacation school in the city, to keep boys off the streets during the summer. In 1900 a Woman's Club committee did the same thing on a larger scale, and summer work in the schools became established. This year also the first boys' camp was started.

"Joseph Weiss, who had been secretary to the pastor and also a member of the Plymouth Atheneum, and previously had superintended the club for two years, took forty or fifty boys, chosen from the two hundred members, to Beaver Lake, where Mr. Henry Thompson had offered the use of land. Mr. Weiss, who thereafter was only temporarily in Milwaukee, coming back from Beloit and Yale, was said to be a real pastor to the boys—'born to the work,' as Mrs. Whitcomb expressed it.

"About this time an associate pastor was engaged by the church, and he became head of a committee composed of Mrs. Whitcomb and Mr. Kitchell, which directed the Boys' Club. At the time this change was made a church committee reported:

'The Boys' Club is the largest and in many respects the most interesting branch of our work.'

"For some years Mrs. Whitcomb visited all the homes represented in the club. Later she visited only the most needy cases (by which is not meant in need of *things*). From the first, she gathered funds, planned the work and talked and wrote to the newspapers, which seem to have welcomed all the letters she sent them. The ready sponsoring of her cause by the papers must have been a great encouragement, and she seems to have reached the hearts of many influential people, which made enlarged effort possible.

"Her intimacy with a certain class of misguided boys, and her study of work performed in the East, led her about 1895 to talk of the need of a farm school, and by 1899 so strong had become her conviction that this if the funds could be procured, was next in the line of progress, that she worked out a somewhat detailed plan as to the requirements for such an institution, and the same was printed in the paper. It is interesting reading today. The farm school did not quite materialize at that time, but the thought was ripening. In 1902 the present Wisconsin Home and Farm School at Dousman was started by an organization of which Doctor Titsworth was first president. We know that another note of gratitude was struck in Mrs. Whitcomb's heart when Mr. Niel Norris—in 1908, we believe,—opened his farm to boys with a need for work with friendly supervision.

"In 1905 Mr. Kitchell, as secretary for the Boys' Club committee, wrote: 'They come, and keep coming. They must think there is something they want.' He said they came from the Third and Seventh wards largely, but also from the Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Ninth, Fifteenth and Eighteenth wards.

"All through the '90s Mrs. Whitcomb had been watching truancy and jail reports, and in 1899 she completed a survey of the city with maps of danger areas. This work, with the careful study of statistics and their meaning, was compiled for the Social Economics Club.

"In 1899 the first booklet in regard to the work was issued, and it is still very interesting reading, being a kind of compendium of work for boys at that time, and even containing a map and records of child arrests mentioned above. This report points

squarely to the coming Juvenile Court and all its related activities. Mrs. Van Wyck was superintendent of the club through the season of 1899 and 1900, and at an annual conference of all those concerned, and their guests, at the Atheneum, in May, 1900, she gave a report of seventy-eight meetings, attended by 2,725 boys. She reviewed the work done by the cooking class, the manual training class and the athletic class, and said she had visited the homes of fifty boys in the winter months. The report of Mrs. George I. Lindsay, the treasurer, showed that the receipts for the year amounted to $875.67 and the disbursements to $787.14. The work to this time had been in Plymouth Church.

"At this meeting larger quarters were advocated. It had been decided by all concerned that it was time to distribute the work, so that Plymouth Church should not bear the entire burden nor have the exclusive credit. The sum of $2,500 was promised after two $500 pledges should have been received as a beginning, and in the fall of that year the house at 606 Jackson Street was rented. Possession was given October 24, and the building was opened November 15th. In December, 1900, the Board was incorporated, and Mrs. Van Wyck became secretary. A little later Mr. Northrop, as superintendent, came from the East with his family to live on the second floor of the house, and at last a regularly established Boys' Club House existed in Milwaukee. An emergency dormitory was furnished by the ladies of Calvary Church, and in March was opened for use.

"At the request of such interested people as Mrs. Whitcomb and her friends, there had been two or three truant officers for a few years, but in 1900 the ungraded rooms evidently had not come, for the Club Board is recorded as having sent a committee to the School Board about them after this time. The study of court cases was becoming very critical. Mrs. Whitcomb had told in the newspapers about the children in jail. She had asked the library to send books to the jail. For a few months she had had a regular visitor there. She had conferred with judges and attorneys. As early as February, 1900, the records show, she had urged upon a group of judges the need of a Juvenile Court like the one established in Chicago the previous year. They commended the proposition, but nothing was done. The paper gave her space. In July the Club employed a Miss Seybold to help chil-

dren appearing in court, and the judges made some special concessions. Finally, in the spring of 1901, a committee of the Club Board sent to Madison the bill which later passed the Legislature and created the Juvenile Court. Mrs. Van Wyck's minutes read:

" 'After two months' investigation and labor, a satisfactory bill was drawn, which was submitted to and received the endorsement of the judges of the Milwaukee County courts, the president of the State Board of Control, the committee of the County Board of Supervisors, the superintendents of all the State institutions and private associations for handling children, and the editors of the six Milwaukee newspapers. This bill was introduced into the Assembly by Hon. F. B. Keene, who worked earnestly for it, and into the Senate by Hon. Julius E. Roehr. The Board was represented by two members. T. D. Hurley, chief probation officer of Chicago, and W. B. La Monte, also of that city, explained the working of the Illinois law, their expenses being paid by the Board. The bill passed both houses, becoming a law March 28, to take effect three months from that day.'

"This bill was passed largely by reason of Mrs. Van Wyck's generalship, which later was even more evident in her handling of the Compulsory Education Law.

"In July, 1901, the Court was opened with a session once a week. Judge Neelen had been chosen by the other judges to preside. But previous to this, on June 1, a meeting of the child workers of the city was called at the Boys' Club to consider the provision of probation officers beyond the little group already interested. This sounds simple, but probably there had never been any such meeting before, and a canvass had to be made to learn who the workers were. This canvass was suggested by a member of the Board, and the meeting had been called with the hope that some sort of union would grow out of it, and the Children's Betterment League did grow out of it that September. Thereafter such demands for additional legislation as were thought to be too large for the Board of the Boys' Club were entrusted to the League.

"The superintendent of the Club, as well as Mrs. Van Dyke and Miss Ogden, were in regular attendance at the Juvenile Court once a week. The Club later coöperated with the county supervisors in plans for a House of Detention, and the Juvenile Court

law was improved each year. In 1905 the amendment provided for the first county-paid probation officer, designated as chief, to supervise. In 1907, provision was made for additional probation officers, and the Court supposedly was ready to stand upon its own feet.

"In 1904, after careful consideration, the Board decided that it was wise to buy the present building, at 561 Jackson Street. This was a large undertaking, but by that time Mrs. Whitcomb and her Board had reason to trust their supporters, and the move seems not to have been regretted. The Club moved April 28, 1904. The new quarters were more commodious, and larger work could be undertaken. About this time, through the advice of Graham Taylor, Mr. Hadden was appointed superintendent, and a very happy three years followed, though limitations were still recognized.

"Some years before this, Miss Marta Grey had taken a Club class in gymnastics and Mr. S. M. Williams had become an important member of the legislative committee of the Club. Both of these people became leading officers and stanch supporters, as they are today. There were many faithful volunteer workers for single classes, and paid workers were increased.

"Beginning with the remarkable summarizing statement of 1899, to which reference already has been made, annual reports were published from 1901 to 1907. These contained inspiring addresses by Mrs. Whitcomb, looking forward to successive steps in the development of the plan, together with interesting records of decisions and policies of the Board, and the actual proceedings of the superintendent. A space was also given to auxiliary work, like that in the court or the jail.

"Mrs. Van Wyck left the city in 1907. About the same time Mr. Hadden was offered a larger opportunity, and resigned. Mr. Hughes came to superintend, and Mrs. Whitcomb and her family moved to a farm near Amherst, Massachusetts. Before she left, however, she had put out lines for the gymnasium, which had been held in mind since the acquisition of the new property. In 1911 the gymnasium became a fact, by reason of gifts from friends. Here is a fitting place to leave the Club to its modern history, made possible by one woman's faithful inspiring of others for twenty years."

As long ago as 1885, Miss Elizabeth Plankinton, daughter of John Plankinton, set an example of giving to the public when she commissioned from R. H. Park the Washington Monument which adorns Wisconsin Avenue. Her munificent bequests provided a large part of the money required for the erection of the spacious edifices which enable the carrying on of Y. W. C. A. work in Milwaukee. By the will of Harriet L. Cramer, widow of William E. Cramer, founder and editor of the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*, Marquette University came into possession of an estate of more than a million dollars, to be devoted principally to the promotion of medical education. Many other Milwaukee women have generously aided public objects by pecuniary contributions in proportion to their means.

Together with her husband, who was an army officer, Madame Mathilda Franciska Anneke participated in the German revolutionary movement of 1848 and after its collapse sought safety in the United States, arriving in Milwaukee in the closing days of 1849. In the spring of 1852 Madame Anneke began the publication in Milwaukee of *Die Frauenzeitung*, the Women's Journal, devoted to the cause of woman suffrage, and antedating nearly all the other newspaper advocates of that movement in the United States. After a time the place of publication was changed to Newark, N. J., where her husband was engaged in the pursuit of his profession as an editor. Madame Anneke's pioneer woman suffrage organ maintained an existence for more than two years, but never was a source of revenue to its owner. She maintained herself by writing for the *Belletristiches Zeitung* and other publications of the time. During the period of the Civil war she was abroad, in company with her friend, Mrs. Mary C. Booth, wife of the indomitable editor of the *Milwaukee Free Democrat.* She continued to write for American newspapers published in the German language, and after the war returned to Milwaukee, where for several years she carried on a select school for the instruction of young ladies in languages and literature.

Laura J. Ross Wolcott died in Chicago, December 7, 1915. Through her efforts was held the first woman's suffrage convention in Wisconsin, which was welcomed by Mayor O'Neill to the hospitality of Milwaukee in the old city hall in the winter of 1869. She made all the arrangements and bore the entire ex-

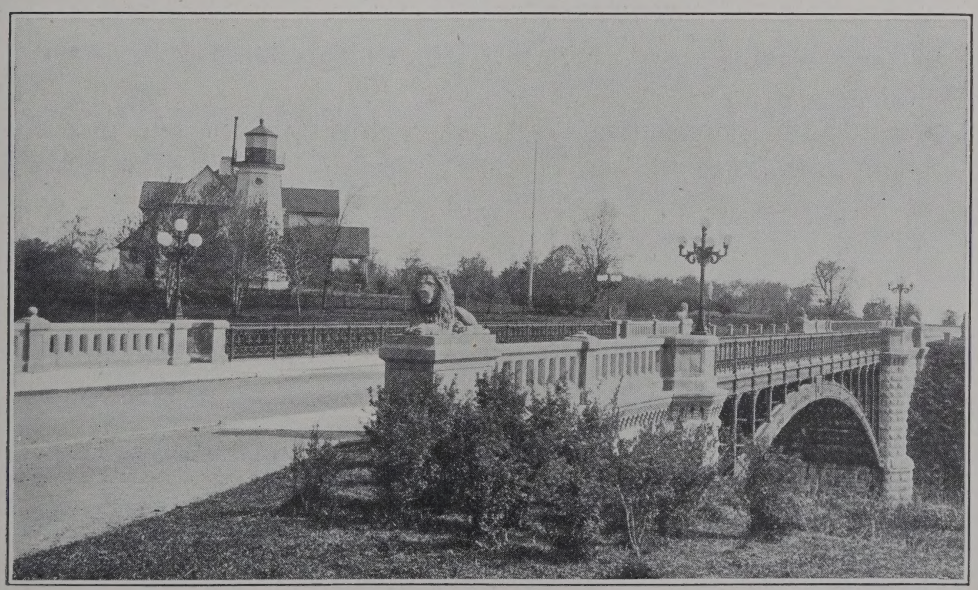
pense. There were present Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Mary A. Livermore and other distinguished speakers. The elaborate proceedings at Milwaukee were followed by a gathering at Madison in the Senate Chamber, the use of which for the purpose had been granted by Governor Fairchild at Mrs. Wolcott's request, and this meeting was attended by the noted people who had participated in the programme at Milwaukee.

When Mrs. S. S. Merrill was elected to membership in the School Board by vote of the Common Council in 1895, the incident was acclaimed as marking a new era, foreshadowing general recognition of the fitness of members of her sex for public service in Milwaukee. Mrs. Merrill was the widow of the renowned general manager of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, whom she had married after the death of the first Mrs. Merrill, the mother of his children. She was a native of Schoharie County, New York, and had attended several of the best schools for women in the East before coming to Milwaukee with her mother to make her home. Here she had won repute as a teacher in the public schools. After her marriage she was helpful to her husband in a secretarial capacity, yet found time for social duties and was active in the work of the Humane Society and other matters at that time occupying the attention of the women's clubs. Quietly but effectively she performed her part in dispensing charity. As had been anticipated by those participating in her selection, Mrs. Merrill proved a useful member of the School Board, paving the way for other women to be enlisted in directing the educational policies of the city—notably Miss Gertrude Sherman and Mrs. Meta Berger. The present president of the Board of School Directors is a woman, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Mehan.

Today women perform useful service in the employ of the Police Department. At the 1929 session of the State Legislature one of the representatives of Milwaukee in the Assembly was a woman, Mrs. Mary J. Kryszak. The sketch of Mrs. Kryszak published in the Blue Book, noting that she was the only woman member of the Legislature of 1929, continued, "She has been a teacher, bookkeeper and housewife, and is the mother of three children. At the present time she is engaged as an editor and actively interested in social work. During the World war Mrs. Kryszak was president of the Defense Council and chairman of

Liberty Loan drives in the Eighth Ward of the city of Milwaukee. She is the first woman ever elected to the Legislature from Milwaukee County, and the first woman Democrat in the State to hold a State office of any kind. Mrs. Kryszak is a member of the Committee on Education and the Committee on Public Welfare of the 1929 session. She is a member of the Democratic State Central Committee."

The number of women participating in the carrying on of business in Milwaukee approximates fifty thousand. Women workers are engaged in nearly every commercial establishment and industrial plant in the city. The number of women in the industrial plants, excluding those engaged in operations of the nature of domestic service, is calculated to be 21,000 equaling 42 per cent. of the whole number of women who are employed. Of all the women workers of the city, 30 per cent., or 15,000, are engaged in clerical occupations, while no fewer than 6,000 are professionally employed, including doctors, lawyers, teachers and individuals in other activities necessitating special training. There have been and are many instances of women successfully managing business establishments of their own.



NORTH POINT LIGHTHOUSE AND BRIDGE
Entrance to Lake Park.

WINTER SCENE AT WASHINGTON PARK

CHAPTER XXXV

LIFE'S LIGHTER SIDE

HUNTING AND FISHING IN THE EARLY DAYS—OUTDOOR RECREATION FACILITIES IN PIONEER TIMES AND LATER—FAMOUS PICNIC GROUNDS—BEER GARDENS THAT PRECEDED THE PUBLIC PARKS —SPEEDWAYS IN THE ERA OF HORSES—SKATING, CURLING, BOATING, TARGET-SHOOTING — THE TURNERS — SOMETHING ABOUT RECREATION INDOORS — THEATERS — LITERARY AND DEBATING ORGANIZATIONS — THE MUSICAL SOCIETY — THE ARIONS—THE OLD SETTLERS' CLUB—NOTABLE SOCIAL GROUPS.

The early settlers of Milwaukee were not without amusements, among which were hunting and fishing. Long after prosperity had smiled upon the community and the average resident, gainfully employed, was able to furnish his larder with purchased supplies, there were men as well as boys who indulged in sports afield as a recreation.

Before the harbor improvement had been made, the whole region south of Huron Street between the lake and the river was referred to in common speech as "the straight-cut." It consisted chiefly of sand dunes and patches of low land, a considerable portion of which was under water. As the immediate entrance to the principal shooting and fishing region, the "straight-cut" was much frequented by sportsmen. Nearly every male inhabitant of Milwaukee indulged in hunting or fishing at some time during the year. Several utilized the situation in the way of business. At the extreme end of the "straight-cut" was a small lodge, the property of a man named Woodruff, who, with his seven sons, all "dead shots," followed hunting as an occupation and supplied the city markets with game.

As late as 1839 the portion of the old Seventh Ward nearest the lake had not been built upon or cleared of trees. Alexander

Mitchell, who came to Milwaukee in that year, frequently turned the key in the door of his bank at the noon hour and went for a stroll with his gun in the neighborhood of Marshall Street and what is now Juneau Avenue.

The district lying between Prospect Avenue and the river, north of Lafayette Place, long remained covered with dense woods where pigeons flocked by thousands, and where even inexperienced hunters could be sure of profitable shooting. At the entrance to the river and on the marshes ducks fairly swarmed. One winter, during the era of the piers, a vessel laden with grain and bound for Buffalo was obliged to put back after getting a few miles out. On returning to the pier she careened and her cargo was spilt into the lake. Instantly ducks and geese flocked to the spot—and the ducks and geese attracted sportsmen. That winter ducks and geese were a staple article of food in many of the homes of Milwaukee.

Wild pigeons were very plentiful in the month of April, when the flocks came north to nest, and in the months of September and October, on their way south for the winter. From the Lake Brewery, at Huron Street, to the Powder House, where the statue of Juneau stands now, was the first favorite place for shooting them, and as the timber gradually was cut away the pigeons and their hunters followed the retreating edge of the clearing. An early-day slaughter house on Ogden Street was the rendezvous of hunters for a time. The pigeons seemed to have a fondness for familiar localities, and after the timber had been cut on Rogers' Addition as far up as Brady Street they reappeared there for two seasons. The ridge of land along the east side of the river opposite the dam, which separated the two ravines, one at Racine Street and the other at North Street, was originally densely wooded. After most of this timber had been cut to build the dam the pigeons would fly in a circle around the edge of the clearing, and many were shot there. Murray's clearing, afterward known as Murray's Addition, was also a favorite place for pigeons, and they were caught there with spring pole nets.

Even as late as 1870 there continued to be very good hunting within easy walking distance of down-town Milwaukee, which by that time had grown to be a city of 70,000 people. Muskrats had not entirely deserted the Menomonee Valley, and even minks

and otters were to be found. In the Menomonee and Kinnickinnic marshes, ducks were shot by men and boys in canoes. There were times when a sportsman could go out west of the city in the morning and come back at night with a bag full of prairie chickens and quail. Squirrels and rabbits inhabited the near-by woods.

On the North Side, near the dam, where the fertile land had been denuded of its timber, a rich growth of bushes sprang up, principally blackberries and black and red raspberries, the blackberries being especially prolific. One Sunday morning in August, 1842, Paul Burdick, whose home was where the Schlitz elevator now stands, conceived the idea of going out among the bushes and filling two pails with berries, for his home was crowded with summer guests, including Colonel John M. McCarty of Leesburg, Virginia, one of the proprietors of the West Side. Deer and other game were abundant about Milwaukee at that time, and frequently wandered among the bushes for the fruit. The same morning when Mr. Burdick went forth for berries, Otis Hubbard, well known as "Uncle Ote," an eccentric old bachelor from Rochester, New York, who had made many purchases of land about Milwaukee and of lots in the town, bethought him of taking his gun and faring in search of game. It happened that Mr. Burdick was attired in a suit of pepper-and-salt which somewhat resembled the color of the deer in the summer season. Uncle Ote observed an agitation among the blackberry bushes and got a sight as he supposed of the fore shoulder of a deer with its head lowered, nibbling close to the ground. When he had taken good aim and pulled his trigger a shriek from Mr. Burdick convinced him of his mistake. Mr. Burdick had been stooping over, and received the charge in the muscular part of the thigh. He fell to the ground and rolled in pain; but the wound was not mortal. Agitated and anxious, Uncle Ote secured help. A litter was hastily constructed on which the sufferer was taken to his home, where a surgeon extracted the shot. Mr. Burdick recovered, living in health and good spirits for many years thereafter.

Lotan H. Lane recalled that when he was in command of the harbor steamboat *C. C. Trowbridge*, which was during the years 1840, 1841 and 1842, an unusual incident occurred. "I was out in the bay, when I saw some dogs on shore south of the harbor chasing a deer. The deer ran toward the lake and plunged into

the water. We went down in the *Trowbridge* to see what had become of him, and when we got there Mr. Deer was swimming about, afraid to land, because of the dogs, which ran barking up and down the shore. Well, we steamed around alongside that deer till we tired him out. Then we tied a rope to his antlers and dragged him aboard. You ought to have seen the procession that followed us when we landed and led the deer through the streets. I guess there are not many instances on record of chasing a deer with a steamboat."

In 1846 companies of men went on weekly hunting expeditions in the country just west of the city. A poster printed in 1847 set forth that sportsmen of Greenfield, Wauwatosa and other towns would meet at Carron's on the Madison Road, for the purpose of participating in a drive from that vicinity to the Mukwonago Road through the Great Swamp. The poster contained this attractive announcement: "As this swamp is well known to be the hiding-place of wolves and bears and other animals which it is proposed to exterminate on that day, rare sport may be expected. Citizens who join in the expedition will be under the direction of a superintendent appointed for the day."

There was excellent fishing in the Milwaukee River till the pollution of the water following the construction of sewers and the introduction of plumbing into the houses of the city, which was not generally affected till after the decade of the '70s was in mid-career. For some years subsequently there was good fishing in the river above the dam, which continued to be a place of sylvan seclusion till about 1880, when it became much frequented by boating parties and patrons of resorts like Pleasant Valley, afterward Blatz Park, and the delightful Lueddemann's-on-the-River eventually to be known as Wonderland. In 1844, when Walker's Point bridge was built, large sturgeon were swimming about in the river, and many of them were shot by men standing on the bridge. Every spring at spawning time suckers and pickerel ran up the rivers and the small creeks, many of them failing to go down again, on account of the receding of the water. In the Mineral Street Creek they passed west of Eleventh Avenue and south of Greenfield Avenue, the subsidence of high water leaving them wriggling on the wet grass, where they became an easy prey to men and boys who were on the lookout to

profit by their misfortune. The lake was more popular with fishermen than it is today, and their rewards were larger than now, for in the early times Lake Michigan had not been "fished out." The whitefish taken directly off Milwaukee were as large and as numerous as they are in Lake Superior at the present time, and Milwaukee professional fishermen made fortunes from them. Amateurs and disciples of Izaak Walton generally who had time to spare used to go out on the old North Pier, which was built in 1843. Looking down into the water under the pier they could see fish swimming on the bottom. Many a large Mackinaw trout was speared off that pier.

When Milwaukeeans undertook to get up little dinners in the early days they found close at hand materials for feats such as Delmonico of New York in his palmiest era could not surpass. Late in the '90s a gentleman who came in 1836 recalled a banquet in which he and a group of his friends indulged when Milwaukee was a village. The meal was served at the American House, then managed by the Lelands, the participants furnishing the game, and the hosts cooking it and supplying the champagne. Everything was served in courses, in a style that would have done credit to New York. There were hare soup, venison and fish, the latter being taken from Milwaukee River, then a pure stream which needed no artificial flushing to prevent it from becoming an offense. From a financial standpoint, however, there was no great economy compared with later times, for the bills of the banqueters were seven dollars apiece.

When Milwaukee had no long stretches of graded streets, and of course no driving parks, the pioneers were fain to take advantage of the facilities which snow-covered ice on the river south of Cherry Street afforded for contests between fast horses. Capt. James Sanderson owned more than one of the best horses here at that time. In later years, until the advent of the automobile there was speeding on upper Spring Street, behind horses attached to sleighs. Cold Spring Course was laid out for the benefit of lovers of horse-racing, and long was rated with the best racing tracks in the West. During the Civil war it was used as a military camp, to which was given the name of Camp Washburn. After the war the grounds came to be known as Cold Spring Park.

When Goldsmith Maid broke the trotting record of the world at Cold Spring Park on the 6th of September, 1871, by doing a mile in 2:17¼, suspicions were cast upon the length of the track. Up to that time the fastest trotting time of record had been made by Dexter, a horse owned by Robert Bonner of New York. Mr. Bonner sent a man to Milwaukee to measure the course for the purpose of finding whether the Maid had actually accomplished the feat set down to her credit. The man discovered that the track was in fact one foot over a mile in length. Hawley Cole, Milwaukee's leading horseman then and for many years thereafter, had sniffed at the aspersions cast upon the length of the track. "A man from New York," he declared, "is no better authority on a subject like this than a man from Oshkosh, if the man from Oshkosh is posted." Mr. Cole and his associates had taken measurements on their own account. "We knew," said Mr. Cole, "that at three feet from the pole, which is a fair distance to measure, the track was a full mile. We had made the measurement by tying a ribbon on the spoke of a sulky, counting the number of revolutions of the wheel in driving around the track, and measuring the circumference of the wheel to make the calculation. The quarter-post and the half-mile post were a little out of place, but the three-quarter and the mile-posts were right." Goldsmith Maid, when she made her record, was driven by Budd Doble, who afterward handled Jay-Eye-See for Jerome I. Case of Racine. Goldsmith Maid won more races, traveled more miles, and made more money for her owners than any other horse of her time. Thomas J. Dunbar was a horseman identified with the history of the Cold Spring Course. Business men who took an interest in the course in the days when it was famous were E. H. Brodhead, Harrison Ludington, Charles Hoyt, Orrin Hickox, Charles T. Bradley, John T. Burnham, Henry Bentley and C. M. Cottrill. For many years the State Fair was held at the Park. It was not at first the policy of the State Agricultural Society to put up money for racing, but it was done. Moreover, games of chance in general were admitted to the grounds. One of the first owners of the land upon which the course was located was Michael Dousman. From his hands the property passed to those of his daughter, the first wife of Dr. E. B. Wolcott. Doctor Wolcott transferred it to his daughter, Marion, the wife of Colonel Yates.

It was the Yates family that finally platted it and sold it in lots. It took its name from a spring in the northwest corner of the property. Snyder & Andrews conducted the Cold Spring House. They also conducted Marble Hall, down town. Circuses and Colonel Cody's Wild West Show used the park for years. It was the scene of a sham battle carried out on a large scale while Captain Schoeffel was in command of the Light Horse Squadron. Thirty years ago horsemen trained their strings at the park previous to starting out on the circuit which included Council Bluffs, Dubuque, St. Paul and Detroit.

Early Milwaukee was noted for grounds abloom with flowers which surrounded some of its private residences. Bishop Henni had an attractive garden adjacent to St. Peter's Church, in the block bounded by Martin (East State), Jefferson, Division (Juneau) and Jackson streets. The Hosmer place, on the west side of Milwaukee Street, was full of fruit trees and berry bushes and flower-beds. Back of many of the stores fronting on East Water Street and West Water Street were gardens running down to the river. In the very early days there was an island in the river below Oneida Street and in full view from Spring Street bridge, on which a fisherman had a hut surrounded with hollyhocks, sunflowers, shrubs and climbing vines. At the water's edge was a fence on which he hung his nets to dry. Occupying a commanding site on the West Side, where Trinity Lutheran Church is now, were the terraced grounds of Francis Lackner, who was a tinsmith and coppersmith, and who afterward converted the place into pleasure grounds open to the patronage of the public. Doctor Weeks' Swiss Gardens, so called, were among the beauty spots on the South Side. At the head of Wisconsin Street, on the lake front, were the Diedrich terraces.

Easily accessible and most-frequented of all the public open-air resorts in the Milwaukee of the early days was Ludwig's Garden, situated on the east shore of the Milwaukee River, north and south of the Pleasant Street bridge of the present time. When the garden, which began as a nursery, was in its heyday this part of Milwaukee was on the verge of the budding city. The garden was adjacent to a picturesque ravine. Several thousand dollars' worth of exotic plants were inventoried as part of the loss when the place was ravaged by fire in the winter of 1860.

Bielfeld's Garden, the last vestige of which disappeared in the middle '80s to make room for a row of dwelling houses, was another favorite resort for merry-makers before the Civil war. Situated on the south side of Ogden Street, east of Astor Street, settlement of the region surrounded it with residents habituated to Sabbath quiet, who made an effort to enforce the closing of the place on Sundays, asserting that its brass band destroyed the peace of the day. The endeavor was unsuccessful, and the garden continued till the rise of real estate made it more valuable for residence sites than for its former use. During many years a portion of Ogden Street in front of it was occupied by a large pond, thronged by skaters in the winter time. Water from this pond was useful for the extinguishment of fires. On the night of December 3, 1859, it enabled the firemen to prevent the total destruction of the sightly residence of H. Diedrich, familiarly known as the "Lion House." The huge wooden lions that guarded the steps of the mansion and gave it its name were saved from destruction, and still sit grimly at their posts. The last fire at which the members of the old volunteer department served was that of April 14, 1860. It encompassed the partial destruction of the Ries Block, a row of three buildings on the east side of Prospect Avenue. In one of them lived Mr. Diedrich, the former occupant of the "Lion House." But for the pond on Ogden Street the firemen would have been unable to procure water to put out this fire. During the later years of Bielfeld's Garden its dimensions were greatly circumscribed. The building served as a restaurant and a place of assemblage for political caucuses. After the Civil war, however, Bielfeld's Garden was a garden in little more than name.

At Walnut and Eighth streets, in the infancy of the city, was the home of Garret Vliet, one of the pioneer settlers. This was purchased from him by Charles Quentin, and became Quentin's Park, subsequently Schlitz Park and finally Lapham Park, which name it still retains, though most of the original site is now covered with buildings. Within the enclosure was one of the highest of the many Indian mounds familiar to the early settlers. Indicative of the rise in real estate values which has taken place since 1879, it may be interesting to note that in July of that year, when the property was purchased by the Schlitz Brewing Com-

pany, the amount of money involved in the transaction, as reported in the newspapers, was $17,500. As Quentin's Park, and also as Schlitz Park, the place was often chosen for summer-night concerts of the Milwaukee Musical Society. In the '80s it became famous as the summer home of light opera. During several successive seasons different companies repaired to Milwaukee for their vacations, living near the resort and using its open-air theater for evening performances, which attracted large attendance. One summer the singers were English, and their repertory included all of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas which had been composed at that time. Then came an Italian company, and the following year German singers, with a notable run of Wagner. These entertainments attracted many visitors from the interior. The park was a favorite place for political meetings. Presidents Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt delivered speeches there, as also did William Jennings Bryan and many lesser lights who were popular in their day.

Milwaukee Garden, conducted by Pius Dreher, was on State Street at what when it started in 1855 was the edge of the town. Its dance hall was well known to soldiers who were quartered at Camp Scott during the Civil war. Pius Dreher, who enlisted and went out with the First Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers, was one of the "heroes of Falling Waters," who came together for a reunion fifty years later, and very appropriately the reunion took place at his resort.

Miller's Garden, which flourished later than the others above mentioned, was adjacent to the Miller brewery, at the far end of State Street, sloping down to the Menomonee Valley.

At the north end of Third Street was the Schuetzen Park, eight acres in extent, the property of the Milwaukee Schuetzen Gesellschaft, which later became a popular resort for picnickers and eventually, under the name of Pabst Park, resembled a miniature Coney Island, with a "katzenjammer castle," an underground river, a scenic railway and other similar thrill-communicating attractions. Today part of it is built over and the remainder is a public playground.

The terraced grounds of Francis Lackner at Prairie (Highland Avenue) and Ninth Street, part of which are now the site of Trinity Lutheran Church, were opened as a public garden in

1859, and used for that purpose until John Pritzlaff purchased the property and gave it to the church. Here Prof. Christian Bach and his orchestra conducted open-air concerts for many years. Ninth Street in those days was in the outskirts of the city. The hill at that point rose to a remarkable height, affording a view of Lake Michigan and all the then settled portion of the East Side. The ground in the enclosure comprised an area of half a block, terraces running down the eastern front to the lower ground on Eighth Street. The place was a bit of primeval woods, with many tall and beautiful trees. At the crest of the hill was a pavilion for dancing. Under the trees were tables and chairs for the patrons of the garden.

A much-frequented garden on the South Side was known by the name of Melms, whose brewery for many years was one of the most celebrated in the city. The Melms garden included a hillside to the west of First Avenue (South Sixth Street), running down into the Menomonee Valley. West of it stretched the original forest. In later years the Best Brewing Company purchased the Melms brewery and erected bottling works on what had been the site of the garden.

Mitchell's Grove was a natural beauty spot considered far out on the South Side in the late '60s and '70s, and was the scene of the first Scotch picnics. It was owned by Alexander Mitchell. Today it is one of the public parks maintained by the city, and famed for its sunken garden and its greenhouses wherein are held annual exhibitions of orchids and chrysanthemums.

National Park, at the western end of National Avenue, and Greenfield Park, at the end of Greenfield Avenue, were spacious beer gardens of the '70s and '80s, of which there were several others on the South Side at that time.

Pleasant Valley, afterward Blatz Park, was an up-the-river resort started in the '70s which retained popularity for many years. It was accessible by boats, which were to be rented at Connors' boat house near North Avenue bridge. There was a pavilion suitable for dancing and summer afternoon concerts were a feature of the place in its later days. Mineral Spring Park, farther up the river, and on the east bank—Pleasant Valley was on the west bank—later became Wonderland, another replica of Coney Island. The earliest name of Mineral Spring

Park was Lueddemann's-on-the-River. It was during the '70s that Ella Wheeler made it the theme of the following verses:

Toward even, when the day leans down
To kiss the upturned face of night,
Out just beyond the loud-voiced town
I know a spot of calm delight.
Like crimson arrows from a quiver,
The red rays pierce the water flowing,
While we go singing, dreaming, rowing
To Leuddemann's-on-the-River.

The hills, like some glad mockingbird,
Send back our laughter and our singing,
While faint and yet more faint are heard
The steeple-bells all sweetly ringing.
Some message did the winds deliver
To each glad heart, that August night.
All heard, but not all heard aright,
By Leuddemann's-on-the-River.

Night falls, as in some foreign clime,
Between the hills that slope and rise.
So dusk the shades at landing-time
We could not see each other's eyes.
We only saw the moonbeams quiver
Far down upon the stream. That night
The new moon gave but little light
At Leuddemann's-on-the-River.

. . . . .

So soon, so soon the changes came!
This August day we two alone
On that same river—not the same—
Dream of a night forever flown.
Strange distances have come to sever
The hearts that gaily beat in pleasure—
Long miles we cannot cross or measure—
From Leuddemann's-on-the-River.

Half a mile or less eastward from Lueddemann's-on-the-River was Lueddemann's-on-the-Lake. This in the beginning was not formally a resort, but a farm, whose hospitable proprietors obligingly allowed picnickers to avail themselves of its picturesque attractiveness, and later provided opportunity for visitors to procure refreshments. The Milwaukee Musical Society sometimes gave midsummer-night concerts there. Eventually the place was purchased by the city, and today it is Lake Park.

The Whitefish Bay resort was established by the Pabst Brewing Company in the late '80s and equipped with a summer hotel,

a band-stand and concrete steps leading down to the lake. Excursion steamers conveyed parties to Whitefish Bay, and a toll-road made the place eligible by carriage. Another means of communication was provided in the form of the "dummy line." The Whitefish Bay resort was noted far and wide as one of the attractions of Milwaukee. Today it is residence property. Today Milwaukeeans are provided with public parks.

The Milwaukee River was utilized for pleasure boating. As late as 1869 members of the Cream City Boat Club, after exercising with their shell, would dive into the clear waters of the river off Spring Street bridge. There were private and public bathing houses on the bank of the river for a considerable distance along the old North Water Street until the advent of the sewers and the water works. In the '60s Patchkowsky's swimming school was located just north of the present Pleasant Street bridge. The very popular Rohn's swimming school was above the dam, where it is today. Whittaker's came later, and Bechstein's later still.

In winter time the river was a resort for skaters and curlers. After severe cold set in the ice was not broken up by tugs as it has been since fire-tugs came into use. There was curling on the Milwaukee River at its confluence with the Menomonee on Thanksgiving Day, 1881.

The skating rink made its appearance long before the curling rink. The first hall on the present site of the Auditorium was built in 1867-8, running successfully for four seasons as a skating rink. Skating at that time was fashionable, but the fashion waned. The building became by turns a circus, a hall for public meetings, a concert hall, a riding school and an arena for wrestling matches. Half of it was used for a public market. In 1869 the hall was the meeting place for a convention of the State Teachers' Association. One year it was the scene of the festival of the Northwestern Saengerbund. Famous men who addressed audiences in the place included Vice Presidents Henry Wilson and Thomas A. Hendricks, though Hendricks did not attain his national distinction till long after he had made his speech. Ten thousand dollars was expended in equipping the place with a modern stage, but the experiment proved unsuccessful. In 1880, while East Siders were contemplating the raising of a fund to

MILWAUKEE TURNERS

The man on the horizontal bar is Professor Barnickel. Only he and five others survive in 1929. In the left foreground, with his pipe, is Julius Rohn, the swimming teacher.

purchase a site on the lake front at Wisconsin Street for the proposed Exposition Building, West Siders stole a march on them. It was at this time that the West Side Market Association, convinced that the market in the old skating rink could not be made to pay, consented to give it up and, buying the half-square west of it, offered the whole as a site for the Exposition, the tender being promptly accepted. Litigation ensued, but was unavailing to prevent the carrying out of the plan. The old rink was torn down and carried away in pieces by a miscellaneous crowd of citizens, at a time when the city authorities had been enjoined from disturbing the building by an order of the State Supreme Court.

Roller skating became a craze which led to the erection of halls for the purpose, and at one time the main floor of the Exposition Building was leased to the manager of a roller-skating enterprise. But after a hectic period of popular infatuation the interest waned, and roller skates were relegated to children.

Ice-boating was enjoyed under ideal conditions before the reclamation of the Menomonee Marsh, since which time equally safe and extensive facilities have been unavailable, though occasional opportunity for the sport is presented inside the breakwater on the lake front.

Curling is a winter game of Scottish origin which is said to have been played on the Milwaukee River as early as 1846, but the organization of a Milwaukee Curling Club was of considerably later date, its originators being John Johnston, James A. Bryden and William P. McLaren, the last named of which trio did not arrive in Milwaukee till 1863. The club here imparted an impetus to curling throughout the Northwest, and for a time there were others, at Cambria, Columbus, Lodi, Waupaca, Baraboo, Westfield and as far north as Ashland. Bonspiels in which the Milwaukee curlers participated were held at various places in the United States and Canada, and often the Milwaukeeans came home bearing prizes which attested their superior skill. When the ice in the river began to be broken up by fire-tugs the curlers built themselves a rink on Warren Avenue, which was a famous place of assemblage for many years, being rented for political gatherings during the months of the year too warm to permit the formation of ice. For some time before it was torn

down the curling rink was in use as a riding academy. Milwaukee's Twentieth Century curlers have facilities at command in one of the public parks on the river.

Of indoor athletic games none has been more popular in Milwaukee than bowling. Milwaukee bowling clubs, in sober verity, have been "too numerous to mention."

For many years the Turner societies of Milwaukee were leaders in athletics, and it was their influence that led to provision for physical exercises in the public schools. "Turn-fests" held in the '60s and '70s brought visiting Turners by the thousands from other cities. Milwaukee Turners captured trophies at a competition in Germany with the most skilled athletes from all parts of the world. So general was the interest in their festivals that on the occasions of the larger gatherings triumphal arches of wood, gaily decorated with trees and bunting, were erected in their honor, and the whole population of the city turned out to witness their parades.

Baseball as a man's game attracted wide attention in the era immediately following the Civil war. That was when non-professional organizations of players flourished in leading cities of the United States. The outstanding Milwaukee ball-players were known as the Cream City Club. In 1868 they played a match with the Red Stockings of Cincinnati, using the grounds near the lake front on which soldiers had been encamped during the Civil war. The Red Stockings won, much to the disappointment of the spectators. Within a few years from that time the professionalization of the national game had become established.

Attempts to build up an interest in cricket in Milwaukee met with only moderate success. Football came later, its prestige in Milwaukee having been greatly enhanced by the prowess of players identified with Marquette University.

Rowing clubs in earlier days were more in the public eye than they are today. There always have been enthusiastic amateur sailors in Milwaukee. The Yacht Club attests their existence at the present time. But except for swimming, amusement-lovers of the present generation use the lake far less than did their predecessors. Very few were the girls who learned to swim in the older time, and boys who mastered the accomplishment were practically only those who happened to live near the water. To-

day the average Milwaukee boy would consider himself defrauded if denied opportunity to learn how to swim—and in innumerable instances the average girl is ambitious to engage in all the recreational pursuits permitted to her brothers. During the summer season the municipality maintains six public bathing places on the lake, and three on the river, besides which there are six municipal natatoria, open the year around.

The number of parks and playgrounds in Milwaukee at the present time is fifty-eight, and their aggregate acreage 1,113. Lake Park, on the shore of Lake Michigan, is one of the most picturesque pleasure-grounds in America, with golf links, tennis courts, a swimming beach, bridle-paths and shady lanes—a paradise for all seeking a cool retreat from summer heat. Washington Park, celebrated for its zoo, which is one of the finest in the country, attracts innumerable visitors on every fine day. Mitchell Park's sunken garden and extensive conservatory, in which exhibitions of choice flowers are held at frequent intervals, is a favorite resort. Lincoln Park is appreciated for its golf links, which are greatly frequented. Visitors will find attractions in all of the Milwaukee parks.

Many of the early settlers of Milwaukee came from Eastern cities where they had acquired a love for entertainment of the description afforded by the stage. In the hall on the third floor of the Hustis Building at the northwest corner of Third and Chestnut streets, Lynn & Powell's Detroit and Chicago Company opened a week's engagement on the evening of the 27th of September, 1842, with a series of performances of the legitimate drama. One of the plays which they produced was Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice;" another was Schiller's "William Tell." So pleasing was the reception accorded to these pioneer Thespians that it encouraged Mr. Powell to return to Milwaukee in 1843 with a stock company. On this occasion he located on the East Side, leasing a hall on Main Street, now Broadway, and producing among others the following plays: "The Stranger," "The Lady of the Lake," "The Drunkard's Fate." Milwaukee lovers of the drama raised a fund of $500 to induce him to stay. The warehouse of Tuffts & Crandall had become vacant, and this was fitted up as a theater; but after a time it ceased to pay.

OLD CREAM CITY BASEBALL CLUB—1869

Archie McFadden, M. Lumkin, E. C. Wells, W. H. Dodsworth, W. C. Smith, George Redding, J. H. Wood, F. A. Smith, C. S. Norris.

SUNKEN GARDENS, MITCHELL PARK

In the fall of 1846 there arrived in Milwaukee a man who possessed undoubted gifts as a manager of theatrical entertainments—John B. Rice. He made arrangements for the use of the building on what was then Oneida Street known as Military Hall, and with the assistance of Miss Mossop (afterward Mrs. John Drew) and Mr. and Mrs. Merrifield, Mr. Rice and his wife also taking part in the performances, gave during the winter a series of standard theatrical entertainments which enlisted popular interest and support. With several citizens of means as backers, he erected on what afterward became the site of "the New Insurance Building" a structure deemed worthy in its day of the not unpretentious designation of "the Opera House," where, on the 29th of November, 1848, an audience of a thousand people attended a performance of "As You Like It." One of the actors in Mr. Rice's company at that time was James H. McVicker. Later both Rice and McVicker transferred their base of operations to Chicago. James E. Murdock found his way to Rice's Milwaukee theater during the season of 1849 and also in 1850. Signor Guibelei and M'lle Brienti appeared in Italian opera. In the next two seasons the patronage seems to have fallen off. January 23, 1853, the theater occupied by Mr. Rice burned down. It was then that he decided to abandon Milwaukee and identify himself with the fortunes of the Illinois metropolis.

A place of entertainment of a distinctly different type was the Gaiety Theater, on Main Street below Huron Street. This was built by John Ryan. Its destruction by fire on the night of November 15, 1869, was accompanied by a panic in the audience and the loss of two lives, besides which several persons were more or less seriously injured.

Gardiner's Hall, in the top story of the building erected by J. B. Martin on the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets in 1850, was a popular place of amusement for several years. In 1853 Joseph Kurz leased the old Market House, on the present site of the City Hall, and made it the first home of a German theater in Milwaukee. Young's Hall, erected by William P. Young, at the northeast corner of Wisconsin Street and Broadway, in 1852, was intended for a theater, and was to have been opened with a concert by the Milwaukee Musical Society on the 17th of February in that year. Unfortunately it

took fire from some unknown cause and was burned to the ground. William P. Young was a man not easily discouraged. Before the bricks had time to cool he made up his mind to rebuild. It was in the new Young's Hall, occupying the old site, that in the spring of 1853 the Musical Society appeared for the first time in an operatic offering, "Czar und Zimmerman," otherwise "The Czar and the Carpenter," based on a romantic episode in the history of Peter the Great. It was in the same hall, a few weeks later, that Ole Bull made his first appearance before a Milwaukee audience. Here also, still later, came Maurice Strakosh and Adalina Patti, the latter a mere child, though even then a charming singer.

Young's Hall was again burned to the ground in 1859, and once more rebuilt in the following year, when it was given a new name, "The Academy of Music." Its theater was well equipped, with a capacity for seating fourteen hundred people, and was Milwaukee's principal place of entertainment till the Musical Society erected its "New Music Hall" on the west side of Milwaukee Street, near Michigan Street, in 1865. It was at about this time that the former Young Building became the Miller Block, the portion which had housed the theater being reconstructed and leased to the Young Men's Association, which used the spacious quarters for its library, later given to the city, to become the nucleus of the public library, an important adjunct to the free educational facilities maintained by the municipality for the benefit of the inhabitants of Milwaukee.

Another creditably equipped and spacious place of assemblage, frequently used for dramatic and musical entertainments as well as for other public gatherings, was Albany Hall, on the site of the present Chamber of Commerce Building. Albany Hall was destroyed by fire in 1862. Still another was a hall on an upper floor of the Birchard Block, at the corner of Spring and Second streets.

Music Hall, reconstructed and handsomely refurnished, came to be known as the Academy of Music, and was the city's favorite place of high-class entertainment for many years, having, however, a worthy competitor after the erection of the Grand Opera House, built by Jacob and Herman Nunnemacher in 1871 on the

north side of Oneida Street, and occupying most of the frontage between River and East Water streets.

Those were the palmy days of the spoken drama in America. Actors like Edwin Booth and E. L. Davenport and Lawrence Barrett and actresses like Madame Janauschek and Modjeska were in the habit of touring the country, usually with excellent supporting companies, and they, as well as numerous competent though lesser lights, found their way to Milwaukee, delighting the playgoing public with performances at the Academy of Music or the Grand Opera House. Singers of world-wide fame, as well as accomplished instrumentalists, also often appeared at one or another of these places of high-class entertainment. There were times when stock companies made headquarters at the Academy and the Opera House, contributing to the attractiveness of life in Milwaukee.

In the middle '90s the Opera House became the Stadt Theater, presenting standard German drama in a manner that commanded support not only from Germans but from the discriminating portion of the public in general.

The Davidson Theater, built in 1890 at a cost of $400,000, took high rank among the leading playhouses of the West. Its partial destruction by fire on the 9th of April, 1894, occurred at an hour when its auditorium was unoccupied, but is nevertheless of tragic memory, for eight heroic firemen lost their lives while engaged in fighting the flames.

Long before the cinematograph there were picture shows in Milwaukee. The *Sentinel* of August 12, 1854, contained the following announcement: "The panorama of the Crystal Palace will be exhibited at Young's Hall again this evening. As the original will not stand long in New York, this picture, furnishing some idea of its beauty, becomes more valuable." In the middle '60s a panorama of New York was exhibited at Birchard's Hall, on Spring Street. Not only were residents of the city entertained, but people from places in the interior of the State sometimes made journeys into town, bringing their families, and carrying home pleasant recollections of what they had seen. A resident of the vicinity of Whitewater, who witnessed the spectacle, wrote of it with enthusiasm. "When the views of the Hudson River and the Battery were before our eyes," he wrote to a

THE OLD ACADEMY OF MUSIC, LATER THE SCHUBERT THEATRE

friend, "they seemed so real that we fancied we could feel the cool breeze from the water blowing into our faces from the stage." Sometimes allegorical subjects afforded inspiration for the panorama artists. A panorama brought to Milwaukee at about the time referred to was devoted to the subject of "Paradise Lost," giving representations of the conflict between the hosts of Lucifer and the Archangel Michael; the Garden of Eden, the temptation and the fall. These panoramas were huge paintings mounted on rollers, and were unwound from one roller and wound on to another as the exhibition proceeded. One of the last of the successful panoramas of this type was devoted to the scenery of Ireland, and traveled under the name of MacEvoy's Hibernicon. In addition to the pictures the audience was provided entertainment of a dramatic character, consisting of songs and dialogues, the whole being woven into a story of the adventures of a party of American tourists visiting the "Ould Sod," accompanied by a guide whose blunders and capers and ready wit were remindful of Lover's "Handy Andy."

Leisure and means essential to the maintenance of club houses were wanting in the formative period of Milwaukee, but there was zest in friendly intercourse, and no dearth of organization more or less informal promotive of opportunity for gatherings of congenial people. To two groups of young men among the early settlers much credit is due for imparting intellectual stimulus and providing cultural opportunities that were lacking. The earlier of these held its initial meeting on the 10th of January, 1839, and elected the following officers: President, Dr. Lucius I. Barber; vice president, Hans Crocker; secretary, I. A. Lapham; executive committee, William A. Prentiss, H. N. Wells, Joshua Hathaway, J. E. Arnold, J. S. Rockwell and John H. Tweedy. Its meetings brought together most of the educated members of the young community. The corporate name adopted by this organization was the Milwaukee Lyceum. In 1842 it established a museum illustrating the natural history of the vicinity of Milwaukee, the members vieing with one another in the contribution of specimens to its collections, and participating in forensic efforts to solve the social and political problems of the time.

Many of the early members, including Doctor Barber, moved away, but the Lyceum survived for several years. Its immediate

successor was the Young Men's Association, founded on the 8th of December, 1847, at a meeting attended by E. P. Allis, Garret Vliet, S. Osgood Putnam, E. D. Holton, John H. Van Dyke and others, whose central object was the establishment of a library and reading room. Committees were appointed to conduct a canvass for funds and members. By the 5th of February following they were able to report subscriptions totalling $1,513 and a membership list of 121. Quarters were rented at the northwest corner of Wisconsin and Main streets. At the end of the first year of its existence the library contained 810 volumes, many of which had been obtained by donations and the others by purchase. Standard periodicals were kept on file for the benefit of visitors to the reading room and books were issued to members to be read at home. During the first two years the librarian was Edward Hopkins, who served gratuitously, and the library was open only on Saturdays and Wednesday afternoons. Then a paid attendant was engaged, and subsequently a lecture course was arranged, with the object of swelling the Association's income. In 1852 the organization was incorporated by legislative enactment, the incorporators being Henry W. Tenney, Martin J. Burke, Benjamin K. Miller, William J. Bell, John P. McGregor, Dr. John K. Bartlett, Charles F. Ilsley, Joshua Stark, Winfield Smith, Henry J. Nazro and Robert Menzies, who, with their associates and successors, were authorized to hold, transfer and convey real and personal property to the amount of $25,000, together with books, furniture and apparatus necessary for attaining the objects of the Association. The Association encountered ups and downs. Once its possessions were threatened by fire, but carried to safety by members and bystanding volunteers. For a time it was housed by Sidney L. Rood, the bookseller, whose place of business was in the Kirby Block at the northeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Having experimented with local talent for its lecture course, the Association ventured engaging noted men from a distance and met with support from the public which poured welcome dollars into its treasury. George William Curtis, Horace Mann, Bayard Taylor, Horace Greeley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, John B. Gough, Wendell Phillips, Thomas Starr King, Henry Ward Beecher and Charles Sumner were among the orators it brought to Milwaukee.

In 1862 the membership of the Association had risen to 1,159 and the number of books on its shelves to 5,274. The profits of the lecture course that year were $735. For several years the rooms of the Association were on the second floor of the *Sentinel* Building on Mason Street. In 1867 it moved to spacious quarters in what afterward came to be known as the Miller Building, at the northeast corner of Wisconsin Street and Broadway. Its collection of books at this time exceeded 10,000 volumes. Its members numbered more than 3,000. Its lecture course for 1866 had netted the handsome sum of $2,041. The high tide of the Association's prosperity had been reached and passed. Expenses had increased, while membership and income dwindled. In 1878, rooms at a lower rental were taken in the Academy of Music on Milwaukee Street. The difficulty of adjusting means to ends continued. On the 8th of March, 1878, the Association transferred its property to the City of Milwaukee, forming the nucleus of the Public Library which since that time has constituted a valuable auxiliary to the educational establishment of the city.

Well remembered among the librarians during the Association period are E. C. Arnold, who was incumbent of the position from 1859 to 1870; Samuel F. Peacock, his successor; Edwin Upson, who followed Mr. Peacock in 1873, and Miss Elizabeth Gifford, who afterward became Mrs. George W. Peckham.

The library never had a better friend than Sidney Rood, who not only gave it shelter after the fire, but on several occasions when it was in financial difficulties became a voluntary solicitor for subscriptions to replenish its empty treasury. Very appropriately, an oil portrait of Mr. Rood, presented after his death in 1874 by a number of his admirers, has a place on one of the walls in the monumental building which, as a municipal institution, the library occupies at the present time.

More casual in its origin, and more distinctly recreational in its object than either of the organizations described above was the Jenny Lind Club, which flourished in the early '50s and was the outcome of an excursion to New York to hear the Swedish Nightingale at Niblo's Garden on her arrival in America. This was prior to the completion of railroad communication between Milwaukee and the East, and the journey was an event. Among the party were Alexander Mitchell, Hans Crocker and Judge Hubbell,

who, after their return, organized a social club, with Gen. Rufus King, Norman J. Emmons, James S. Brown, Josiah A. Noonan and others of the then old settlers. They were accused of directing the course of politics, and were lampooned in a famous essay from the pen of E. G. Ryan.

The St. Andrews Society, organized by Scotchmen of the city, with Alexander Mitchell as its first president, began a long and honorable career in 1859. Its initial banquet, in celebration of the centenary of Robert Burns, is still recalled as one of the most interesting prandial events in the history of Milwaukee. Its picnics, introducing Scottish athletic games, were participated in by residents irrespective of racial distinctions, and were greatly enjoyed by old and young. In the winter of 1866-7 the Curran Literary Society, devoted to music and the drama as well as to oratory and literary study, and including ladies as well as gentlemen in its membership, was begun. Its first president was Patrick Donnelly. The society was active and influential for eight years. Several German organizations for literary and musical study, the Holland Literary Society, the Progress Club, the Concordia Club, and the Popular Science Club, of which Dr. O. W. Wight was president, had interesting and useful careers.

In the early '70s there was a social and literary organization known as the Alphabet Club, at whose meetings men and women conspicuous in the life of the city at that time passed happy evenings. It was organized in the parlors of Mrs. Charles Schley at the Newhall House on the 27th of January, 1872, subsequent gatherings of the members taking place at the residences of Mrs. Edward Sanderson, Mrs. John E. Gardner, Mrs. Joshua Hathaway, Mrs. Lewis McKnight, Mrs. Frank H. Terry, Mrs. George W. Allen, Mrs. John Woolley, and others. Lansing Bonnell and Henry A. Chittenden also, on separate occasions, acted as hosts of the club. Among its members besides the ladies named and several others were Judge Levi Hubbell, Capt. I. M. Bean, William Henry Bishop, W. G. Byron, Judge James G. Jenkins, James G. Flanders, Miss Pomeroy, afterward Mrs. A. F. Merrill, Miss Lucy M. Schley, afterward Mrs. Thomas R. Mercein, and Etta W. Pierce.

The intention at first was to confine the programme at each meeting to the production of original compositions in imitation

of the styles of designated authors in prose and verse. Later, however, the exercises were expanded to include music, declamation, selected readings and nearly every variety of social entertainment except dancing. The club derived great enjoyment from the facetious reports of Mr. Terry, the sprightly "minutes" of the secretaries, Miss Clark and Miss Bedell, the delightful songs of Mrs. Sanderson, the Misses Barry, Schley and others, the pathetic readings of Mrs. Woolley and Mrs. Small, the wit and spirit of Judge Hubbell, the finished elocution of Captain Bean and the inimitable drollery of Will Byron. Started as an experiment, at the suggestion of Mrs. Charles Schley, who was its president, the Alphabet Club was a distinct success. But "all bright things come to conclusion." When the Alphabet Club disbanded Judge Hubbell embalmed the event in the following lines:

Tonight, Alphabeta, we sunder
The ties that have bound us as one,
And reck not, though all the world wonder,
Why links so divine are undone.
We part, but we part not in sorrow,
Though parting comes ever too soon,
The bright past will shine on our morrow
As sunlight illumines the moon.
Our pastimes were not born to perish
Like autumn leaves strewn on the plain.
The scenes and affections we cherish
Are doomed to no long winter's reign.
But hearts have their seasons of rest,
And brains fold their wings, to replume,
As blooms, when the sun seeks the west,
Close up their bright hues and perfume.
Oh, lost one, we sing thee no dirge—
Though mute for a while be thy lips,
We know that thy star will emerge
Undimmed by its transient eclipse.
Then, dear Alphabeta, adieu.
The spells that have bound us so long
Thy magical voice will renew,
Immortal in fun, wit and song.

Judge Hubbell was by no means the only fluent rhymer in the club. Others who produced poems of merit for its entertainment were Miss Lucy Schley, and Messrs. Chittenden and Bishop.

The Shakespeare Club was another organization which came into being in the '70s. It had its inception on the South Side, and flourished for fifteen years or more. Among its members at the

outset were Mr. and Mrs. John M. Stowell, Mr. and Mrs. James Douglas, Dr. Joseph Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Wright, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Massey, and a number of younger people, including some of the children of the originators as they arrived at suitable ages to participate in the study of the immortal bard. After 1878 the meetings of the club were held on the East Side, frequently at the residence of the Stowells. In its long career the club studied nearly all the thirty-one plays of Shakespeare and made excursions into the domain of history and criticism pertaining thereto. There were no "Baconians" in the membership of the Shakespeare Club. After it had gone out of existence there were other Shakespeare clubs, modeled on the original and living up to its traditions.

The Literary Association of Wisconsin, which existed for several years in the '90s and included in its membership many authors, some of them well known, residing in different parts of the State, but coming to attend its meetings, was indebted to the generous hospitality of Mrs. Effie Hand Martin, who was one of its officers. She opened her house for social gatherings of the organization and provided bountiful entertainment.

All old Milwaukeeans remember the Liberal Club, which for a number of years foregathered at a hall on lower Grand Avenue and later at Severance's Hall on Milwaukee Street, for the discussion of "questions of the day." Robert C. Spencer, Robert Schilling, Colin Campbell, Col. C. K. Pier, Gerry W. Hazelton, Judge L. W. Halsey, Henry Smith, Eugene S. Elliott, John Johnston, Arthur Bate, Peter Doyle, Jeremiah Quin, Hugh Ryan, E. G. Comstock, John T. Kelly, James Leedom, Judge Emil Wallber, Dr. Juliet Severance, Dr. Julia Ford, and the genial octogenarian, George P. Sherman, popularly known as "Yankee Sherman," were a few among the many who at different times occupied the platform of the Liberal Club. In the later years of its existence —it lasted for more than a quarter of a century—Dr. E. W. Krackowizer was a frequent attendant at its meetings. The meetings of the Liberal Club were anything but dull.

When the Liberal Club started it was decided to make its platform free for everybody. Whatever was asserted by the speaker of the evening was open to debate, and on the debate there were no restrictions except a time limit of five minutes.

In five minutes a caustic critic can shoot off very startling remarks. All the meetings of the Liberal Club were open to everybody wishing to attend. A reporter who was a frequent visitor wrote the following graphic description:

"Evenings at the Liberal Club begin quietly. While the people straggle in, the president sits back in his armchair on the rostrum and looks as mild as can be. To gaze upon his restful, benevolent face, a stranger never would guess that before the close he would occupy a position analogous to that of master of ceremonies at an affair of honor. Many a man has bitten the dust on that floor, and when the image-breakers once get to work they assail everything assailable. If a man has a pet theory or a belief he is not prepared to defend with facts and plausible arguments he had better not broach it here, for the debaters are alert and merciless. They are waiting to tear surface opinions and sophistries to pieces. They are no respecters of persons or of other people's beliefs. The chairman knows what to expect, but when the moment for opening arrives he taps calmly with his gavel and announces a musical number or two, for music usually precedes the paper of the evening. The music soothes the 'cranks,' and they are in such good humor when the lecturer begins that he is given the most respectful hearing in the world. The worst the chair does at this stage of the proceedings is to shake his head, by way of non-concurrence, and he does this as if he were shaking it to himself more than to those about him. When the lecturer has concluded and folded up his paper or pocketed his notes, as the case may be, there comes a lull like the calm before a storm. The president observes that it is the custom to allow five-minute criticisms from those in the audience who desire to avail themselves of the privilege. He takes out his watch and sets it upon the table, and the lecturer, if inexperienced, supposes that the gathering is about to break up. Like as not he reaches for his hat. The fun is just about to begin. As many as half a dozen may have been taking notes for the purpose of making a reply. Certain names are called by persons in the audience. Their owners affect diffidence, and are admonished by the chair not to be bashful. Some of the amenities of debate at the Liberal Club are marvels in their way. A young lady teacher from one of the city schools read a paper on 'Tobacco,' her remarks tending to

prove that the weed is a curse to civilization. In the debate which followed searching lights were thrown on the great narcotic, and its stock went up and down with the regularity of a passenger elevator. The antis seemed to be getting the better of it when a member of the club jumped to his feet, producing from a hip-pocket a huge square of 'plug' and flourishing it over the heads of his auditors. 'I use tobacco in moderation,' he declared, 'and I don't believe my liver is hurt a bit. They say tobacco takes years off a man's life. Well, if I have to, I'll gladly give ten years of life for the exhilaration I get out of this!' Saying which he treated himself to a voracious bite. This brought an anti-tobacconist to the floor with the remark: 'If Mr. Kennedy's liver could be exposed to view here tonight I believe it would look even worse than that nasty plug of tobacco he has thrust into our faces, the sight of which is enough to make a decent person sick.' One night, after Doctor Severance had lectured on 'Spiritualism,' in which she was an enthusiastic believer, Mr. Bate responded with choler, 'Evidently that woman is crazy on this subject.' He went on to give a materialistic explanation of spiritualistic 'raps.' When he had concluded, Doctor Severance rejoined, 'My friend talks of raps being produced by toe-joints. That isn't insanity. That is sheer idiocy.' There were several Single-Taxers in the membership of the Liberal Club. After a lecture in which Henry Georgeism had received a dressing-down, one of the Single-Taxers shouted: 'Henry George knows more in one year than you will in a hundred, Mr. Lecturer. You've got a good deal to learn. I advise you to give five years to the study of Henry George, and then come back here and speak to us again.' "

There were people who attended meetings of the club for years and never took part in the debates, being content to sit and listen, for sheer amusement. Some of them said that they could tell what line of argument most of the "old standbys" would make before they had uttered a word. "Yankee Sherman" was "worked up" on tee-totallism, believing it a remedy for all the ills that flesh is heir to and every evil that afflicts the nation. E. T. Sercomb and E. G. Comstock were prohibitionists as enthusiastic as Mr. Sherman. There were woman suffragists who found an argument for extension of the franchise in everything of which other critics complained. There were Socialists who could see no

merit in total abstinence or single-tax or woman suffrage, but were convinced that all would be well as soon as the country turned to socialism.

The Forum Club was a less miscellaneous group than the Liberal Club, and its assemblies were models of parliamentary decorum. Many papers of considerable literary merit were read at the meetings of this club, whose members were chiefly young men engaged in the professions or business men with a zest for scholarly pursuits, among them being Franz C. Eschweiler, Andrew D. Agnew and Herman Reel. There had been an earlier Forum Club, which met in the parlors of the Plankinton House for the consideration of subjects within the domain of science and art. Of this organization well-known members were George H. Paul, Dr. George W. Peckham, John Johnston, George Gordon, and others whose learning and experience carried weight. This Forum Club had ceased to function several years before its namesake came into the field.

Still another organization devoted to disquisitions on moot questions followed by debate was the Milwaukee League, among whose members were Humphrey J. Desmond and his brother, William J. Desmond, John T. Kelly, E. G. Comstock, William M. Foster, Joseph G. Donnelly, A. McD. Sinclair, Rollin B. Mallory, Fred S. Hunt, and perhaps in all as many as forty others from time to time. It ceased to function after 1894, but left so many pleasant memories in the minds of those who had belonged to it that ten years later they held a reunion dinner, at which the organization that took form under the name of the Sunset Club was proposed. George H. Yenowine, referring to the League in his *Sunday News* of September 13, 1889, called it "the paragon of debating societies," and went on:

"The League is the only institution of the kind which has proved capable of surviving the vicissitudes that ordinarily serve as stumbling blocks to the welfare of literary organizations. It was established some ten or twelve years ago, has included in its membership most of the prominent and brainy young men of the city, and comes up this season as chipper as ever. It was originally confined to young gentlemen of the legal persuasion, although an occasional newspaper man was admitted in order to give spice to the proceedings, but of late years the scope of its membership

has been somewhat enlarged and anyone of reputable character and literary tastes may gain admission. With such powerful intellectual lights as Millett, Bice, Comstock, Ford, Wilson, Campbell, Mackey, Bowsfield, Brand, Morris and the two Desmonds in full play, it may be conceived that the early meetings of the League were resplendent with elocutionary pyrotechnics."

Founded in 1904, the Sunset Club flourished from the start, performing a useful function and adding to the interest of life in Milwaukee. The management of its affairs was in the hands of an executive committee, who arranged its meetings, prepared its programmes, selected speakers to take the lead in discussions and left no responsibilities to the members except to pay their dues and attend its dinners, the latter being held at leading hotels and their costs being defrayed by the persons who ate them. After the club had made drafts upon local talent for several years the policy of inviting speakers from abroad was resorted to, the outlay for traveling expenses and fees to lecturers being divided by the number of members present and added to the cost of their dinners.

Humphrey J. Desmond, Andrew D. Agnew, Dr. T. L. Harrington, John H. Kopmeier, Franz C. Eschweiler, Christian Doerfler and D. McK. Sinclair were energetic members of the club's Executive Committee. In its prospectus for 1909 the Sunset Club published a resume of the subjects discussed at twenty dinners given at intervals between September, 1904, and December, 1908.

The opening dinner was held at the Plankinton House on the evening of the 27th of September, 1904, with Humphrey J. Desmond in the chair and Guy D. Goff and Joseph G. Donnelly as the principal speakers, the subject for discussion being "Is Roosevelt a Safe Man?" Among the speakers at subsequent dinners were leading clergymen, lawyers, teachers and business men of the city, and now and then celebrities from a distance. May 6, 1907, the topic being "Is It a Function of the Pulpit at Times to Discuss Questions of Civic and Social Morality?" the leaders were Archbishop Messmer and the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Beale. In December of that year Andrew J. Frame and John I. Beggs led in discussion of the causes and remedies of industrial depressions.

"Tolerant after-dinner discussions develop the civic consciousness of a community; they make us acquainted with our fellow citizens and give us an opportunity of hearing the 'men of light and leading.'" It was with this conviction that the Sunset Club had entered upon its career, and the success of the undertaking demonstrated the validity of the assumption. When the club disbanded it was because a number of those who had been active in its interests became the sponsors of another association, identical in its aims but more elaborate in its organization and equipment, the City Club, which is still in existence and enjoying a high state of prosperity.

Women are eligible to membership in the City Club on equal terms with men. Its primary object is to promote interchange of ideas and facilitate coöperation on the part of citizens interested in the advancement of civic welfare. Its early movements were tentative. At the outset it held its meetings in hotels. In 1913 it rented space on the upper floor of a building on East Wisconsin Street, and in 1917 took possession of comfortable quarters in the Merrill Building on the other side of the river. Here it served luncheons and dinners and offered attractive accommodations for members desirous of keeping down-town appointments with business or professional acquaintances as well as for casually entertaining visitors to the city. During occupancy of the Merrill Building the membership increased from between seven and eight hundred to something above two thousand. On the completion of the Empire Building the Club secured spacious quarters in that modern and centrally located structure, in which it is ideally housed. Noteworthy enterprises have been the lecture courses, conducted every winter, and bringing a long list of distinguished speakers to Milwaukee, many of them coming as dinner guests of the Club. Participants in this hospitality in years gone by included Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, James W. Gerard, Sir Coningsby Dawson, Dr. Alfred Sze, Lord Charnwood, Catherine Breschkovsky, Count Ilya Tolstoy, Sir Gilbert Parker, Maj. William G. Haan, Gen. Joseph Haller and Maurice Francis Egan.

Independence Day at Milwaukee in 1869 was celebrated on the 5th of July, because the Fourth had fallen on a Sunday. It was interesting for many things. Various were the forms of

recreation indulged in by the people. Members of the Light Guard, with many of their friends, joined in an excursion to Oconomowoc, where they listened to an oration by Senator Matt H. Carpenter. For citizens remaining in town there were racing at Cold Spring course; a game of baseball on the old camp grounds near the lake, and DeHaven's circus at Second Ward Park. For young folks there were fireworks of the comparatively harmless descriptions in use at that time; the "cannon cracker," laden with dynamite, had not yet been devised. It was on this day that a number of pioneer settlers assembled at the courthouse, built by Juneau and Martin, and completed the organization of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, preliminaries for which formality had been in progress for several weeks.

Signers of the call for the meeting were Samuel Brown, Horace Chase, William A. Prentiss, Elisha Starr, Eliphalet Cramer, Josiah A. Noonan, Frederick Wardner, Cyrus Hawley, Sylvester Pettibone, Levi Blossom, D. A. J. Upham, Harrison Ludington and many others. Judge Andrew G. Miller presided and Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy acted as secretary. Ninety of those in attendance attached their autographs to the Constitution of the Club, which provided that any person of good moral character who had settled in Milwaukee County as organized before January 1, 1839, might become a member by signing the Constitution and paying the initiation fee and annual dues. The object of the organization was the revival of old associations and historic memories pertaining to the settlement and development of Milwaukee. Among the first signers of the Constitution were Samuel Brown and Horace Chase, who had settled in Milwaukee in 1834, and the following who had come in 1835: William Sivyer, William H. Chamberlain, Daniel Wells, Jr., A. O. T. Breed, Owen Aldrich, Dr. Alfred Castleman, Charles James, Garret Vliet, Benjamin Church, Philander W. Dodge, William Strothmann, George S. West, John Fowle, Joseph Dibley, Enoch Chase, Cyrus Hawley, D. H. Richards, John Ogden, M. L. Burdick, John Bowen, William H. Skinner, Andrew Douglas, D. R. Packard, and George D. Dousman.

The election of officers was next in order. Observing that Horace Chase and Samuel Brown were the senior old settlers present, John Furlong proposed that they should draw lots for

the presidency of the Club. Horace Chase became the first president, and Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy the first secretary. During the following eleven years the presidents in annual succession were Samuel Brown, Enoch Chase, Judge Andrew G. Miller, who was re-elected at the conclusion of his first term, Increase Allen Lapham, William A. Prentiss, Daniel Wells, Jr., Don A. J. Upham, Morgan L. Burdick, William P. Merrill, and again William A. Prentiss. Many interesting papers, making valuable contributions to the history of the city, were read at the regular gatherings of the organization, and several of them were printed. The Club collected relics of the early days, forming the nucleus of the museum which is preserved to the present time. Secretary Pomeroy continued in office till his death in 1870. His successor was John M. Miller, who was re-elected annually till 1881, up to which year the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County was the only association devoted to preserving the memories and traditions of old Milwaukee.

At this time arose differences of opinion as to whether the Club should modify its Constitution to permit the entry of younger men or face the fate of ultimate extinction by reason of the passing away of the pioneers. After much debate the controversy was ended by the adoption of the following resolution, designed to make the organization perpetual:

"Resolved, That all male descendants of those who settled in Milwaukee County prior to January 1, 1843, of good moral character, upon attaining the age of twenty-one years and complying with the conditions of this Constitution, shall be eligible to membership upon the recommendation of the executive committee."

Some of the older members, dissenting from this proposed alteration of the scope of the Club, organized the Early Pioneer Association of Milwaukee County, in which eligibility for membership was confined to male persons who had reached the age of fifty years prior to January 1, 1879, were of good standing in the community, and had become residents of Milwaukee County previous to January 1, 1844. For several years thereafter the membership of the Old Settlers' Club was considerably reduced; but it continued to exist, and after a time a number of pioneers who had withdrawn during the heat of the controversy resumed their membership. The Pioneer Association indicated that it was

GROUP OF OLD SETTLERS

This picture was taken at the picnic of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County in 1911. Seated in the center is Charles Milwaukee Sivyer, first white boy born in Milwaukee; on his right, Jeremiah Quin and George A. McGarigle; on his left, John H. Kopmeier and George W. Lee; of those standing in the background the three in the center are M. A. Boardman, Peter Van Vechten, Jr., and E. B. Simpson; seated on the ground are E. H. Sivyer and Julius Wechselberg.

SOME FAMILIAR FACES

Past presidents of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County who were living in 1918.

not hostile to the Old Settlers' Club by adopting a resolution that the badge of the Old Settlers' Club should be worn by members of the Pioneer Association. From 1882 to 1889 inclusive the annual banquets of the Old Settlers' Club and the Pioneer Association were held jointly. From the menu card of the banquet of February, 1882, it appears that the membership of the Old Settlers' Club had shriveled to fourteen, while the Pioneer Association at that time had fifty-two members. By 1889 the membership of the Old Settlers' Club had risen to eighty-nine and that of the Pioneer Association had shrunk to forty-three.

Meantime, in 1887, a committee consisting of John G. Ogden, W. B. Miller and John A. Dadd had been appointed to revise the Constitution of the Old Settlers' Club, which object was effected on the 19th of September in that year, when the organization became incorporated. The presidents of the Club since 1880 have been as follows: 1881, Daniel W. Fowler; 1882, George H. Chase; 1883, Tully H. Smith; 1884-5, George Abert; 1886-7, M. A. Boardman; 1888-90, John A. Dadd; 1891-4, Ninian Masson; 1895-6, Peter Van Vechten, Jr.; 1897-8, Joshua Stark; 1899-1900, A. G. Weissert; 1901-2, James Madison Pereles; 1903, George W. Ogden; 1904, Jeremiah Quin; 1905, Gerry W. Hazelton; 1906, Edward B. Simpson; 1907, William George Bruce; 1908, Julius Wechselberg; 1909, John H. Kopmeier; 1910, James A. Bryden; 1911, John G. Gregory; 1912, Frederick Scheiber; 1913, Frank P. Wilbur; 1914, Simon Kander; 1915, George W. Lee; 1916, Judge L. W. Halsey; 1917, John H. Manschot; 1918, William Ward Wight; 1920-21-22, Sol A. Eckstein; 1924, Peter J. Koehler; 1925, Henry C. Schranck; 1926, Robert P. Hansen; 1927, H. J. Pauly; 1928-9, William H. Park; 1930, J. H. Bletcher. For many years the official historian of the Club was Henry W. Bleyer. W. W. Wight, elected to fill the vacancy caused by his death, is the present incumbent of the office. George W. Young was the efficient secretary for many years. The present secretary is the Rev. F. S. McNeill. In 1916 George Richardson was entrusted with the duties of librarian, to which he has given faithful attention since that time, much to the advantage of the Club and of all seekers for information relating to the history of Milwaukee. The marshals of the Club have been James S. Buck, M. A. Boardman and C. D. Simonds, the last named gentle-

man, who is the present incumbent, being also the Club's financial secretary.

To George W. Ogden, chairman of the committee on monuments, was due great credit for years of faithful service in connection with the placing of bronze tablets to mark localities identified with outstanding incidents in the history of the city. In many instances he made generous contributions toward defraying the costs of this work. Mr. Ogden died on December 24, 1930, at the age of eighty-six.

The South Side Old Settlers' Club and the West Side Old Settlers' Club are independent organizations similar in their aims to the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, but restricted in their scope to their respective sections of the city. Both are in a flourishing condition.

Milwaukee's reputation as a musical center began with the Milwaukee Musical Society, of whose origin the following account was written in 1909 by a son of one of its founders:

"May 1, 1851, a meeting at the store of Mahler & Wendt, on Spring Street, near West Water, resulted in the organization of the Musical Society, with Hans Balatka leader, Jacob Mahler president, Rufus King vice president and Charles Geisberg treasurer. On May 1 it gave its first concert in Military Hall, on the East Side. On July 2, 1851, in the M. E. Church at the corner of Spring and West Water Streets, it gave Haydn's oratorio of 'The Creation.' Jacob Mahler and his wife were enthusiastic lovers of music. Mrs. Mahler possessed a fine soprano voice. There were a number of good instrumental musicians and singers in the city, including Henry Niedecken, dealer in books and stationery; Charles Geisberg, baritone; Dr. Huebschmann; F. Schloemilch, teacher, preacher and musician, violinist; Dr. Fessel, violinist, and his three talented daughters, one of whom later became the wife of Director Balatka; Charles H. Wendt, partner in the wine business of Mahler & Wendt; Edward Diederichs, capitalist, who built the Lion House on Franklin Place; Dr. Vogel; Dr. Scheller; Dr. Durege and Dr. Aigner, at that time located near the city and known as 'Latin farmers;' both artists on the cello and violin; Herman Kemper, an insurance agent; O. H. Papendiek, banker; Edward Wiesner, capitalist; Edward Hoffmann; Julius Bruno, and Mr. and Mrs.

Joseph Odz. There were many others. Huebschmann, Niedecken, Schloemilch and Geisberg had formed a male quartette on the West Side; on the East Side a male quartette had been formed by Dr. Vogel, Dr. Scheller, Edward Diederichs and C. E. Wendt. Dr. Fessel, Dr. Aigner, Dr. Durege and one other had organized a string quartette. Others had organized a singing society, practicing somewhere near the Red Bridge. It was Theodore Wettstein who originated the proposal that all should join forces to form a musical society. The first rehearsals were held in a vacant room on the second floor of his wholesale notions store on Spring Street, two doors east of the American House. The production of 'The Creation' was a triumph that fixed the society's reputation at the start. Then came the production of the opera of 'Czar und Zimmermann.' "

The soloists in the rendition of "The Creation" included Mrs. Jacob Mahler, Miss Becker, Henry Niedecken, and Messrs. Geisberg and Biedermann. In "Der Freischutz" a noteworthy impression was made by the singing and acting of William H. Jacobs, who possessed a fine tenor voice and histrionic genius of a high order. For many years the contribution of Colonel Jacobs to the success of its productions was an important asset of the Society.

The Liedertafel, founded in 1858, whose first director was Franz Regenfuss, of the Engelmann Academy, and whose early presidents included John Marr and William Hensel flourished for many years. Emanuel Kuschbert, J. Cintura and Leo Springer were factors in its creditable record of achievement. Another male chorus of distinguished excellence came into existence at about the same time—the Catholic Young Men's Society, afterward known as the Deutscher Maennerverein. It was organized by A. de St. Vincent and among its first officers were F. H. Krautbauer and C. W. Andrae.

Shortly prior to the opening of the Civil war Hans Balatka removed to Chicago, his successor as director of the Musical Society being Frederick Abel, who continued to hold that responsible position for five years. Before the end of the war the Society began the collection of funds for the erection of a building of its own, a daring undertaking at the time, but carried to successful completion with the hearty applause of the com-

munity at large. Its New Music Hall, afterwards known as the Academy of Music, was opened to the public on the evening of January 31, 1865, with Mendelssohn's oratorio of "Paulus," performed by the Musical Society under the direction of Professor Abel. The hall at the time of its completion was the finest theater building in the entire Northwest. Great singers and leading actors were enthusiastic in its praise, and it added not a little to the prestige of the city, attracting the best theatrical and musical talent engaged in touring the United States.

Early in the '70s Professor Balatka returned to Milwaukee and resumed his old post of director of the Musical Society, holding it for two years. Contemporaneously a new Milwaukee singing society, the Philharmonic, was instituted under the leadership of Professor Abel. It was the Philharmonics who opened the Nunnemacher Grand Opera House on the 17th of August, 1871, with a splendid performance of "Martha." Despite its promise of success, the Philharmonic Society was not long-lived. After its dissolution, however, musical enthusiasts who had been its members brought into being two allied organizations, the Arion Club and the Cecilian Choir, which quickly advanced to the front rank.

Beginning with 1877 and concluding with the opening year of the Twentieth century, the presidents of the Arion Club were A. W. Hall, J. L. Colby, Dr. William Thorndike, W. H. Starkweather, L. B. Benton, Francis Hinton, A. G. Bodden, W. P. Bishop, Christian Wahl, Henry M. Mendel, Edward P. Vilas, C. C. Rogers, Andrew D. Agnew, Walter P. Bishop, Eltinge Elmore, Charles E. Sammond and James Currie. The presidents of the Cecilian Choir during the same period were Mrs. Robertson James, Mrs. A. G. Hayden, Miss M. L. Furlong, Mrs. A. E. Foote, Mrs. C. S. Van Duyn, Miss Elizabeth Vose, Mrs. W. E. Haskin, Mrs. J. G. Patterson, Mrs. Charles E. McLenegan, Miss E. M. Black, Mrs. H. A. Sifton and Mrs. George H. D. Johnson.

The first librarian of the Arion Club was W. W. Colvin. Its first director was Professor A. G. Faville, who was followed for a time by W. H. Starkweather, after whom came William M. Tomlins, the latter bringing the united forces of the Arions and the Cecilians to a degree of musical perfection which deservedly attracted wide attention. After the resignation of Mr. Tomlins, in 1888, the position of conductor was occupied in turn by

Frederick Archer and W. H. Pommer. Arthur Weld succeeded the latter in the fall of 1890, remaining till the spring of 1893 and making a brilliant record. He was followed by Daniel Protheroe, whose long and able leadership is of recent memory.

In the fall of 1873 William Mickler was made director of the Musical Society. Disagreement between Mr. Mickler and the male chorus of the Society led to the withdrawal of the latter, which for a time maintained a separate organization, under Eugene Luening. Later the seceders were joined by the ladies' chorus. Meanwhile Professor Otto von Gumpert had been called to the directorship of the Musical Society, but when the ladies withdrew he resigned, whereupon Professor Luening was elected director, the recalcitrant members returning to the fold and harmony resuming its reign. On the resignation of Professor Luening for the purpose of making a European visit, Ernest Catenhusen was made director. He was competent and energetic, and under his guidance the Musical Society continued to prosper.

An undertaking of the Arions which attracted attention among music-lovers throughout the country was its festival of June 13, 14 and 15, 1884, at the great hall in the Exposition Building. Theodore Thomas with his famous orchestra and several of the most noted vocal artists then living were engaged for the occasion, the festival culminating with a magnificent rendition of Haydn's "Creation" in which the principal soloists were Emma Juch, Franz Remmertz and Theodore Toedt. Another feature of the programme was the rendition of excerpts from Wagnerian operas—"Tannhaeuser," "Tristan and Isolde" and "Lohengrin,"—with the assistance of Frau Materna and Emil Scaria from Vienna and Herr Winkelmann from Dresden. For forty-five years the Arion Club and the Cecilian Choir have contributed to the Christmastide enjoyment of music-loving Milwaukeeans by their annual performance of "The Messiah."

In earlier years the Milwaukee Musical Society had taken active part in festivals under the auspices of the North American Saengerbund. This city was selected for the great Saengerfest of 1886, arrangements being under the direction of an executive committee consisting of Henry M. Mendel, president; Frank R. Falk, vice president; Emil Wallber, treasurer; A. C. Zinn, financial secretary; together with A. B. Geilfuss, Guido J. Hansen,

William Biersach, Henry C. Schranck, Julius Goldschmidt, Christoph Paulus, George Koeppen, Paul Bechtner, A. Biersach, F. Schmidt and Herman Sigel. One of the incidents was the offer of a prize of one thousand dollars for the best cantata composed for the occasion, competition being open to the world. The Saengerfest took place in July, with Ernst Catenhusen as principal musical director. More than three thousand voices joined in the mass male chorus which formed the background in the grand concerts. There was an orchestra of one hundred and twenty instruments played by the best talent available in America at large. Soloists of world-wide reputation were engaged, Lilli Lehmann, Marianne Brandt, Joseph von Witt and Joseph Staudigl taking part as soloists in the concerted numbers of Mozart's "Requiem" and also appearing as a quartette. Rafael Joseffi, the pianist, and Max Heinrich, the baritone, came all the way from Germany to participate in the festival. Interesting numbers were contributed by the Arions and the Cecilian Choir, under the direction of Mr. Tomlins, who also trained for the occasion a children's chorus of a thousand voices, which sang with and without orchestral accompaniment. Thousands were attracted to the city by the festival, which lasted for a week. Among visiting connoisseurs who greatly enjoyed the artistic treat was William Steinway of New York.

For several years the Milwaukee Club, organized in the early '80s by leading business and professional men, was the only institution of its kind in the city. Its objects were purely social. For the convenience of its members and their friends it erected a dignified and comfortable club house at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Wisconsin streets which it occupies at the present time. Besides resident members it secured at the start a long list of non-resident members whose homes were within the borders of the State, and not a few identified with places at a distance, many of them men of wealth whose business brought them at intervals to Milwaukee. Long before the Milwaukee Club had attained the age of a decade other social organizations, somewhat similar in their purpose, but more democratic in respect of membership, arose, one of them being the Commercial Club, which flourished for a time and then went out of existence, as did the Iroquois Club, the Bon Ami Club, the Mileoki Club, the Phoenix Club and

the Calumet Club. The Deutscher Club, organized in the spring of 1891, acquired the former Mitchell residence, at Ninth Street and Wisconsin Avenue, for its home, and flourished from the start. This and the Milwaukee Club are in prosperous existence, the Deutscher Club, however, having undergone a change of name, and being now the Wisconsin Club.

The Country Club, one of the most notable social organizations in the West, held its opening reception on the 28th of June, 1895. At that time its grounds and club house were on the Whitefish Bay Road, half a mile beyond the old toll-gate. When the advent of the automobile had made distance negligible the Club acquired and improved the spacious and beautiful property which it occupies at the present time. Within the past year the Country Club has erected, amid an attractive setting of lawns, golf links and tennis courts, a new club house of Georgian design which is the acme of elegance and comfort.

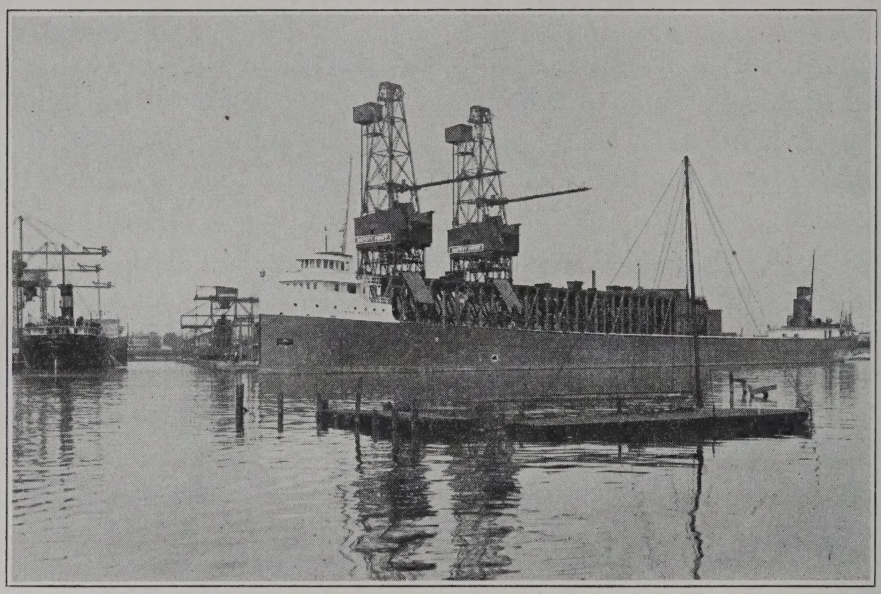
The Town Club came later. The Athletic Club was the outcome of an organization primarily devoted at first to the promotion of physical exercise. Later it broadened its scope, though still maintaining a gymnasium and a natatorium. For many years it occupied the upper floors of the Wells Building, subsequently rearing a spacious and modern structure of its own at the northeastern corner of Broadway and Mason Street. The Elks and the Eagles have erected sightly and costly buildings. Several of the Masonic bodies have constructed edifices which attract admiring attention from visitors to the city.

The University Club, its membership limited as its name implies to graduates of accredited institutions of learning, has filled for many years an important niche in the social life of Milwaukee. Its new club house, overlooking the bay, is ideal in location, architecture and every detail of equipment.

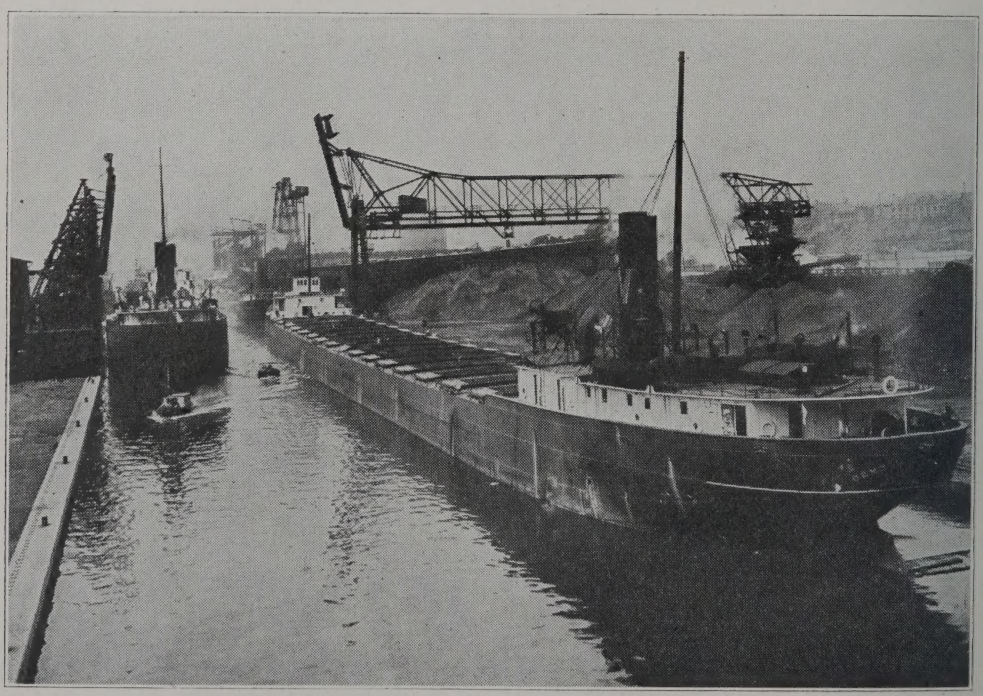
Noteworthy in many respects is the Milwaukee Press Club, whose history goes back to 1885. Founded by editors, publishers and writers for newspapers, its constitution makes provision for the admission of business and professional men as associate members, and several of these have been conspicuous among its loyal supporters. On numerous occasions the Press Club's comfortable aerie has been the scene of public receptions for distinguished visitors to the city, literary and stage celebrities, explorers, aero-

nauts, military and naval heroes, Presidents of the United States —and others,—many of whom have written their autographs on panels which decorate its walls. An outstanding event in Press Club history is the banquet it gave in 1893 at the Pfister Hotel for visiting journalists from all parts of the world who came to America to see the Columbian Exposition at Chicago. Writers for the German newspapers maintain a press club of their own, which, in addition to functioning socially, administers a mutual insurance fund for the benefit of its members.

BATHING BEACH, McKINLEY PARK



VESSEL UNLOADING COAL
Menomonee River.



MENOMONEE RIVER—A COAL-SHIPPING CENTER

CHAPTER XXXVI

MAYORS OF MILWAUKEE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE CITY'S CHIEF MAGISTRATES, WITH INCIDENTAL REFERENCE TO OCCURRENCES DISTINGUISHING THEIR RESPECTIVE TERMS.

Milwaukee's first mayor was Solomon Juneau, whose personal character and prominence in connection with the white settlement of Milwaukee made him universally popular. He had been the first president of the village on the east side of the river. When the post office was established President Jackson named him for postmaster, and he held the position nine years. The first town meeting convened in his home in 1835. He had spent money liberally for public improvements, and made gifts of land for the site of the courthouse and the park in front of it, as well as for other objects of public utility. Mr. Juneau believed his training had not qualified him for the functions of a presiding officer. At the end of his first term he declined to be a candidate for reelection.

His successor in the mayoralty, Horatio N. Wells, was a native of Vermont, a lawyer by profession and a Democrat by conviction, who had come to Milwaukee in 1836. Mr. Wells was a ready speaker. As a member of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1837-9 he demonstrated a capacity for leadership that attracted general attention. He was reelected to the Legislative Assembly in the same year in which he became mayor, and was chosen speaker of the House at the special session of 1847 and again in 1848. Governor Dodge appointed him attorney-general in 1839. In 1850 he was elected judge of the Milwaukee County Court. He died August 19, 1858, at the age of fifty-one, leaving a reputation for vivacity, integrity and great ability as a lawyer.

Byron Kilbourn was elected mayor in 1848 and in 1854. One of the original proprietors of Milwaukee on the west side of the

river, he had been president of the village on that side in 1837, and had sat in the Territorial Legislature in 1845. He was a member of the convention which framed the State Constitution. He was the first president of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company and also of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company. Gifts of land for public purposes which were made by Mr. Kilbourn include the beautiful tract containing the waterworks reservoir, which appropriately bears the name of Kilbourn Park. Details of his biography presented in an earlier chapter of this work need not be repeated here.

Don A. J. Upham, the fourth mayor, was the first to be chosen twice in succession, being elected in 1849 and again in 1850. He was born in Windham County, Vermont, May 31, 1809, graduated from Union College in 1831, and served for three years as assistant professor of mathematics in Delaware College, New Jersey, before qualifying for the bar. Mr. Upham was an effective public speaker. From his arrival in Milwaukee, in 1837, he took an active part in public affairs. In 1840 and again in 1842 he was a member of the Legislative Council. In 1846 he was elected to the first Constitutional Convention. In 1851 he was the Democratic candidate for the governorship, the race being close between him and another Milwaukeean, Leonard J. Farwell, who ran on the Whig ticket and was elected. Mr. Upham was possessed of business as well as legal ability, and is remembered as one of the personal factors in the upbuilding of Milwaukee. His tastes were scholarly. Toward the end of his life, when he had retired from practice, astronomical studies were the solace of his leisure hours.

Of the fifth mayor, Col. George H. Walker, biographical statistics have been presented in the chapter on the founders of Milwaukee. But for his determined effort to promote the ratification of the State Constitution proposed in 1846 he would have been the second mayor instead of the fifth, as he was nominated for the position in immediate succession to the incumbency of Solomon Juneau. Personally few men in Milwaukee have been more generally liked than was Colonel Walker, but the Constitution was the issue at the election, and opponents of the document drafted by the first convention worked and voted against him as its defender. He was elected mayor in 1851 and in 1853. Colonel

Walker was prominent in the struggle to provide Milwaukee with railways. Later he was prime mover in the first undertaking to establish rapid transit within the city limits, losing money by the building of the street car line between lower East Water Street and Prospect Avenue. A Southerner by birth, and a lifelong Democrat, he was a loyal supporter of the Federal Government during the Civil war. His appointment as one of the original Board of Managers of the National Asylum for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers attested recognition of his never-flagging exertions in behalf of the men who fought for the Union, and his fatal illness was the result of fatigue and exposure incurred on a visit to Washington for the purpose of securing the location of the Northwestern Branch of the National Home at Milwaukee. He died, September 20, 1866, before completing his fifty-fifth year.

Hans Crocker, elected in 1854, was born in Dublin, Ireland, educated in Utica, New York, and came to Milwaukee in 1836. A lawyer by profession, and engaged in practice for several years during the opening part of his career, he found time for effective participation in business and affairs, acting as private secretary for Governor Dodge, and serving two terms in the Territorial Council—1842 to 1844. He possessed important real estate holdings and was conspicuous in the activities incident to early railway building. He had a strong sense of humor, he loved reading, and he understood men and things. Mr. Crocker was in the seventy-third year of his age when he died at his home on Tenth Street on the 16th of March, 1889.

James B. Cross, mayor from 1855 to 1858, was a native of Geneva, New York, and came to Milwaukee in 1841, establishing himself in the practice of law. He was the first probate judge under the State Constitution, and came within less than five hundred votes of defeating Alexander W. Randall for the governorship in 1857. Mr. Cross was always identified with the Democratic party. It was during his incumbency of the mayoralty that the city went beyond the bounds of prudence in voting aid to railroads, some of which were never built. Without avail he raised his voice in caution. There were scandals in the city government during his administration, but none that was brought to his door. The burning of the Cross Block, popularly attributed to incendiarism by individuals interested in destroying records

that could be used against them as evidence of malfeasance in office, caused him a heavy loss, as the building was uninsured. It is worthy of note that the city's police department was instituted during Mayor Cross' first term. He died in 1876, in his fifty-ninth year.

William A. Prentiss, who was elected mayor in 1858, though he was not of the dominant party, had served his fellow citizens in various official capacities since the period of villagehood and enjoyed their confidence irrespective of political alignments. He was a native of Massachusetts, born in March, 1799. After a mercantile career in the East, he found his way to Milwaukee in 1836, opening a general merchandise store in partnership with Dr. L. W. Weeks. In 1837 he was appointed justice of the peace, with civil and criminal jurisdiction over Milwaukee County, which at that time included for judicial purposes all the territory now embraced in Milwaukee, Waukesha, Ozaukee, Washington and Jefferson counties and a part of Dodge County. His official duties became so onerous that in 1838 he gave up his mercantile business to attend to them, continuing to act as justice till the organization of the state in 1848. During three years, beginning in March, 1837, he was chairman of the board of county commissioners. For four years he was a member of the Territorial Legislative Council, which body elected him to its presidency in 1840. In 1837 he was a member of the first board of trustees of the Village of Milwaukee on the east side of the river. When, in 1839, the two villages were consolidated as the Town of Milwaukee, Mr. Prentiss was chosen to represent the East Ward on the board of trustees, holding that position during most of the time till the organization of the city government, and being chairman of the board for several years. Subsequently he was on many occasions elected to the board of aldermen and the board of councillors. He was a member of the council as late as 1872. Mr. Prentiss died in 1892, toward the conclusion of the ninety-third year of his age.

Herman L. Page, who was mayor for the year 1859-60, was born in Oneida County, New York, in 1818, and came to this city in 1844, setting up in the dry goods business, and in due course retiring with a competency. Accepting appointment as a deputy sheriff, he distinguished himself by clever detective work. In

1853 he was elected sheriff, conducting that office in a manner that maintained his reputation for fearlessness and ability. As mayor he used his influence to increase the efficiency of the police force. The Odd Fellows were strong in Milwaukee during Mr. Page's ascendancy, and he was one of the most prominent members of that order in the West. While traveling in Europe, in 1873, he died at Dresden.

In 1860 William Pitt Lynde was elected mayor, holding the office for one term. For more than forty years Mr. Lynde was one of the leading citizens of Milwaukee. A sketch of his life is included in the chapter on Bench and Bar.

His successor was James S. Brown, another excellent lawyer and popular citizen. Mr. Brown was a native of Maine, born in 1824, who had come to Milwaukee in 1844 and had served as district attorney and also as attorney-general of the State. After his term in the mayoralty he was elected to Congress. Events under his administration were the bank riot, the purchase of the first steam fire engine, and the organization of a half-pay engine company. Mr. Brown's first wife was a daughter of Clarence Shepard. His brilliant career at the bar and as a public man was cut short by invalidism. He traveled abroad in search of health, but without avail, and died in 1878. One of his sons, Clarence S. Brown, was afterward a member of the Common Council.

Horace Chase, pioneer of pioneers, whose record has been set forth on previous pages, was mayor of Milwaukee in 1862-3, after which he did not deem it beneath his dignity to serve for many terms in the Common Council. Mr. Chase died in 1887.

Edward O'Neill was mayor of Milwaukee in 1863 and again in 1867, 1868 and 1869, coming before the people four times as a candidate for the office and each time receiving a majority of their votes. Mr. O'Neill was a native of Ireland, but migrated to this country four years before attaining his majority. Like President Johnson, he followed the tailor's trade for many years, and in later life proved equal to large responsibilities when called upon to assume them. Early in the '50s he was lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment of Wisconsin Militia, and served four terms in the State Legislature, two in the Assembly and two in the Senate. He was a member of the school board and for four years its president. It was while he was mayor that the automatic fire

alarm telegraph was introduced and that plans and surveys for the waterworks and the building of sewers were adopted. The organization of the board of assessors was one of the achievements of his incumbency of the mayoralty. He was president of the board of water commissioners for two years. Before retiring from business Mr. O'Neill was president of the Bank of Commerce, one of the solid institutions of its day. In the spring of 1890 he died at the age of seventy-one.

Abner Kirby, mayor in 1864-5, was elected without opposition. From 1844, the year of his arrival in Milwaukee, he had been noted for versatility, energy and success in business, and his geniality had made everybody his friend. A lifelong Democrat, he was also a strong Unionist, and spent his money freely during his term of office to cheer the soldiers departing from or arriving in Milwaukee and to relieve the wants of families whose heads were in the field. Late in life he sustained serious financial reverses, but proved capable of taking fortune's buffets and rewards with equal thanks. Always a believer in Milwaukee, and always active and optimistic, he devoted himself when past the age of eighty to the development of real estate in one of the most beautiful residence sections of the city, and when he died in 1893 he left a comfortable little property to be divided among his children.

Mr. Kirby's successor was John J. Tallmadge, who followed the precedent of giving lavishly from his private means for the purpose of extending hospitality to the soldiers. Mr. Tallmadge was a native of New York State. He came to Milwaukee in 1855 at the age of thirty-seven as agent for the Western Transportation Company, holding this position for several years and then engaging in the provision and packing business. He was one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce and president of that body in 1863 and 1864. His election was the outcome of a popular uprising showing what the voters could accomplish when unhampered by a minutely restrictive primary election law. The city was overwhelmingly Democratic. The regular Democratic nominee for the mayoralty was chairman of the Democratic committee, and had used his power to "wish himself" upon his party. Little time was available for dealing with what looked like a desperate situation. Mr. Tallmadge, himself a Democrat, was named on a People's ticket two days before the election, leaving

scant opportunity for campaigning on his behalf. However, he was carried in by a handsome majority, and at the end of his term was reelected. It was while he was mayor that the war came to a close. In addition to faithfully discharging routine duties, he personally welcomed every returning regiment and alleviated the miseries of numerous families who were in need. He was a member of the managing committee of the Soldiers' Home Fair and also served as its treasurer, contributing materially to its success. Milwaukeeans were proud of Mayor Tallmadge. He died in 1873.

Joseph Phillips, elected in 1870 to succeed Mayor O'Neill, had come to America from Alsace in 1834 and to Milwaukee in 1842, at which time he was only eighteen years of age. His success in business is recounted elsewhere. Mr. Phillips was familiar with municipal affairs, having served as an alderman from 1858 to 1862 and as city treasurer from 1868 to 1869. He was a Democrat. With the sole exception of William A. Prentiss, all the mayors of Milwaukee up to his time had been members of the Democratic party. A competent and conscientious executive, Mr. Phillips followed the line of duty undeterred by fear. His rigorous enforcement of laws for the regulation of the saloon business baffled the efforts of admirers who were for giving him a second term and opened an opportunity for the Republicans of which they were ready to take full advantage. They presented Harrison Ludington on a Citizens' ticket as a candidate for the mayoralty, and he was elected.

Mr. Ludington, born in Putnam County, New York, in 1812, had acquired considerable means before his arrival in Milwaukee during the period of stagnation following the panic of 1837, and had been conspicuously identified with the restoration of confidence in the future of the settlement. He was a pioneer in the lumber trade, enjoying great wealth as the result of his foresight and industry. Hearty and cordial in manner, a general favorite, he had come to be known by the sobriquet of "Bluff Old Hal." At the end of his first term, Mr. Ludington became a candidate for re-election, but was defeated. This did not deter him from yielding to the entreaties of friends who desired him to run again. He was elected to the mayoralty three times, but resigned before the close of his last term to accept the post of

governor of the State. Between January and the April election of 1875 the duties of mayor were performed by H. M. Benjamin, who at that time was president of the council. One of the practical improvements in the government of the city effected while Mr. Ludington was mayor was the placing of the fire department on a better basis by according its members substantial remuneration and requiring them to devote their full time to the service. Mr. Ludington died on the 17th of June, 1891.

David G. Hooker, a Vermonter by birth, and a graduate of Middlebury College, had come to Milwaukee as a young man, studying law, entering into partnership with H. L. Palmer, and attaining high standing in his profession and in popular esteem. From 1867 to 1870 he held the office of city attorney, becoming fully conversant with the business of the municipality. In 1872 he was elected mayor, being incumbent of the office in the interval between Mr. Ludington's first and second terms. His tastes ran less to politics than to his profession, and in 1878 he was appointed counsel of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, to the duties of which position he applied himself with credit till his sudden death on the 24th of March, 1888.

Curious complications occurred in connection with the municipal election of 1873, revealing neglect on the part of members of both the contending groups to familiarize themselves with the provisions of the charter. The rival candidates for the mayoralty were Harrison Ludington, running on the Citizens' ticket, and Levi H. Kellogg, nominated by the Democrats. To the dismay of Mayor Ludington's supporters, he received 217 fewer votes than his competitor. On the day following the balloting, however, Democratic complacency was disturbed by the announcement, coming from ex-Mayor Prentiss, that Mr. Kellogg was ineligible for the reason that the charter prescribes that "if any member of the Common Council, while a member, be elected to any other office of said city, such election shall be void." It being indisputable that on the day of the election Mr. Kellogg had been a member of the council, that gentleman made no attempt to test the validity of the provision, and declined to qualify, whereupon a special election was called. Meanwhile Mr. Kellogg's term in the council had expired, and he was again presented as the candidate of his party, the Citizens' ticket being once more headed

by the name of Mr. Ludington. This time, however, the majority was in favor of Mr. Ludington, who received 1,263 more votes than Mr. Kellogg.

On the face of the returns the charter election had resulted in the defeat of Edward G. Ryan as a candidate for retention in the office of city attorney, a majority of the ballots having been cast for Emil Wallber, at that time president of the school board. On the ground of Mr. Wallber's incumbency of the latter office, Mr. Ryan challenged his eligibility, threatening to continue in discharge of the duties of the city attorney's office till a test of the matter could be had in the courts. Instead of surrendering to his learned adversary, Mr. Wallber investigated the charter on his own account, after which he observed that Mr. Ryan, during his first term in the city attorneyship, had himself been ineligible, by reason of having entered into contract with the city to make a compilation of the charter and ordinances. Mr. Wallber added that his term as school commissioner having expired, he would again present himself as a candidate for the city attorneyship. This proved unnecessary, as Mr. Ryan retired from office without further argument, leaving the coast clear for Mr. Wallber as his successor.

Till 1876 Milwaukee's mayors had been chosen every year. The first incumbent of the office for a two-year term was Ammi R. R. Butler, who was elected without opposition. Mr. Butler was a lawyer, a man of comfortable means and high character, and had resided in the city since 1846. In 1858 he had been nominated for the mayoralty by the Democrats and defeated, but that was a rebuke to his party and not to himself. His administration was competent and devoid of spectacular events.

It is difficult for Milwaukeeans of today to realize the extent to which partisan bitterness sometimes entered into city politics before the inauguration of the system establishing appointments to places in the municipal departments on the merit basis. Frequently it happened that positions requiring technical knowledge and experience for the performance of competent service were made use of to reward individuals who had been active in "rounding up" voters for the ticket triumphant at the polls. This state of things was a fault of the time, and both of the then existing parties were equally to blame for it. Newspapers were intensely

partisan in those days, often venturing further in denunciation of political opponents than was justified by considerations of fair dealing and regard for the common good. After a heated contest in the spring of 1878 John Black was elected mayor. He had been successful in business and had taken an interest in government. As chairman of the joint committee of aldermen and councillors in charge of the waterworks he had performed valuable service for the city. The day after Mr. Black's election the *Sentinel*, which had opposed him "without gloves," declined to accept the verdict of the people and came out with what was long remembered as one of the most blindly virulent editorial diatribes that ever appeared in a Milwaukee newspaper. It declared that he was the mayor of the thieves and the thugs, who had elected him to office and whom undoubtedly he would reward by placing the fire and police departments in their hands. The article went on to assert that incendiarism and robbery might be expected as things of common occurrence, and that insurance rates would advance and property would be unsafe. Made so by the inveterate antagonism of political opponents holding vantage-ground in the council, Mayor Black's administration was tempestuous. He was a fighter himself, however, and could deal heavy blows as well as take them. He put his friends into office, but selected capable men for appointment and held subordinates to the performance of their duties. After his retirement his adversaries felt constrained to admit that his administration had been vigorous and clean. Undergoing a change of ownership, though not of party, the *Sentinel* subsequently joined with Milwaukeeans in general paying tribute to Mr. Black as a champion of law and order. Mr. Black was born at Bidache, France, August 16, 1830. He came to this country at the age of fourteen, grew up on a farm in New York State, and moved to Milwaukee in 1857, engaging in the wholesale liquor trade, in which he made large profit when the Government tax was placed on spirits at the beginning of the Civil war. For many years he was vice president of the Bank of Commerce. In 1870 he was a member of the Common Council. He served in the Assembly in 1871. The rest of his public record was as follows: Elector-at-large on the Democratic ticket in 1872; State senator in 1873; mayor in 1878, re-elected in 1879;

delegate to Democratic National Convention in 1884 and 1888. Mr. Black died October 25, 1899.

Thomas H. Brown, twenty-fifth incumbent of the office, was the first native Milwaukeean to be elected mayor. He was the son of Deacon Samuel Brown, and was born on the 3d of April, 1839. With the exception of six years, beginning in 1861, when he was in the oil region of Pennsylvania, he spent his life in Milwaukee as a manufacturer of carriages, winning reputation as a substantial citizen. From 1877 to 1880 he was a member of the Common Council. Politically Mr. Brown was a fighter. Consistently with its antagonism to Mayor Black, the *Sentinel* waged war on Chief of Police Kennedy—the mayor's appointee—for alleged abuses at the House of Correction, of which Mr. Kennedy had been inspector several years before. Mayor Black was summoned to Buffalo to attend a funeral, and Mr. Brown, as president of the council, became acting mayor, in which capacity he issued an order deposing the chief of police. As a matter of course, this greatly angered Mayor Black, who when he returned to the city promptly reinstated Chief Kennedy. Mr. Brown's aggressive action gave him prominence which his supporters capitalized by making him the Republican candidate for mayor in 1880, and he was elected, giving the city a conservative administration whose most outstanding incident was the enforcement of the ordinance prescribing the midnight closing of saloons. In 1888 Mr. Brown was once more nominated for mayor, this time as the head of a fusion ticket, and was again elected. The initiation of proceedings in the board of fire and police commissioners which resulted in the removal of Chief of Police Florian Ries was an incident of his second term. Chief Ries possessed virtues, but lacked the degree of firmness essential to the maintenance of discipline and morale. Asserting that his yielding nature had impaired the efficiency of his department, and submitting specifications to support this conclusion, the mayor convinced the commission. To the important office thus vacated Mayor Brown appointed John T. Janssen, whose splendid record during more than a quarter of a century attracted attention throughout the country. Later Mr. Brown served as tax commissioner by appointment of Mayor Koch. He died June 19th, 1908.

In 1882 the successful candidate for mayor was John M.

Stowell, an iron manufacturer and a large employer of labor, who was elected on the Workingmen's ticket, so-called, which had been placed in nomination by a committee of the Trades' Assembly and endorsed by the Democrats. Mr. Stowell was a man of high culture and broad sympathies, whose political affiliations had been Democratic. During his incumbency of the mayoralty he shut up concert saloons and dance houses and tried to enforce the closing of saloons at midnight, but in the latter endeavor was not successful.

Republicans returned to power in 1884, their mayoralty candidate being Emil Wallber, who was re-elected in 1886. The reorganization of the police force on a metropolitan basis and the placing of that and the fire department under control of a commission independent of politics were effected while he was mayor. His second administration had hardly begun when public order was menaced by riotous disturbances precipitated by peripatetic agitators participating in the eight-hour movement. The uprising in Milwaukee seemed to be part of a concerted demonstration in industrial centers throughout the country. Passing beyond the control of local authorities, it necessitated the calling out of the National Guard by Governor Rusk. While lawlessness was at its height, excited marchers clamoring for a general strike proceeded to several large establishments in which employes were contentedly at work, attempting to force them to desert their tasks and join in the eight-hour parade. The Brand Stove Works on the West Side, the Reliance Iron Works of the E. P. Allis Company on Florida and Clinton streets, and the West Milwaukee shops of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company, as well as the rolling mills at Bay View, were stormed in turn by the marchers, many of whom carried sticks and clubs and showed a vicious disposition to use them. In one notable instance these tactics provoked a retort in kind. That was at the Reliance Works, where, having received word of the approach of the mob, the employes prepared for its reception by rigging up a force-pump with which to squirt hot water upon the advancing host. Accepting this evidence that they were not wanted at the Reliance Works, the marchers deflected their course. At the Rolling Mills in Bay View a riotous rabble was repulsed after due warning by a volley from troops of the National Guard. While disturbance

continued Mayor Wallber issued a proclamation urging law-abiding citizens not to congregate in crowds and to keep off the streets as much as possible until order was restored. Mr. Wallber was a native of Prussia. A lawyer by profession, after his second term as mayor he served acceptably as judge first of the Municipal and then of the County Court. He died in June, 1923, at the age of eighty-two.

What is remembered as the Bennett law had the effect of a red herring laid across the track of Wisconsin politics during the years between 1889 and 1894. Lutherans and Catholics regarded the enactment as a menace to their parochial schools. Throwing other political considerations to the winds, and voting as they believed in defence of the right of parents to send their children to schools of their own choosing, free from dictation by the State, they made the first demonstration of their strength by electing George Wilbur Peck to the mayoralty of Milwaukee. Policies of municipal government did not enter into the canvass preceding his victory at the polls. He was proclaimed as opposed to the Bennett law and was swept into office by a tidal wave of anti-Bennett law enthusiasm. Mr. Peck was born in Jefferson County, New York, September 28, 1840, coming to Wisconsin with his parents at the age of three. He learned the printing trade. During the Civil war he served in the Union Army as a member of the Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry, and was raised to a second lieutenantcy in 1864. Returning to civil life, he had functioned as editor of small-town newspapers and worked for Pomeroy's *Democrat* at La Crosse and in New York, later acquiring an interest in the *Democrat* at La Crosse. Withdrawing from this he launched a weekly which he called *Peck's Sun.* In politics he served as chairman of the La Crosse Democratic County Committee. He was chief clerk of the Wisconsin Assembly in 1873-4. For a year or more he was chief of police at La Crosse. In 1878 he removed to Milwaukee, bringing the *Sun* with him, and making it a vehicle of drolleries instead of partisan politics. This proved a happy stroke. In course of time he engaged George Lord in the capacity of business manager. With Peck in the editorial chair and Lord in charge of circulation and advertising, *Peck's Sun*, "shining for all," rose quickly to a high place in the firmament, subscribers and advertisers filling its till with money. A genial gentleman,

Mr. Peck was as popular as his paper. The slatemakers of the new movement showed excellent judgment when they picked him as its candidate for the mayoralty, and as the city's chief executive he made a favorable start. His inaugural message advocated making the most of Milwaukee's natural advantages as a residence city, at the same time cautioning against expenditures on a scale that would scare off manufacturers and others who might be attracted by low taxes to settle here and contribute to the city's growth. The municipal bonded debt at the time was $3,856,500, and this, he intimated, was as big as it ought to be. He advised the immediate renting of temporary additional quarters in districts where public school facilities were inadequate to accommodate all the children applying for admission. Clean streets and the keeping of pavements in repair were other subjects receiving attention, the mayor observing that tidiness would prove more economical than slovenliness. The message went on to recommend authorizing the chief of the fire department and the building inspector to compel the provision of fire escapes and the maintenance of adequate means of egress from buildings in case of danger. It objected to tax assessors carrying on private business as insurance solicitors. Turning from practical to esthetic considerations the message suggested the erection of a band-stand in Juneau Park and the establishment of open-air concerts to be paid for by the city, an idea which seemed highly innovatory at the time. On the evening of Saturday, July 26, 1890, the first free promenade concert in Milwaukee under the auspices of the municipality attracted five thousand citizens to the lake front, and was greatly enjoyed and praised. But fate had willed that Mr. Peck's incumbency of the mayoralty should be brief. Hardly had he begun to function in the office when his sponsors fixed upon him for the governorship of Wisconsin, and governor he became, leaving a vacancy which was promptly filled by a special election. He was chosen for a second term as governor in 1892. Running for a third term in 1894, he was defeated. He died, April 16, 1916, having celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday in the fall of 1915.

Only twice in the history of Milwaukee—in 187— and in 1890 —have two mayoral elections taken place in the course of a single year. Like Mr. Peck, Peter J. Somers, who was elected to succeed

him, was a Democrat and an opponent of the Bennett law. Born in Waukesha County, in 1850, and graduated from the State Normal School at Whitewater, he had taught school, studied law and gained admission to the bar in 1875, when he came to Milwaukee, entering into partnership with John C. Ludwig. In 1882-4 he had served as city attorney. Entering upon the duties of mayor with a working knowledge of municipal business, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his supporters and was re-elected in 1892. Early in 1893, however, John L. Mitchell resigned his seat in the national House of Representatives to don the toga of a senator, and Mr. Somers was chosen to succeed him as congressman, leaving the mayoralty again vacant. The first result of the tidal wave of Democratic ascendancy in Wisconsin due to the Bennett law issue had been the election of Peck to the mayoralty of Milwaukee. The earliest substantial evidence of its recoil was the defeat of the Democratic candidate for succession to Somers and the filling of the vacancy in the mayor's office by John C. Koch, a Republican.

Mr. Koch was elected on the 24th of June, 1893. A merchant and manufacturer, a man of culture and character, whose devotion to business and family left him little time for politics, he had not desired nomination for the office, but when it was pressed considerations of public duty influenced him to accept it. He made an excellent record, and at the end of his fractional term was re-elected. The soundness of his business judgment proved a valuable asset to the community. Over the country at large loomed the black cloud of panic. Milwaukee had planned to build a new city hall, and whether the undertaking should be entered upon or delayed depended upon the mayor. Before deciding, he took time to look into the status of municipal finances. Having satisfied himself that there would be money to make payments as they became due, he attached his signature to the building contract, and the structure was reared while unemployment was general, affording occupation at good wages to many who otherwise might have suffered the calamity of enforced idleness.

Another Republican, William G. Rauschenberger, who while successfully engaged as a manufacturer of cordage had served on the School Board and in the Council, rising to the presidency of each, was elected to the mayoralty in 1896. During his term

on the 21st of May, 1905. At Union College he studied under the noted Professor Tayler Lewis, and was graduated in 1838, after which he read law and was admitted to the bar. Following an illness with scarlet fever, his sight and hearing became defective. He turned his back upon Coke and Blackstone, and decided upon a journalistic career.

When, in 1840, he first visited the scene of his life's labor, as the guest of his elder brother, who had settled here in 1837, the place contained only eighteen hundred inhabitants, and was too small to support a daily newspaper. He went back to his home in the East, equipped himself more fully for the enterprise upon which even then he had set his heart, and returned when Milwaukee had become a city of eleven or twelve thousand people, bringing out the first issue of the *Daily Wisconsin* on the 8th of June, 1847, and continuing in the harness till he died.

He held an influential place in the civic life of the community from the year after the incorporation of the city—the year before the admission of Wisconsin to the Union of States. Other newspapers sprang up and withered and disappeared. His newspaper remained and flourished. Other editors came and won friends and made enemies and moved away or died. Some had long careers of usefulness, but none so long as his.

The public sentiment he helped to make was wholesome, progressive and beneficial to Milwaukee. He believed in improvements, but hated extravagance. He wanted to keep the city's credit as good as the nation's. Mr. Cramer had grown up a Democrat—his father was a Presidential elector for Thomas Jefferson. But he sympathized with the Free Soil movement, and when Fremont was nominated, in 1856, the first Presidential candidate of the Republican party, he swung his newspaper into the Republican column, where he kept it to the day of his death. He was a leader in the liberal movement which gave property rights of women the protection of law. He was a pillar of the Union cause during the Civil war. He and one other editor, A. M. Thomson, then of Janesville, led the newspaper campaign which made Matt H. Carpenter a United States senator in 1869. He was an uncompromising advocate of sound finance, and a stalwart opponent of greenbackism, free silverism and asset currency. His ideal of journalism was that a newspaper should be a faithful

mirror of facts, and that its opinions should be unpurchasable, representing the personal convictions of the editor. His habit of alert investigation kept him in constant touch and sympathy with the people. He preserved a feeling heart as well as an understanding mind. He gave freely in charity. When he died his will was found to be replete with benefactions to his fellow citizens of every shade of religious belief.

Physical infirmities burdened but did not bow down Mr. Cramer's later years. He lost the precious gift of sight, and his hearing was impaired to a deplorable degree; but by constant exercise of the faculties he retained he not only preserved his usefulness in the community, but kept his whole nature sweet and sound. Industrious, cheerful, benevolent, public-spirited, mentally alert to the end of a long life, he furnished a bright example of the power of the intellectual and moral nature of man to rise superior to the shocks of fate. Here was a hero who fought the battle of life with a broken sword and came off victor!

In the fall of 1882, L. W. Nieman, who had obtained an insight into journalism beginning in the composing room, continuing as reporter, city editor and managing editor of the *Sentinel*, and even extending to the business department during an essay to place the *Dispatch* upon a paying footing in St. Paul, conceived the idea of embarking on his own account. While he was engaged in preliminaries to this undertaking, Peter V. Deuster and Michael Kraus began the publication of the *Journal*, an English afternoon daily designed to promote Mr. Deuster's campaign for re-election to Congress on the Democratic ticket. Mr. Deuster's interest in the fledgling enterprise was purchased by Mr. Nieman, who from that time to this has devoted his abilities and energies to making the *Journal* one of the best equipped and most profitable newspaper properties in America.

With Mr. Nieman as editor and Mr. Kraus as business manager, the *Journal* underwent gradual development till 1890, when organization on a stock company basis was effected, with L. W. Nieman as president, L. T. Boyd as secretary and J. W. Schaum as treasurer. The interim has witnessed innumerable changes of minor personnel, but Mr. Nieman has continued to retain the presidency of the company and direct the policy of the paper, at the head of whose opinion page is still retained the legend he

ever occupied the office of mayor of Milwaukee. Newspapers all over the country gave front-page space to many of his doings while he was more than a nine days' wonder as "Milwaukee's Boy Mayor." As might be expected, he had some things to learn; but he was mindful of duty and was not conceited, evincing a wholesome disposition to accept advice from reliable sources when it was to be had. In one respect he was untactful. Frank and fearless, he took no precautions to create in the public mind the impression that he was so engrossed with official responsibilities as to have lost interest in all but serious things. "Why should a man whose blood is warm within sit like his grandsire carved in alabaster?" The Boy Mayor accepted invitations to lecture. He made a run to New York in his red automobile while touring in that fashion was a novelty appealing to the imagination. When the aged pedestrian Edward Payson Weston, in the course of a walk across the continent, called at the city hall, Mayor Becker set out with the intention of accompanying him to Chicago, a purpose, however, which he found himself obliged to abandon at Racine, with tender feet in a condition demanding medical attention. Interested in the Fire Department, the young mayor was a regular attendant at fires. A stickler for the observance of law, he insisted that sidewalk obstructions, including time-pieces in front of jewelers' shops, should cease to defy the ordinance. When, after due notice to their owners, street clocks remained, he personally participated in their demolition. Over-exploitation of his extra-official activities by injudicious friends connected with the press aroused in conservative circles uneasiness as to what the Boy Mayor might do next, and this was not allayed when zealous supporters proposed him as a candidate for the governorship. In retrospect it must be conceded that the colorfulness of Mayor Becker's administration did not seriously impair its efficiency. After the conclusion of his term in office he turned his back on politics, removing to New York City to enter upon a business career as a member of the Stock Exchange.

A feature of the election of 1908, which resulted in the return of Mayor Rose, was the circumstance that Emil Seidel, candidate of the Social Democrats, stood second in the running, while the Republican nominee, Thomas J. Pringle, came in at the end of the poll. The number of votes cast for Seidel at the primary was

only 4,144, while the vote at the election was: Rose, 23,114; Seidel, 20,187; Pringle, 18,169. That there were twenty thousand Socialists in the city nobody believed. Evidently the candidate of that party had received support from disgruntled Republicans and Democrats, more of the former presumably than of the latter, for the candidate running on the Democratic ticket was elected. Differences and resulting demoralization in both the older parties continued. Following the municipal election of 1910 the country was startled by the announcement that Emil Seidel, Socialist, had been elected mayor of Milwaukee, defeating David S. Rose.

Mr. Seidel was a wood carver by trade, engaged in business on his own account. He had been active in founding the Wood Carvers' Union and assisted in organizing the Socialist Democratic party in Milwaukee. Born at Ashland, Pennsylvania, December 13, 1864, he had received a common school education and then gone to Germany to learn his trade. In 1902 the Socialists had made Mr. Seidel their candidate for governor of Wisconsin; from 1904 to 1908 he had served as alderman from the Twentieth Ward, and in 1909 he was elected alderman-at-large. As was to be expected, the placing of a Socialist administration in charge of affairs at the city hall resulted in numerous changes among city employes holding minor positions and not under the aegis of civil service rules. In the general conduct of municipal government, however, it produced nothing resembling a revolution. The ownership and operation of public utilities, to which the Socialists as a party were committed, could not be accomplished without radical alterations in statutes which they were powerless to procure. Mayor Seidel earned good opinion by his evident sincerity and earnest effort to carry on in the interest of the community as a whole. To practical problems of the growing city pressing for solution he gave careful study, assisted in many instances by disinterested expert opinion. Not only Socialists, but citizens in general, including not a few who were taxpayers on a considerable scale, sympathized with his liberal policy on the subject of public parks. There was one respect in which Mayor Seidel resembled Mayor Rose—his election had been due to Republican dissensions. Among the voters of Milwaukee Republicans were more numerous than either Socialists or Democrats.

In 1912 they united in support of the Republican candidate for the mayoralty, and he was elected.

Gerhard Adolph Bading, M. D., son of Rev. John and Dorothea (Ehlers) Bading, was born in this city, August 31, 1870, and graduated from the Northwestern University at Watertown and from Rush Medical College at Chicago. During ten years devoted to professional practice in Milwaukee he was a member of the faculties first of the Milwaukee Medical College and then of the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons, house physician of the Milwaukee Hospital, surgeon of the Johnston Emergency Hospital and consulting surgeon of the Milwaukee County Hospital. He was examining surgeon for pensions from 1897 to 1912. Doctor Bading's interest in military matters had been manifested in the early '90s when he was a member of the Milwaukee Light Horse Squadron. For many years he held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the National Guard. He was a member of the Military Officers Reserve Corps. He served with the Thirty-fourth Division in the Philippine Islands and in China, and was honorably discharged at Camp Grant in July, 1919. Most of his time in later years has been passed in the diplomatic service of the United States. In 1922 President Harding appointed him Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Ecuador. Since then he has served as Ambassador Extraordinary on special missions by appointments from Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. At present he is enjoying the comforts of domesticity at his home on Bellevue Place in this city.

The present mayor of Milwaukee is Daniel Hoan, who has held the office for fourteen years. Mr. Hoan has "risen from the ranks" by his own exertions. After he had made a reputation as a cook, he studied law and was admitted to the bar. Politically his affiliations have been with the Socialists, and there has not been a time when the Socialists have comprised a majority of the voters. The circumstance that in five elections Mr. Hoan has won his way to the top of the poll indicates that he has had friends in other parties, and that Milwaukee electors are sometimes indifferent to party tags when selecting officials whose functions are largely administrative and concerned with matters purely local.

CHAPTER XXXVII

OUT OF ACORNS, OAKS

CRAMPED QUARTERS OF EARLY-DAY OFFICIALS CONTRASTED WITH ELABORATE ACCOMMODATIONS NOW—EVOLUTION OF POLICE AND FIRE DEPARTMENTS.

The first quarters occupied by officers of the city government were in the basement of the Methodist Church which stood at the corner of West Water and Spring streets, where the Caswell Building now is. Next they were over Oakley's livery stable, at Spring and Second streets, now covered by a part of the Plankinton Arcade. After 1850 they were in the building erected by James B. Martin at the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Later they were removed to the Cross Block, at the northeast corner of East Water and Huron streets. The Cross Block was burned in 1860, together with a number of the city records. At that time the structure at the north end of Market Square, originally intended for a market house, was refitted to accommodate the Council and city officers, being known thereafter as the City Hall, till the completion of the County Court House in 1872. From 1872-73 till 1895, the mayor and most of the city officials, as well as the Council, had offices in the Court House.

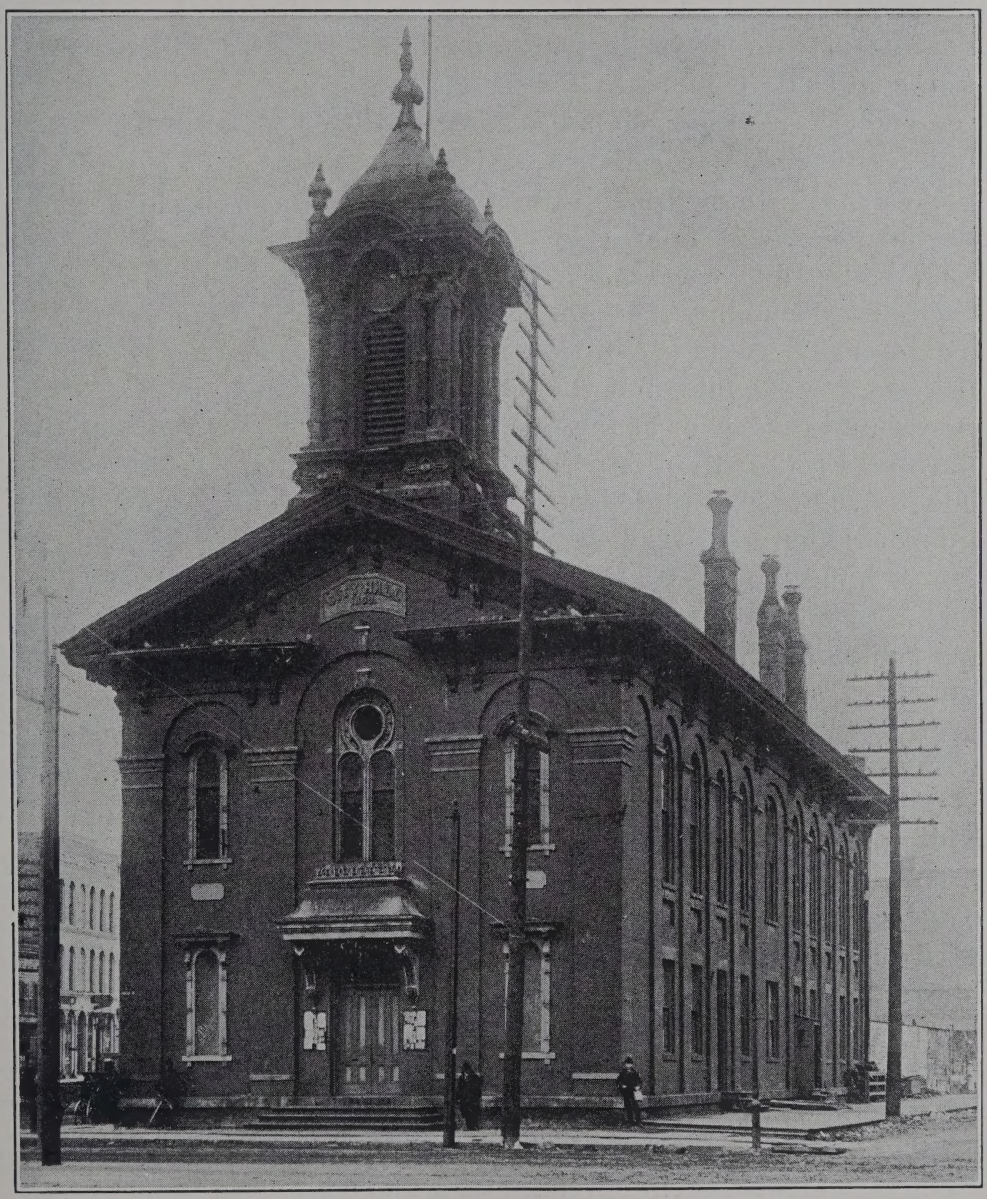
Noteworthy as an outward and visible sign of progress was the establishment of municipal headquarters in the present City Hall, an edifice of a distinctive type, designed for the purpose it subserves, spacious in dimensions, substantial in construction, and occupying a historic site within a stone's throw of the spot where Juneau traded with the Indians and laid the foundations of Milwaukee. The structure covers the whole of the triangular block bounded by East Kilbourn Avenue on the north and Market and East Water streets on the east and west, and fronts on what formerly had been designated Market Square, thereafter known

as City Hall Square. Its ground dimensions are 105 feet on East Kilbourn Avenue, 330 and 316 feet on its east and west sides respectively, and 56 feet on the East Wells Street front, which is the base of a tower rising 350 feet into the air, the main building being eight stories in height. The materials of the first two stories are granite and limestone; of the other six stories pressed brick and terra cotta, the tower being of steel, stone, brick and copper. The foundation rests on 25,000 piles, as in early times the ground was marshy. Modern renaissance was the style adopted by H. C. Koch and H. J. Esser, who furnished the design, their work commanding admiring comment from other architects as well as from the general public. The cost of the building was only about $900,000, due to the fact that it was constructed when materials and labor were exceptionally cheap. Today it could hardly be reproduced for three times the money.

At the time of its completion the space within its walls was ampler than the utmost requirements for housing the city officials. Not long afterward the eighth story was assigned for the accommodation of pupils of the then Seventh District School while their old building was replaced with a new one. For months these young people went up and down in the elevators, preserving admirable discipline, and making no trouble for the careful operators, so that not a single accident occurred from the use of the City Hall as a school. Eventually the growth of the city necessitated the utilization of all the space in the building for purposes connected with municipal administration.

Another stately edifice marking municipal progress rose soon after the City Hall—the Public Library and Museum Building. Monumental in appearance, it took rank at once among the city's archictectural adornments. So rapid, however, has been the development of the valuable institutions under its roof that both have become cramped for room, their growing requirements presenting a problem for solution in the early future.

The latest of Milwaukee's municipal edifices is the Safety Building, constructed on a scale intended to serve the needs of the Police Department for three-quarters of a century to come. In design and equipment it embodies much that is unique as well as ingenious, furnishing ideas for other enterprising communities planning to place themselves abreast of the times.



THE OLD CITY HALL
Photo taken January, 1892.

More impressive than their architectural setting is the efficiency of Milwaukee's municipal institutions, each and all having interesting histories too long for recital in detail, but worthy of passing attention, as illustrative of the steadiness and rapidity of the city's development.

Though there was no police force in the early years, the community placing sole reliance on the marshal to preserve order, that official had an easy task as a rule, for practically everybody in the place was known to everybody else. When suspicious strangers came to town they were closely watched, and if considered unreliable were "sent to the rightabout." The first incumbent of the marshalship lost his life in the discharge of duty—not fighting gunmen, but trying to stop a runaway horse.

Behind the power of the marshal reposed the authority of the mayor. On the 7th of April, 1851, Mayor D. A. J. Upham called out the volunteer fire department to act as special policemen for the protection of a traveling lecturer named Leahy, who represented himself as an ex-priest, and who on the preceding evening had been attacked while delivering a controversial discourse in the Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of West Water and Spring streets. So serious was the scuffle in the church at the breaking up of the meeting that several men jumped out of the windows, and damage to the furniture and fixtures in the edifice resulted, for which the city subsequently was called upon to pay a bill of $150. When summoned by the mayor, the firemen formed a hollow square about the ex-priest, marching with him to the old church on Main Street, now the site of the central fire station, where he was guarded while he spoke to all who wished to hear him, subsequently departing from the city without molestation.

The Leahy riot and the disorderly demonstration at the residence of John B. Smith, in resentment of his championship of the liquor law of 1850, were exceptional. In general what serious breaches of order occurred were due to intrusive outsiders, as in 1853, when laborers employed in the construction of the La Crosse Railroad flocked into the city to complain at the company's office that the contractor by whom they were engaged had failed to pay them. While the gang was standing about, some of its members helped themselves from the stock of a grocery store, and complaint was carried to the authorities, which brought Mayor

Walker to the scene. He proceeded to admonish the disturbers, whereupon one of them hit him on the side of the head with a shovel. At this juncture members of the volunteer fire department took a hand, and the turbulence was quickly quelled. The volunteer firemen always were ready to exert themselves in any capacity in which they could be useful. During the great fire of August, 1854, so many prowlers made off with portables tumbled into the streets by merchants whose premises were threatened by the flames that fifty arrests for thieving were made on the following day. Very soon after this experience came the establishment of the Police Department.

The ordinance providing for a police department was passed by the Common Council September 10, 1855, and the department was organized during the following month. The first chief was William Beck, his force consisting of six men all told. Thomas Shaughnessy, who served continuously till May, 1884, and Jerry O'Connor, who remained still longer, joined the department May 1, 1856, the force that year being increased to twenty-five. Frederick Kessler and Peter Dusold were early members of the police force whose memory is still recalled by old residents of the city. January 9, 1856, Milwaukee policemen began wearing their stars on the outside of their coats. Previous to that time they had worn them on their vests, for display only when it was necessary to demonstrate that they possessed authority.

For three years succeeding the organization of the department, the police station was located in the basement of a building on the north side of Wisconsin Street in the block east of East Water Street. During the summer of 1859 a new station was completed on the west side of Broadway, just north of Mason Street. On the second floor of this station was the court-room within whose narrow limits Judge Mallory presided for many years. At one time the floor began to settle, necessitating the putting in of supports, and finally the building was declared unsafe. This necessitated the removal of the court to the old City Hall, on Market Square, and there for another long term of years Judge Mallory continued to impose just sentences upon evil doers.

Before the establishment of the Municipal Court, Clinton Walworth had officiated as police justice until 1859, when he was superseded by Judge Foote. There was controversy over Judge

Foote's election, and the Supreme Court decided that it had been illegal. Then the Governor appointed Judge James A. Mallory, whose selection was confirmed by the people at succeeding elections for many years—a good lawyer, an upright judge, a student of human nature, whose administration served to make Milwaukee while he was on the bench a locality avoided by criminals, who realized that if they came here Chief Beck would catch them and Judge Mallory would send them to prison for their misdeeds.

The old station was far from imposing in appearance, but served its purpose during a developmental period in the history of the city. Comparatively few of those committed to it for safekeeping while awaiting trial succeeded in getting away. Once, during the time of the Civil war, a man confined on a charge of drunkenness dug through the cement floor of one of the cell rooms and made his escape. Several desperadoes were in confinement at the time, but not one of their number followed the daring fellow's example. A stone floor was then put down, and this made the lock-up secure.

Serious situations calling for the exertion of force for the preservation of order were of rare occurrence, though now and then they arose, and in two remembered instances proved beyond control by the civil authorities.

At the time of the bank riot in the summer of 1861 the police were brave and alert, but they and the volunteer fire department proved inadequate to do more than place a temporary check upon surging irresponsibles who collected for the purpose of intimidating the bankers. Not till after Governor Randall responded to the request of the civil authorities for military aid were law and order restored in Milwaukee.

September 7, 1861, was the date of the riot in which friends of Darby Carney raided the county jail and hanged Marshall Clark. Clark was a colored man. On the preceding evening he, in company with James Sheldon, another colored man, had been engaged in an encounter with two Third Warders, Darby Carney and John Brady, at the corner of Milwaukee and Michigan streets, and one of the negroes stabbed Carney so severely that he died the next night. The news circulated quickly. At 10:30 the fire-bells rang and the fire department turned out, but found no fire. Later it was said the ringing of bells had been agreed upon as a signal in case of Carney's death. At half-past 11, a crowd

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND MUSEUM
(Carnival Column on the Left.)

began moving from the lower part of the Third Ward toward the neighborhood of the jail. It grew as it proceeded, and when it reached the jail numbered two or three hundred people. Others kept arriving till there were fully five hundred in all.

At the door of the jail they were met by Chief of Police Beck and Policemen Smith and Thomas. Beck said they could not come in, and if they attempted to do so he would resist them. They told him that they did not want to harm him, but he must get out of the way. He persisted in holding his ground, when some one knocked him down with a slungshot and the two policemen were hurled into the street. People in the crowd picked up Beck and carried him to his home. Then the door of the jail was battered in. Jailer Kendrick and Assistant Jailer Wallace Page, who were the only persons in charge, were relieved of their keys, and the doors of the cells were opened, Clark being pounced upon with cries of "Here he is!" while Sheldon slipped out of the back door, making his escape.

After rough handling, Clark was dragged by the mob to the engine house of Company No. 6, on Detroit Street near the river, where he was subjected to the semblance of a trial. Whenever he gained an opportunity to speak, he used it to proclaim that he was not the man who stabbed Carney, but this made no impression on the crowd, which was convinced of his guilt.

Sheriff Larkin, who had learned of the doings at the jail, appeared at the engine house and talked with Clark, who persisted in his avowal of innocence. The Sheriff made an address to the mob, but was silenced by uproar, while Clark, with a rope about his neck, was dragged through the street to a pile-driver, upon which he was hanged by the neck, his lifeless body being left there till it was removed by the officials.

This is remembered as the only lynching in the history of Milwaukee.

The average policeman of the early days was a kind-hearted, friendly individual, not at all disposed to interfere with his fellow-citizens unless they persisted in misbehavior. Sometimes, for weeks together, his chief business outside of reporting broken places in sidewalks, where pedestrians might fall if they were not repaired, was watching the dance-halls on Saturday nights and seeing that rival swains refrained from belligerency aroused by jealous envy. Always the policemen were zealous and efficient

peacemakers. Sometimes they went out of their way to perform kindly deeds.

When Fred Fass was a policeman it became his duty to take notice of the pernicious activity of a crowd of boys who pulled out blocks holding brewery casks at the top of the hill on Ogden Street, whereupon the casks, obeying the law of gravity, rolled to the bottom of the hill, one of the steepest in the city. The faithful officer first succeeded in catching the boys. His uniform scared them and so did the prospect of being taken to the station and made to account for their misbehavior. When he had delivered a fatherly lecture, instead of placing the trembling miscreants under arrest, he informed them that they must roll back the heavy casks to the top of the hill. They started to obey, and then he turned to and helped them. "Papa" Fass had a tender heart. He afterward explained, in answer to the raillery of a friend, "It was pretty hard for the boys—some of them were little fellows."

"The policeman's lot" was "not a happy one" during the anarchistic outbreak of May, 1886, when frenzied mobs marched through the streets bent upon forcing satisfied employes to leave their posts and demand an eight-hour day, and when guardians of the peace were denounced by peripatetic agitators as "hirelings of capital" and "enemies of the people." This was another occasion when necessity arose for supplementing the police power by calling out the military.

An outstanding incident in the history of the police station at the corner of Broadway and East Wells Street, which began to be occupied early in 1885 and remained in use as headquarters till the completion of the new Safety Building, was the tragedy on the night of Saturday, November 24, 1917. A miscreant, whose identity and object still remain unrevealed, had made a deadly contrivance with a piece of gas-pipe and explosive chemicals. The fiendish device had been placed in the vestibule of a mission school on Michigan Street, and the teacher had instructed two of her boy pupils to carry it to the central police station, which they did. There it remained for hours. At 7:30 in the evening, while a number of policemen were handling the sinister object, and others were looking on, it blew up with a force which wrecked a portion of the building and killed a dozen people, nearly all of whom were members of the department.

No deed of violence in the history of the city attracted wider attention than the attempted assassination of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, on the evening of October 14, 1912. The ex-President was on a speaking tour as a candidate for re-election. Having dined at the Hotel Gilpatrick, on Third Street, he emerged from that hostelry in company with friends and walked across the sidewalk to the automobile which was to convey him to the Auditorium. Hardly had he taken his seat when John Schrank, an insane man, who had dogged him from New York, rushed forward from the crowd in front of the hotel and fired at him with a revolver, the bullet inflicting an ugly wound in his right breast. Notwithstanding a copious flow of blood, the ex-President proceeded to the Auditorium, delivered his address, and insisted on going on to Chicago the same night. Schrank was arrested within a moment after the shooting and taken to the central police station. Later he was arraigned before Judge August C. Backus of the Municipal Court, whose prompt disposal of the matter, using discretion reposed in him by a Wisconsin statute, elicited approving comment throughout the country. Schrank entered a plea of guilty and waived examination. Instead of subjecting the county to the expense of a trial by jury, the Judge appointed five alienists to examine the prisoner's mental condition. After receiving their report he declared Schrank insane and committed him to the Northern Hospital for the Insane at Oshkosh "until such time as he shall have recovered from such insanity, when he shall be returned to this court for further proceedings according to law." Schrank is still in safekeeping at the asylum.

The management of the Fire Department did not come fully under the control of the municipal government till 1861. Previously, as has been set forth in the history of the volunteer fire department which forms an earlier chapter of this work, the business of dealing with fires had been carried on by public-spirited citizens, organized as companies and to a large extent managing their own affairs. The arrangement sufficed in the simple days of hand-engines, but was impracticable when steam fire engines came into use, necessitating technical skill in their operation.

Only a few of the volunteers were practical mechanics, and most of them were engaged in business of their own, as were A. J. Langworthy and Daniel Schultz. Mr. Schultz, who was the

last chief while firemen were on a volunteer basis, came to Milwaukee from Alsace in 1843, joining the firemen two years later. He was foreman of Engine Company No. 2 in 1850 and chief engineer from 1857 to 1859, remaining with the department till 1861. Mr. Schultz was a cooper by trade and carried on a shop on the West Side. For more than twenty-five years before his death he was general agent of the Milwaukee Mechanics' Mutual Insurance Company and a member of its board of directors. He died in 1890, at the age of seventy-four.

Jobst H. Buening, first chief of the Fire Department after its reorganization in 1861, was a Hanoverian by birth, coming to Milwaukee with his father's family in 1842, joining the volunteer firemen in 1847, and being made chief in succession to Thomas Eviston, who went down with the *Lady Elgin*. Mr. Buening's occupation was that of a blacksmith, and for many years he had a shop of his own. He was an outstanding citizen in many ways. A Lutheran in his religious affiliations, he was one of the founders of St. John's Lutheran Church and later one of the officers of Trinity Church. He gave five acres of land for Union Cemetery. He was one of the founders and an officer of the Kinderfreund Gesellschaft. He was an early president of the Concordia Fire Insurance Company. In politics he acted with the Democrats, who made him their candidate for city treasurer as late as 1896, previous to which time he had served as alderman from the Second Ward. Late in life he functioned as a member of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners. It was partly due to the initiative of Mr. Buening that the city purchased its first steam fire engine. During his incumbency of the chieftainship from 1861 to 1868, members of the Fire Department were paid only for half of their time, and allowed to be engaged in gainful pursuits permitting them to make prompt response to calls for duty at fires. When the firemen were put on full pay and required to give full time to the department, in 1868, Chief Buening resigned.

The next chief of the Fire Department was the renowned Patrick McLaughlin, who had cast his lot with the fire-fighters as a torch-boy at the age of sixteen, and was only thirty-three when he died. His remains, with the emblem of his calling, a silver trumpet, which had been presented to him as a reward for bravery, at the head of the casket, lay in state at the old City

Hall for a day, and he was accorded the honor of public funeral. Nearly sixty years afterward, his memory has recently evoked the following feeling tribute from Ernest H. Kronshage, whose genius as a writer often draws inspiration from interesting themes supplied by the history of old Milwaukee:

"Chief Patrick McLaughlin, whose small stature belied his lion's heart, always fought side by side with his men. If some special deed of daring was called for, it was he who undertook it. During his brief term of office, he saved scores of lives with his own hands. When St. John's Cathedral caught fire, he entered through a window alone, shouted 'Good-bye, Father!' to the priest; then, fighting his way through smoke and flame, brought in the line that saved the building. He took his last call when sick in bed, saw the fire through and collapsed upon a pile of lumber. The whole city went into mourning at his death. Speaking before the Common Council an official said: 'He gave himself wholly to the city's service. In stature and appearance more a boy than a man, his great soul wore out his little body. Since one memorable fire, his health has steadily declined. His exertions then to save the lives of others cost him his own; and he goes down to his grave the martyr as well as the hero of his office.' "

Henry Lippert, who had been elected alderman from the Ninth Ward in 1869, and appointed assistant fire chief by Chief McLaughlin in the following year, was placed in command of the department in 1871, remaining till 1878, when he was superseded by Henry Claymeier.

The first vehicular contrivance moving by its own power on the streets of Milwaukee was the steam fire engine known as the "self-propeller," acquired when John Black was mayor and Henry Claymeier chief of the Fire Department. Teamsters, hackmen and horse-owners in general regarded the "self-propeller" as an infernal-machine, and were loud in protest against its use. It was a terror to horses, and the cause of innumerable runaways. In August, 1879, Mayor Black succumbed to popular clamor and ordered its conversion to the ordinary type. The engine was housed in the central station on Broadway, in charge of Company No. 1, of which Herman Meminger was foreman. James Bruce, with the rank of stoker, was its driver. Mr. Bruce contends that the "self-propeller" was a success. "Our getaways," he asserts, "were as fast as those of the motored engines

of today. We had to keep 110 to 120 pounds of steam on her all the time, but once under way we could make from twenty to thirty miles an hour along streets that were far inferior to those we have now. The only trouble with the self-propeller was that it was ahead of its time."

Reinstated by Mayor Brown in 1880, Mr. Lippert was chief of the Fire Department at the time of the burning of the Newhall House, January 10, 1883. Appalled by the tragic horror, he resigned his office and retired to a farm in the outskirts of the city, where he remained for five years, afflicted with a nervous breakdown from which he never fully recovered. He died in August, 1900.

Two chiefs after Chief Lippert in direct succession were destined to lose their lives in consequence of exposure to danger encountered in the line of duty. These were James Foley and Herman Meminger. Public funerals, largely attended, were accorded both of these brave men, conspicuous victims of a dangerous branch of public service in which many other firemen before and after them have sacrificed their lives.

Chief Foley, appointed by Mayor Stowell, headed the department from 1883 till 1903. On the 3d of February in the latter year he and a group of his men responded to an alarm which called them to the store of the Schwab Stamp and Seal Company, on the east side of East Water Street, a few doors north of Michigan Street. There was no fire, but the place was filled with what looked like smoke. Carboys of nitric acid had sprung a leak and the acid pouring out over the wooden floor had produced noxious fumes, which were inhaled by the firemen when they entered the building. Fourteen were overcome, with fatal effect in the cases of Chief Foley, Captain Andrew White, and Pipemen Edward Hogan and Thomas Droney.

The most extensive and costliest fire in the annals of Milwaukee broke out at about six o'clock in the evening of October 28, 1892, on the premises of the Union Oil Company, at 275 East Water Street, between Detroit and Buffalo streets, a high wind enabling it to gain headway which baffled the efforts of the firemen to bring it under control. The conflagration spread from the river to the lake, consuming four hundred and forty buildings, with the principal portion of their contents, and laying waste an

area comprising sixteen city blocks. Eighty-one of these structures were of brick and three hundred and fifty-nine of wood. The total value of the property consumed was $4,500,000, and the insurance $2,111,450, leaving more than one-half of the financial loss to be borne by the owners. Starting in a business and manufacturing district the conflagration swept eastward and southward into a region of residences, finally making its way to the property of the Chicago & North-Western Railroad Company along the edge of the lake, where 215 cars standing on side tracks, many of them laden with merchandise of various kinds, as well as freight houses with valuable contents, were ravaged by the flames. Fortunately there was little loss of life, and, fortunately also, the very fierceness of the wind prevented the flames from making progress toward the north. Had the wind shifted while the fire was at its fiercest an extensive area which escaped might have been brought within the scope of the calamity. The human toll exacted included two members of the Fire Department and an unidentified man, besides which several persons were seriously injured and two women died of fright. Hundreds of families driven from their homes and bereft of all their household belongings became at once objects of solicitude on the part of their fellow citizens, receiving temporary shelter in schools and other public buildings and in St. John's Cathedral as well as in the homes of friends.

A mass meeting of citizens held at the Chamber of Commerce on the morning after the fire resulted in the appointment of a Board of Organization and Control for the substantial relief of all the fire victims who were without financial resources of their own. The members of this committee were E. P. Bacon, chairman, and Frank G. Bigelow, C. C. Rogers, J. E. Hansen, H. C. Payne, Washington Becker, James A. Bryden, P. J. Somers, Patrick Cudahy, Rev. J. J. Keogh, J. G. J. Campbell, Frank Siller, James Hannan and George W. Porth. Another committee—known as the Special Relief Committee—to receive all applications for aid and have charge of the distribution of funds and supplies, was constituted as follows: J. G. J. Campbell, chairman; Rev. J. J. Keogh, James Hannan, George Koeppen, Frank Siller, Bernard Goldsmith, Adolph Meinecke, Rev. Judson Titsworth, Rev. James D. Foley, Paul J. Foley, Cornelius Corcoran, G. Frellson, R. D. Whitehead. Creditable to human nature was the generosity of

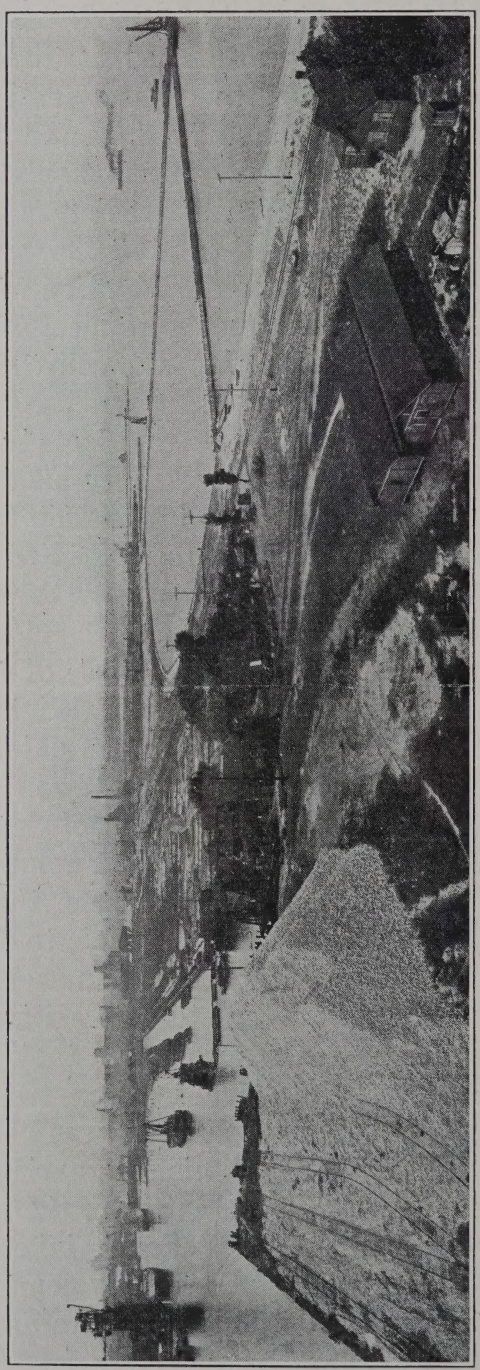
the public. More than $53,000 had been contributed to the relief fund before 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the day following the fire. On Sunday collections were taken up in the churches, this alone adding upward of $6,000 to the fund. Newspapers solicited subscriptions from their readers, meeting with a response that aggregated $10,000. Proprietors of places of amusement arranged benefit performances and turned in the proceeds to the committee. Fraternal societies in several instances canvassed their members in the interest of the cause, and collections were made among the employes of many of the business establishments in the city. By the 14th of November the sums which had been paid in from all sources amounted to $136,835, and the Board of Organization and Control adopted a resolution to the effect that it was in possession of sufficient money to meet the requirements of the emergency, which information was conveyed to the public through the press.

Herman Meminger's headship of the department, beginning in 1903, was brought to an untimely end by his death, following partial suffocation by smoke at a fire in the factory of the American Box Company, on National Avenue. He had not quite completed his fiftieth year and had spent nearly thirty-one years as a fire fighter.

Charles Pfeifer, the well-known druggist, of Plymouth, Wisconsin, who was a Milwaukeean in his youth, leaving here in 1875, attended the primary department of the old Seventh Ward School in the Engine House on Broadway. The firemen occupied the lower part of the building, and the school was on the second floor. Next to the engine-room, Mr. Pfeifer remembers, the firemen had a room in which some of them, rather than fritter away the time in which there was nothing for them to do in the line of official duty, were accustomed to put soles on shoes for the Bradley & Metcalf firm. It was interesting to witness the alacrity with which they pulled off their aprons and took their places on the engine when there was an alarm of fire.

Thomas Clancy, efficient and popular, was chief of the Fire Department from July 11, 1905, till his resignation on January 1, 1925, which was followed ten days later by the appointment of the present competent incumbent, Peter Steinkelner. The Milwaukee Fire Department of the present day comprises fifty-four companies, employing 799 men, and is maintained at an annual

cost approximating $2,000,000. Its equipment, drill and efficiency command the admiration of underwriters, than which no severer test of merit could be conceived. Because of the excellence of its Fire Department Milwaukee's insurance rates are comparatively low.



JONES' ISLAND AND VICINITY IN THE SUMMER OF 1921

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PUBLIC HEALTH

GENERAL PROGRESS IN SANITARY SCIENCE SINCE MILWAUKEE'S EARLY DAYS—RISE OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT—THE SEWERAGE COMMISSION AND ITS IMPORTANT WORK—A CITY NOTABLE FOR ITS CLEANLINESS AND ITS LOW DEATH-RATE.

First place among all the cities of America was accorded to Milwaukee at the health conservation contest conducted under the auspices of the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1929. Milwaukee's water supply is derived from Lake Michigan and distributed by a system owned by the municipality. Twenty-eight million dollars has been expended upon a modern sewage disposal plant which serves the entire metropolitan district, defecating the effluent before the latter reaches the lake, and obtaining in the process a by-product useful as a fertilizer which has brought returns of more than a million dollars to the city treasury since 1926. No charge is made against householders for the collection of garbage and rubbish. The streets and alleys are noted for their cleanness. The Health Department is superbly efficient. In these matters great improvement has been effected since the early days.

Before municipal government had been established Milwaukee went through its first serious experience of a visitation of communicable disease. This was when smallpox made its appearance in the spring of 1843. As summer advanced, the illness spread, assuming a more violent form. Sisters of Charity opened an infirmary at the corner of Jackson and Oneida streets, where they cared for all the cases for which they could provide accommodation. Finally the local authorities appointed a temporary board of health, consisting of three members, under the chairmanship of Dr. J. T. Noyes. Necessity for isolation had become apparent. To serve as a pest-house, the board rented a log cabin far out on

what is now Oakland Avenue, somewhere between North Street and Whitefish Bay, entrusting it to the care of Drs. J. K. Bartlett and W. L. Bean, in whose office J. B. Selby, then a young man, was engaged in the study of medicine. To him was assigned the post of resident physician at the pest-house, and there he remained on duty till the last trace of smallpox had disappeared from the vicinity of Milwaukee.

Three years later it came back in a form more malignant than before. By this time the municipal government was functioning. The Council appointed five physicians, one for each of the wards into which the city was divided, instructing them to seek out and report all cases of the disease, giving treatment free of cost to patients too poor to pay. Throughout the fall and winter new cases developed almost daily. In March, 1847, an ordinance was enacted providing for compulsory vaccination by physicians invested with authority to make a house-to-house canvass, vaccinating everybody and collecting 25 cents apiece from all who were able to pay that amount as a fee. Two hundred dollars was voted from the city treasury to cover the cost of vaccinating the indigent. Unvaccinated children were denied the privilege of attending school. Under this rigorous regimen smallpox was stamped out and a long period of immunity insured.

Eighteen forty-nine and 1850 were long remembered with horror as "the cholera years." That dread scourge had spread from Asia to Europe and from Europe was brought in ships across the ocean, following the tracks of immigrant travel throughout the United States. Long in advance of its arrival here the Council passed "clean-up" regulations, in conformity with which gutters were opened, standing pools were drained, and rubbish-heaps were removed from conspicuous places in which they had been suffered to exist undisturbed till fear was aroused by the approach of danger. The first case of cholera in Milwaukee was diagnosed in July, 1849, others following in rapid succession, with six deaths in the space of a few days. Then came panic, the height of the pestilence being reached in the middle of August, when, in a population of perhaps fewer than ten thousand, deaths from cholera numbered six or seven a day. At the end of August it was officially announced that of 209 known cases, 104 had resulted fatally. Faithful physicians

and heroic Sisters of Charity had won golden opinions by their fearlessness in ministering to the stricken. After the heats of August passed there were no new cases of cholera in Milwaukee during 1849.

Naturally nothing that could be thought of as likely to prevent a return of the plague was neglected in the opening months of 1850. An ordinance provided that passengers from boats entering the port should not be permitted to land till after rigid examination assured their freedom from contagious disease. There were instances in which this formality aroused protest, but in general it was strictly enforced. Despite precautions, however, the cholera reappeared, with even worse results than in the preceding year. At one time eighteen bodies lay on the ground awaiting burial at the Catholic cemetery. Life in the city passed like a nightmare from soon after the beginning of July till near the end of September. Then came a respite. After only sporadic cases in the intervening years there was another outbreak in 1854, and that was the last in Milwaukee. As late as 1892 fears that cholera might revisit the United States followed an epidemic of the disease at Hamburg, but American seaports preserved rigid quarantine, and ravages of the scourge were confined to the other side of the Atlantic.

The menace of present danger was required to make communities and public officials heedful of sanitation in "the good old days." At the outset of municipal government an ordinance had been enacted providing for a board of health consisting of five physicians and the mayor, but its upkeep had been neglected to an extent which necessitated beginning anew during the cholera scare. A second board of health was created by ordinance during the month of July, 1850. In 1855 the Board of Health was composed of the mayor and the Common Council. In 1856 J. J. Luck was appointed health officer of the Second Ward; C. Mussweiler, being designated for that duty in the Fifth Ward; Patrick McGrath in the Third Ward and Nicholas Engel in the First Ward. These men were of various occupations. Not one was a physician. The mayor and Common Council appear to have acted as the Board of Health from 1856 to 1867, in which latter year the State Legislature authorized the appointment of a Board of Health for the City of Milwaukee. By election to the presidency

of this board, Dr. James Johnson became virtually the first municipal health commissioner, continuing to officiate till his resignation in 1877.

From smallpox the city remained exempt from 1847 till the fall of 1868, when it became epidemic to an extent that led to the closing of the public schools in the Second, Sixth and Ninth wards. This was done in November. The number of cases reported between December 1 and the following April was 501, and it was believed that fully one-third as many more were unreported. Even during the period of warm weather there were many instances of people coming down with the disease, and it did not entirely disappear till October, 1869. While the epidemic was at its height arrangement was made with the trustees of Passavant Hospital for the erection at the cost of the city of an addition to the pest-house on the grounds of that establishment to be used for the isolation of patients afflicted with smallpox. Dr. Johnson urged the passage of an ordinance requiring all cases to be reported promptly by physicians called upon to attend them, with severe penalties for non-compliance. He also directed attention to the comparative immunity of Americans, attributing it to the fact that nearly all Americans were vaccinated. From the beginning to the end of his official life he used his influence in favor of compulsory vaccination as a preventive. The next smallpox year was 1872, when there were 616 reported cases and 114 resultant deaths. A few deaths from smallpox occurred in 1874, followed by a respite, but 337 cases were reported in 1876.

Dr. Johnson's immediate successor, Dr. I. H. Stearns, held office for one year, while Gen. Harrison C. Hobart was president of the board. In April, 1878, Dr. Orlando W. Wight was appointed health commissioner for a term of two years, and in 1880 he was reappointed, serving till October, 1881, when he resigned. His administration constituted a significant period in the development of public sanitation in Milwaukee, coinciding with an awakening on the subject in the country at large.

While Dr. Wight was health commissioner but a single case of smallpox was reported. Illustrative of drastic but superlatively efficient methods of procedure habitual with Health Commissioner Wight, it is interesting to note that the patient in the case referred to was promptly isolated and after his recovery the

house in which he had lived, together with its contents, was destroyed by fire. It is further worthy of remark that there was no spread of the disease.

When smallpox visited the city in 1892, Dr. Kempster was incumbent of the health commissionership. A temporary isolation hospital was erected where Milwaukee-Downer College now stands and placed in charge of Dr. Gilbert E. Seaman. The School Board, coöperating with the Health Commissioner, issued an order that children not showing vaccination certificates should be ineligible for admission to the schools. It was while the disease was epidemic that violent opposition to the policy of the Health Commissioner led to rioting on the South Side, where ambulances were stoned on their way through the streets, and patients objected to being removed from their homes for the purpose of isolation. The cases at this time were of a type exceptional for its mildness. Since that year smallpox patients have been promptly isolated, the precaution of vaccination has been generally observed, and no epidemic of smallpox has occurred in Milwaukee.

Dr. Johnson had labored manfully in the interest of public sanitation, but public opinion in his day had not been educated to the point of favoring adequate outlay to insure the maintenance of the Health Department on a scale of modern efficiency. The beginnings of this achievement were attributable to Dr. Wight, who had a way of depending upon his own judgment as to what was best to be done and proceeding to do it regardless of criticism. When certain summary features of his administration were denounced as arbitrary to an intolerable extent, the assertion failed to disturb his equanimity or "crimp his style." Holding a degree in law as well as in medicine, and having enjoyed experience in public life, he was familiar with the statutes and usually could point to authority for what he undertook to exact. When provisions were inadequate, he generally managed to secure the enactment of fresh legislation enlarging his powers. Habitually it was his practice to give existing laws a broad interpretation in favor of his department. When he issued orders for the affixing of fire escapes to certain buildings most of the owners complied without protesting, but one undertook to question his right to meddle in matters of the kind. The Doctor replied that as Commissioner of Public Health his duty was to safe-

guard the health of the people of Milwaukee, and he could conceive of nothing more unhealthful than being burned to death.

For petty economies in public expenditure the Doctor had no respect. His annual report, containing more than 200 printed pages, was remarkable not only for the scope of its discussion of public sanitation, but also for its literary style. In other words, it was readable as well as illuminating and authentic. One section reviewed the history of epidemics, going back to the plague at Florence at the time of Boccacio. As propaganda greatly needed and beneficiently influential the report was a distinct success, but watchdogs of the treasury who were members of the Board of Aldermen stood aghast at the printer's bill of $2,500 incurred by its publication and growled at the expense. Another undertaking, involving only trivial outlay, and admirably characterizing the administration of Health Commissioner Wight, was his census of milk stables. In his day the cows which furnished nearly all the milk consumed in Milwaukee were kept in the city. Once they had been permitted to roam untended in the thoroughfares. This was no longer allowed, but many were driven every morning to pasture in fields within the limits of the city and herded through the streets at milking time, while others were kept in confinement, and some were maintained on an inexpensive diet too largely consisting in slops from the breweries. Much of the milk consumed by the people of Milwaukee was produced amid insanitary conditions. When the Health Commissioner had assembled statistics on the subject he issued through the newspapers an invitation to householders to visit his office and inspect the report, with a view to learning whether the milk delivered at their respective homes was safe for consumption by their children. Only languid interest was taken in the matter at the time, for Dr. Wight was a pioneer in scientific sanitation, and far in advance of public opinion. A decade later the value of precautions which he conceived essential for insuring the purity of milk had come to be widely understood. When those precautions were observed as a result of compulsory enforcement there was a decline in infant mortality which attracted general attention. That Dr. Wight's outstanding ability and efficiency were not unrecognized by contemporaries is deducible from the circumstance that his resignation of the office of Health Commissioner at Milwaukee

was due to the receipt of an invitation to accept a similar position at Detroit with a salary considerably higher than he had been receiving here.

Concurrently with the progress of enlightenment on matters relating to sanitation and hygienics the scope of the Health Department extended. As long as thirty years ago Commissioner Wingate took an interest in the health of children attending the schools. His first annual report embodied suggestions regarding the preservation of school children's eyesight, recommended diminution of their hours of intensive study, urged the provision of exercises tending toward their physical development and argued for the adaptation of seats in school rooms to the stature and comfort of the pupils. It also advocated the regulation of public funerals of scarlet fever and diphtheria patients. It was in this report that Commissioner Wingate began his successful campaign for a prompt solution of the garbage problem.

A very important branch of the Health Department's work at the present time is conducted in the schools. Much useful instruction on sanitation and hygiene is conveyed to the public through the medium of bulletins issued by the Health Department.

Following Dr. Wight, incumbents of the office of Health Commissioner have been: 1882-1890, Dr. Robert Martin; 1890-1894, Dr. U. O. B. Wingate; 1895-1906, D. F. M. Schulz; 1906-1910, Dr. G. A. Bading; May to September, 1910, Dr. W. C. Rucker (resigned); October, 1910, to April, 1914, Dr. F. A. Kraft. Dr. George C. Ruhling came next. The present incumbent is Dr. John P. Koehler. A number of excellent physicians have performed important service as incumbents of other offices in the Health Department than that of Commissioner, and the medical profession of Milwaukee as a body has stood behind the Health Department in its efforts to enlighten the people on the subject of public sanitation, with the object of securing active coöperation from all good citizens in promoting the objects for which the Health Department exists—the minimization of disease, the conservation of physical fitness, the protection and prolongation of human life.

The infant death-rate in Milwaukee for the year 1930 was the lowest in the history of the city. The general death-rate was

only 9.6 per thousand of the population, this also being the lowest in the period covered by official statistics.

A noteworthy contribution by the city of Milwaukee to the cause of public sanitation is its costly and efficient provision for the defecation of its sewage. The chairman of the Sewerage Commission is George P. Miller, who has been incumbent of this position for many years. T. Chalkley Hatton is the Commission's consulting engineer. Readers of this history will be interested in the following clear and authoritative account of Milwaukee's sewage disposal works from the pen of Mr. Hatton:

Like other American cities undergoing rapid increase in population, Milwaukee, in the 'sixties, met the natural demand of sanitation by progressively building a system of underground conduits for carrying to the nearest water courses the potable water which had become polluted by human and industrial uses and the storm water which was polluted by flowing over the surface of the yards and streets. This combined water was carried through the same system of conduits and discharged into the three rivers passing through the city, finally reaching Lake Michigan.

By 1871, when the population of the city exceeded 100,000, the volume of this discharge had become so great as seriously to pollute the waters of the three rivers, making them obnoxious to sight and smell and a menace to the health and comfort of the citizens.

Therefore, in 1871, a commission of three leading sanitary engineers was appointed to "aid in devising a scheme for abating the river nuisance." This commission recommended the building of a system of intercepting sewers along the banks of each of the rivers, by which the dry-weather or sewage flow from the city, instead of discharging into the rivers, could be collected, conveyed to a pumping station located on Jones' Island, and there discharged into the shore waters of the lake, the storm-water continuing to discharge directly into the three rivers.

Nothing was done toward carrying out these recommendations until 1880, when an act was passed by the Wisconsin Legislature making it mandatory for the Board of Public Works of the city to provide means of conveying all polluted waters reaching the rivers to a point beyond the limits of the city and thus disposing of it.

In compliance with this act, an intercepting sewer was built to convey the sewage from the Menomonee Valley to a pumping station on Jones' Island and there discharge it into the lake. This work was completed in 1886 at a cost of $346,750.

The conditions of the Milwaukee River continued to grow worse as the population increased, and in 1886-88 a pumping station was established on the lake front near McKinley Beach which pumped several millions of gallons of clear lake water through a tunnel discharging it into the river at the toe of the dam, thus diluting the river by raising its oxygen contents. In 1897 the partial purification of the Kinnickinnic River was accomplished in like manner, by drawing the lake water from the South Shore through a tunnel to a pumping station located on the Kinnickinnic River near Chicago Road. This station was put in operation in 1907.

All of these improvements were carried out with a view of keeping the three rivers clean, but when completed it was found that the result was to so pollute the waters of the lake, from which the public supply was obtained, that the health of the citizens was seriously threatened. In 1909, a new commission of eminent engineers was created to study the situation anew and recommend such works as would not only keep the rivers pure but protect the public water supply.

This commission recommended the building of a system of intercepting sewers by which all the sewage from the city would be carried to a sewage treatment plant in the Bay View district, where the sewage would be partially treated and the effluent carried through a tunnel and submerged pipes to a point in the lake bottom about 6,000 feet southeast of Bay View.

Nothing was done toward carrying out these recommendations until 1913, when the Legislature passed a general act authorizing the city to create a Sewerage Commission, authorizing the construction of sewage disposal works, and establishing a method by which the city could provide the money for carrying out such work as this commission might determine necessary.

Thus for forty-two years the problem of properly providing for the disposal of the city's sewage had been actively considered before material progress was actually made.

Upon the organization of the Sewerage Commission created under the 1913 act, active work began in the preparation of plans for a complete system of intercepting sewers, and a testing or research station was established at Jones' Island to determine the best process of treating the sewage before discharging it into the lake. This station was operated until 1920 before the process adopted was finally determined upon, and thereafter work upon the plant was rapidly pushed to completion, the first sewage passing through it June 26, 1925.

In 1921, the Legislature passed a general act by which a Metropolitan Sewerage Commission was created, authorizing it to establish an area contiguous to Milwaukee in which it was to construct intercepting sewers which would carry all the sewage from such area to the intercepting sewerage system of the city of Milwaukee, through which it would reach the sewage disposal plant and there be treated together with the sewage from the city.

Upon the organization of this Commission, plans were made and construction begun on a comprehensive intercepting sewerage system for the entire Metropolitan District.

The process by which the sewage is treated in the sewage disposal plant is a new one, many original discoveries having been made in the testing station in Milwaukee. It is termed "Activated sludge" from the fact that the organic solids carried in the raw sewage is so treated as to enormously increase the destructive micro-organisms therein which convert the organic matter into mineral matter by digestive processes.

This treatment consists of aerating the mixture of sewage and sludge for a few hours during which the micro-organisms in the raw sewage coalesce with those in the sludge which, in turn, is precipitated out of the water, a part returned to the raw sewage as it enters the aerating tanks, and the residue, dewatered by filtering and drying, forming a product which is valuable as a commercial fertilizer.

The plant is located on Jones' Island, abutting on the harbor entrance, and occupies approximately twenty acres, fifteen of which were recovered from the lake. It consists of coarse and fine screens by which the larger solids in suspension are intercepted, and grit chambers by which the settleable solids, such as

sand and other mineral matters, are precipitated, thus preventing these solids from reaching the aeration tanks.

Following the fine screens are the aerating chambers and sedimentation tanks. The first are long narrow tanks, through which the mixture of sludge and sewage passes in from four to six hours and is aerated vigorously by compressed air forced through porous plates built in the bottom of the tanks.

The sedimentation tanks follow, in which the aerated mixture is allowed to remain quiescent from forty-five to ninety minutes, during which time the sludge (or solids) settle to the bottom while the clarified sewage, freed of the major part of its impurities, flows over weirs into the lake.

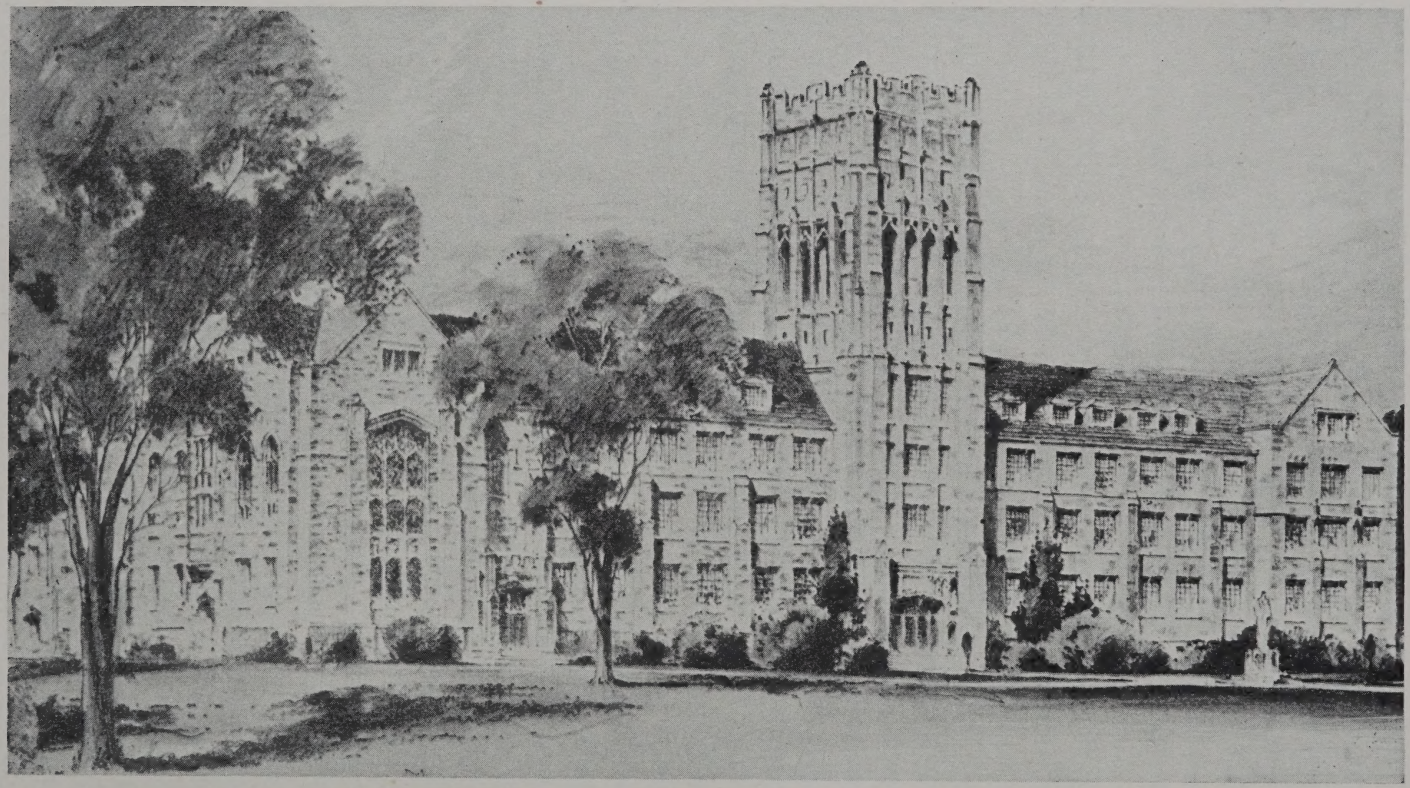
From the sedimentation tanks the sludge flows to pumps, which return a part of the raw sewage to the awaiting tanks, and the balance to cloth filters, which removes the major portion of the water, leaving a material containing about 80 per cent. of water. This water is further reduced to 6 to 8 per cent. by passing the material through large dryers, thence to the grinders and sieves from whence it passes to the storage house ready to be shipped for a fertilizer.

A power house has been built which covers the coal crushing and feeding plant, boilers, electric generators and air compressors with the necessary auxiliaries.

The plant was built to treat approximately 85 million gallons of sewage per day up to 1930, and so arranged for extensions as the population of the Metropolitan area demands.

Its cost up to 1929 was approximately ten millions of dollars. The cost of the intercepting sewerage system was, upon to that date, approximately fifteen millions of dollars; thus making it the largest single operation undertaken and carried to conclusion by the city and county of Milwaukee.

There is no other sewage treatment plant in the world which returns as much income to its operators as the Milwaukee plant. The disposition of the fertilizer has produced an annual income of between five and six hundred thousand dollars, while more than ninety per cent of the polluting matter is extracted from the sewage before the delivery of the latter to the lake.



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, MOUNT MARY COLLEGE

CHAPTER XXXIX

EDUCATION

CONDITIONS OF THE PIONEER PERIOD—RISE AND PROGRESS OF MILWAUKEE'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS—AN INSPIRING DEVELOPMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION WHICH BEGAN IN A SMALL WAY AND LED TO GREAT RESULTS.

Some confusion in regard to the status of education in early Milwaukee has been the outcome of an article erroneously attributed to General Rufus King which was published in the *Sentinel* of June 7, 1845, and which contained the following impressive declaration:

"There is not a public school in Milwaukee, nor has there ever been one. The building used for school purposes in the First District is old, dilapidated, unpainted and half unglazed, without playground or shade or the most necessary conveniences. With a school population of over 325 children between the ages of 4 and 6 years, only about 30 are in school, of all ages, and pursuing their studies in text books whose name is legion. Three hundred and eighteen dollars is all that is appropriated for the entire maintenance of the school, not one dollar for each child entitled to receive a common school education."

The purpose of the article evidently was to shame Milwaukeeans, and particularly East Side Milwaukeeans, into doing more than they had been doing for the training of the rising generation as a whole. The looseness and exaggeration of its style are apparent at a glance. Its affirmation that there was not and never had been a public school in Milwaukee of course was expected to be accepted in a Pickwickian sense by readers familiar with the facts. What it meant was that public schools in Milwaukee at the time fell short of ideal requirements and ought to be improved. The opening sentence referred to Milwaukee at large, in which several district schools had been in operation during the preceding eight years. The remainder of the article was

devoted to setting forth the shortcomings of only one of them—the one on the east side of the river, which possibly had received less attention than those on the west and south sides for the reason that many of the well-to-do parents on the east side—as also was the case on the west side—were sending their children to private schools.

General King's connection with the *Sentinel* began in 1845, but his assumption of editorial labors and responsibilities did not take place till the fall of the year. He, like the writer of the quoted paragraph, favored improved educational facilities, but he did not resort to overstatement for the sake of emphasis, thus risking the creation of false impressions in the minds of researchers of a later day.

The subject of improved educational facilities was agitated in other parts of the Territory, as well as in Milwaukee. On the 16th of October, 1845, a convention of "friends of the common schools in Wisconsin" was held at the courthouse in Mineral Point, which appointed a committee "to devise a suitable system of common schools in this Territory, and to embody the same in the form of a bill to be presented to the Territorial Legislature for its action at the next session." The committeemen were M. M. Jackson and J. B. Darnell of Iowa County, G. F. Magoon of Grant County and Rufus King of Milwaukee.

A meeting in Milwaukee on December 3, 1845, apparently an outcome of the convention at Mineral Point, appointed E. D. Holton, Rufus King and Francis Randall to inquire into the condition of schools in Milwaukee. At a second meeting, held on the 12th of the same month, the report of this committee was presented by General King. It contained the following setting-forth:

"Your committee finds that the whole number of children between the ages of 5 and 16 in the Town of Milwaukee, according to the returns of the trustees of the several districts, is 1,781; that there are thirteen schools in operation within the corporate limits, of which four are public and nine private or select schools; that the actual attendance at the public schools is 228, and in the select schools 356, in all 584; that another school is about to go into operation in the South Ward, which is expected to accommodate from 80 to 100 children; that there is no public school house in the East Ward, and only a small-sized and inconvenient one in

the West Ward, while in the South Ward there is a good school house; that from these statistics, compiled with as much care and labor as the avocations of your committee permitted them to bestow, it would appear that there are upward of 1,000 children in the Town of Milwaukee for whose education no adequate provision has yet been made, and that there are but two public school houses, one of these hardly deserving of the name, within the corporate limits."

Lest readers of the present generation jump at conclusions more harshly condemnatory of the early settlers than were justified by the facts, it is well to bear in mind that it was not until 1846 that Milwaukee procured its municipal charter. Money was scarce, and what little there was, was desperately needed for many imperative things. What was on the brink of becoming the city of Milwaukee had up to that time been practically three rival townsites, working often at cross purposes with one another. However there had been schools from the beginning of the settlement. There had been public schools at least since 1837. Four public schools and nine private schools were in operation and a large new school about to be opened in December, 1845. Even in the Eastern section of the Union the status of popular education was not what it is today. To the credit of the fathers, let it be remembered that as soon as the machinery of efficient government was set up among them they began to use it for the benefit of their children as well as for other worthy objects which had been practically out of reach until that fundamental condition of enduring progress had been obtained.

During its initial year of cityhood five public schools were open in Milwaukee, one in each of the five wards into which the budding municipality had been divided. Three of them had been conducted at first in rented buildings, that maintained for the benefit of the First Ward, comprising the East Side, being carried on at the outset in the basement of St. Peter's Catholic Church, the use of which for the purpose was allowed by Bishop Henni. Nine years later the school board enjoyed jurisdiction over as many publicly owned school buildings as there were public schools, and those buildings were substantial and adequate to a degree that would bear comparison with the best public schools of cities in the Eastern States at that time.

What previously had been going on in the educational field is worthy of attention. There had been schools—public schools as well as private schools. State Superintendent W. C. Whitford, addressing the convention of Wisconsin teachers at Milwaukee on the 20th of February, 1868, observed:

"The first school in Milwaukee was taught in the winter of 1835-6 by David Worthington, afterward a Methodist minister, in a private room on East Water Street, one block south of Wisconsin Street. The first school district in the territory was organized in Milwaukee in the fall of 1836. The first public school in the State was kept by a Mr. West in the fall of 1836, in a frame schoolhouse, still standing, in the Second Ward of the city, and now known as No. 371 Third Street."

Another reviewer of early educational facilities in Milwaukee wrote as follows:

"Mr. Heth, sometimes called the first schoolmaster in Milwaukee, taught the children of Solomon Juneau. David Worthington taught in a building surrounded by East Water, Michigan, Main and Huron streets; Mr. West opened a school in the woods north of Chestnut Street on Third Street. Miss Cordelia Loungs taught on the corner of Third and Galena. Rev. Wm. P. Huntington taught in the second story of a brick block reached by outside stairs on the corner of Third and Tamarack (now State). Miss Spaulding, one of the teachers sent West by Gov. Slade of Vermont, taught on Chestnut between Third and Fourth. In 1843 Samuel J. McComas opened a high school in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Taylor had a select school in the building three doors north of the Episcopal Church, on Jefferson Street. She was assisted by Mrs. Colton."

Neither of these accounts mentions the school conducted in the courthouse by Eli Bates which was attended by Judge E. W. Keyes, afterward of Madison, and by Amherst W. Kellogg and his brother, as well as by a number of other young Milwaukeeans, in 1837. Bates is remembered as having a wooden leg, and as being subsequently appointed keeper of the lighthouse at the head of Wisconsin Street. That he was a competent teacher is to be inferred from his later career. Eventually he made his way in Chicago, where as bookkeeper for a lumber merchant he saved money, became a partner in the business, and, having accumu-

lated a fortune, commissioned from St. Gaudens and presented to the public the noted masterpiece of sculpture representing Abraham Lincoln which stands in Chicago's Lincoln Park.

Silas Chapman opened a school for boys in the basement of the First Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Milwaukee and Mason streets, but that was a private enterprise, and did not antedate 1842, when Milwaukee had begun to emerge from the pioneering era.

Especial interest attaches to the record made by Edward West. Mr. West was a young man of eighteen, who had attended college before he set forth from Perry County, Pennsylvania, in 1836, "with his face to the setting sun." In April of that year, finding it was too early, on account of ice, for vessels to pass the Straits, he walked the whole distance across Michigan to the port of St. Joseph, coming thence by schooner to Milwaukee, having only three dollars in his pocket when he arrived. His first activity here was taking up land as a homesteader. Settling on a claim near the outskirts, he spent several months with Indians as neighbors and learned something of their language. His appointment as teacher brought him $50 a month, with board, and he taught for three terms. At the beginning his pupils numbered forty. At the end there were seventy, including more boys than girls. Some of the pupils were older than he, and he was called "the boy teacher." He won respect and made friends.

In all the schools during the pioneer period much depended upon the teacher. Text books were difficult to procure, the homes of the settlement being ransacked to supply the pupils till orders sent to Cleveland and Buffalo could be filled by dealers at those points. To accommodate older youths, Mr. West carried on an evening school in the same place as the day school, giving instruction in penmanship, reading, spelling, geography and grammar.

While instructing others he engaged in study for his own improvement, mastering surveying, which offered larger financial reward than teaching, and led him to give up his school. He bought a second tract of land, on the Root River, then engaged in farming near Summit, and in 1852 went to Appleton, where he planned and pushed the improvement of the water power. To his initiative is attributed the development that made fortunes for

himself and others on the Fox River. Mr. West died at Appleton in May, 1903.

Miss Elizabeth Trowbridge was a teacher in the first public school on the South Side. She remained many years in the service, holding the respect and affection of her pupils to the end. Good teachers made good schools even in the era before provision existed for organized supervision, though when that came to be available the average efficiency of teachers and the general standing of the schools as instrumentalities of culture was improved.

Quibblers have asserted that district schools were not free schools in the early days because children who attended them were called upon to supply fuel for keeping the schoolhouses warm in the winter time. As a matter of fact, the larger pupils were expected to bring billets with which to replenish the stoves in cold weather, but wood for fuel was cheap at the time, and the financial outlay consequent upon this practice was a trifle. It would be as reasonable to argue that schools in which pupils must pay for text books are not free public schools as to challenge the status of the early district schools on account of the custom requiring contributions of firewood.

The initiation of system and of approximation to uniformity in regulations governing public schools in Milwaukee is attributed to General Rufus King, who was elected to the superintendency in 1859. In his history of the Milwaukee public schools, written in 1893, Principal Patrick Donnelly remarks:

"Until the time of Superintendent King, whatever there was of good in the schools did not exist so much as a requirement of well formulated conditions presented by the School Board as by reason of the excellent abilities of the teachers who then served the city. During the seven-year interval from 1852 till 1859 there was but a semblance of uniformity in the work done in the schools. An ambitious teacher might take up drawing, another might teach the German language, and another might teach astronomy, etc., notwithstanding the fact that other teachers, pursuing the same presumed ends, taught none of these."

In 1860 General King was succeeded in the superintendency by Jonathan Ford, who had been a teacher and possessed qualifications for the superintendency, though lacking the breadth of experience and knowledge and the decision of character and com-

petency for leadership exhibited by General King. It was while Mr. Ford was superintendent that the crisis in Milwaukee's finances consequent upon liabilities incurred in railroad building, followed by the panic of 1857, set back municipal enterprise in every direction, including that concerned with education. The city treasury was empty. Teachers could not be paid their salaries in money, but were obliged to be content with "city orders," on which there was a discount of 20 to 25 per cent. At one time all the schools were closed for two months. Two high schools, which had been opened with bright hopes, were discontinued, for the reason that means were lacking to carry them on. For want of money to pay them, sixteen teachers in the common schools were dropped from the service. Before the re-establishment of municipal credit had been effected came the turmoil of Civil war.

Loyalty of teachers to their profession as well as to their country was attested by the spirit in which they wrought during the years of strife and stress in the nation. Their salaries were wretchedly inadequate, but their best services were rendered not only without complaint but with enthusiasm inspiring to their pupils and to the community at large.

John R. Sharpstein, lawyer and editor, who was elected superintendent in 1862, resigned after a few months and was followed by Edwin DeWolf, a member of the School Board who had been engaged in executing contracts for street grading. Of the period covered by DeWolf's administration, Mr. Donnelly observes: "There was an able corps of principals and teachers, and to them is due whatever of merit or success was then attained."

May 15, 1865, is a memorable date in the history of public education in Milwaukee, marking the selection of Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy for the office of superintendent. He had made an enviable record as a teacher. He had won the confidence of other teachers and of the people generally as a man of character and capacity. Annual examinations of teachers had been a requirement prior to Mr. Pomeroy's superintendency. He inaugurated the principle that when a teacher had passed examination and procured a certificate, the certificate should be accepted as evidence of its holder's qualifications so far as the branches which it covered were concerned—and for their consequent release from what previously had been a useless and onerous annual require-

ment the teachers loved him. His personal supervision of the schools was painstaking and impartial, extending to examination of classes and careful comparison of results obtained in different schools by different teachers engaged in similar work. He introduced the graded system, with a principal at the head of every school, in place of what then was known as the departmental system, embracing a primary, an intermediate and a grammar department, each with a principal of its own. He saw to it that uniformity of text books should not be defeated by the caprice of individual teachers. Under his administration high school instruction was resumed, the topmost floor of the school on Jefferson Street being used at the start. During 1868, the first year of the revived high school, its enrollment was 100 and the average attendance 68. The branches of instruction in the grade schools while Mr. Pomeroy was superintendent were reading, writing, spelling, grammar, "practical" and "mental" arithmetic, geography, physical geography and music. German also was included in the curriculum, but this was optional.

Mr. Pomeroy died in August, 1870, and George H. Paul was elected to the office for the remainder of his term. He recognized the efficiency of his predecessor's administration and followed faithfully in the same course during the few months while he filled the position. Very different was the policy adopted by F. C. Lau, who became superintendent in May, 1871, remaining till May, 1874. He had been principal of the Second Ward School, where he had performed excellent service. He had many good ideas regarding the conduct of the schools, and was responsible for several changes that were recognized as beneficial and have endured to the present day. In the opinion of some of the experienced teachers, however, he was inclined to be theoretical and pushed revolutionary innovation to an injudicious and impracticable extent. Mr. Pomeroy had believed in mental arithmetic as valuable directly and indirectly. Mr. Lau was for its elimination as a separate branch of instruction. He ousted grammar, introducing composition and "language exercises" in its stead. He advised making "Morals and Manners" a part of the course of study. It was during his term that music and drawing were formally added to the curriculum, and two excellent teachers—Professor F. W. H. Priem and Charles F. Zimmerman appointed

as supervisors of those studies. Under Superintendent Lau a division for teacher-training was added to the high school.

James MacAlister had been a grade school principal for ten years when he was elected to the superintendency in May, 1874. He heartily approved of the normal school, and one of his first recommendations was that it should be made independent of the high school. He abolished the practice of holding examinations in the separate schools of candidates for admission to the high school, instituting a general examination for all the highest-grade pupils in the city. He prepared an elaborate system of report blanks to be filled out by teachers. Every phase of school administration was held in mind in the preparation of these blanks. Several changes in the course of study were made at Superintendent MacAlister's suggestion. Some of them were proposed with the object of making the study of arithmetic more "practical." Algebra was dropped from the list of subjects taught in the graded schools and elementary bookkeeping and mensuration were introduced. The use of text books in spelling was discontinued. It was while Mr. MacAlister was superintendent of schools that the Centennial Exposition took place at Philadelphia. Aided by some of the principals, he laid out an elaborate plan for a representation of the work of the Milwaukee public schools in the educational department of that great international show, and the exhibit was so meritorious that it attracted admiring attention not only from Americans interested in matters relating to education, but also from distinguished visitors from abroad. So much did it impress the president of the French Commission of Education that he came all the way to Milwaukee for the purpose of making personal inspection of the schools in which the creditable work exhibited at Philadelphia had been performed. Nor was this the only outcome of the matter. Several years later, when the position of superintendent of schools at Philadelphia fell vacant, friends of education in the City of Brotherly Love came to Milwaukee to get a man to fill it—and the man was James MacAlister. Subsequently he was chosen to be the head of the Childs-Drexel Institute at Philadelphia, pioneer among the great manual training institutions which have made valuable contributions to the promotion of industrial progress in the United States. In 1878 the Milwaukee School Board elected John J. Somers

superintendent of schools, and he served for two years, but in 1880 it recalled Mr. MacAlister. It was in this last period of Mr. MacAlister's service that the first free night schools were established in Milwaukee.

The first kindergarten in Milwaukee was opened by Peter Engelmann in the German-English Academy in 1873, and the Mission Kindergarten Association was organized in the following year. Beyond their value educationally, mission kindergartens maintained by private munificence offered havens for children too young to be sent to ordinary schools, releasing indigent mothers to engage in gainful employments and add to the family income. The first kindergarten in a public school was opened during Mr. MacAlister's superintendency, in 1881; but several years elapsed before the Froebel method of infant instruction became fully established as a part of the public school system. When this had occurred the need for mission kindergartens became less pressing, but even at the present time there are neighborhoods in which they are a blessing to families of straitened means.

When, in April, 1883, Mr. MacAlister resigned his position to go to Philadelphia, William E. Anderson was chosen to succeed him, beginning an administration that was to continue till 1892. These nine years covered a period of change in educational theories and methods affecting the country at large. The advantage of "learning by doing" was beginning to be more clearly perceived than formerly, and with that in view instructional programmes underwent alteration in Milwaukee as well as elsewhere. In language-teaching there was less insistence on the memorizing of technical formulas and a growing faith in the benefit of practice in the art of expression. While grammar as a formal study continued to be prescribed for the fifth, sixth and seventh grades, pupils in the eighth grade were released from the memorizing of rules and put through exercises in sentence-construction and composition-writing. The introduction of experimental physics in the eighth grade occurred in 1885. Three years later, under pressure from without, instruction in cooking was made available to girls from the fifth grade upward. Meanwhile more attention than ever before was directed to the subject of school libraries, and pupils were encouraged to pursue supple-

mentary reading. Teachers' meetings were regarded with high favor by Superintendent Anderson as a means of insuring intelligent coöperation. While he was in office the use of spelling-books was resumed in the schools.

George W. Peckham, who was superintendent of schools from 1892 to 1896, brought to the office a high order of executive ability and the advantage of long experience as a teacher. He came into the discharge of his duties at a time when parents of school children and others interested in education were giving organized attention to matters relating to the schools. The Woman's School Alliance had been formed, with the view of securing improved sanitary conditions in the construction and care of school buildings. The People's Institute had arisen, with the announced purpose of promoting opportunities for study by adults. As superintendent of schools Doctor Peckham welcomed useful suggestions from every source, and worked sympathetically with members of the teaching force as well as with organized bodies representative in different ways of the general public. In his first annual report he presented interesting statistics, showing the number of individuals of school age residing in the city to be 80,116, of whom 25,552 were enrolled in public schools, 17,565 in private schools, the others not attending school. He recommended that the council be requested by the school board to ask the Legislature to authorize a bond issue of $300,000 for the erection of school buildings needed to provide accommodations commensurate with the growth of population. The subject of compulsory education was under discussion during Doctor Peckham's superintendency. Excitement following the enactment of the Bennett Law was at its height. People were interested in educational problems to an unusual degree. In the year 1893-4 the average daily attendance at Milwaukee schools was larger than at any previous time in their history, being 88 per cent of the enrollment in the primary schools and 96 per cent in the high school.

Professor Peckham is remembered as a remarkable man. He came to Milwaukee from New York State with his parents at the age of nine. He studied law, but was devoted to the natural sciences. When the Civil war began he enlisted as a private in an artillery regiment, and at the age of nineteen was commissioned first lieutenant and placed in charge of a battery. In 1870

he went to Ann Arbor, where he was graduated in medicine two years later. The following year he became teacher of biology in the East Side High School, and shortly thereafter was made its principal, holding the position till 1892, when he was made superintendent of schools, remaining till 1896, in which year he became public librarian. It was in his administration that the first branch libraries were established. Ill-health induced him to resign in 1910, but he continued to devote himself to his private scientific labors. Doctor Peckham became famed as a biologist. He was interested in aeronautics, making his first balloon ascension in 1865, soon after his return from the war. In 1877, in company with Steiner, the noted aeronaut, he made an ascension from the grounds of the high school, coming down in Racine County. Professor Peckham was much beloved and an inspiration to his students.

His successor in the superintendency was H. O. R. Siefert. As a teacher, as assistant superintendent, and as superintendent of schools, Mr. Siefert was identified with education in Milwaukee for sixty-two years. The son of a Lutheran pastor, he was born at Grabenstein, Germany, February 11, 1841, and came to Milwaukee in 1855. In 1859 he was a teacher in the Grace Church Lutheran School, on the faculty of which he continued for a quarter of a century. In 1879 he became teacher of German in the Twelfth Ward District School, on Hanover Street, being promoted to the principalship of the old Seventh District School in 1885, and to the post of assistant superintendent of schools in 1889. In 1896 he was chosen to the superintendency, from which he resigned in the fall of 1904, then becoming principal of the Bartlett Avenue School, and retiring in 1921, when upward of eighty years of age. He retained to the last his faith in children, and affirmed that the modern child is as studious and as good as was the child of the days before the Civil war. Music was a lifetime delight of Superintendent Siefert. He delighted also in translating German poetry into English and composing music for the verses. He played five instruments proficiently, and was the author of song books used in schools throughout the country. Mr. Siefert died on the 30th of May, 1928, survived by two sons and five daughters.

Superintendents of schools since Mr. Siefert have been Carroll G. Pearse, from 1904 to 1912, and Milton C. Potter from the latter date to the present time. After his retirement from the superintendency Mr. Pearse became president of the State Normal School located at Milwaukee.

The development of the public school system has paralleled that of the city. In his report for 1930 Superintendent Potter tersely observes that "the school system, with 80,738 pupils and 2,308 teachers, is a twenty-million-dollar plant, operating at an annual cost of more than seven million dollars."

German influence on education in Milwaukee contributed to stimulate progress. Notable, for instance, was the example of instruction in other than the elementary branches of reading, writing and arithmetic which was furnished by the German-English Academy, under the direction of Prof. Peter Engelmann. Pupils in that establishment, as well as in the parochial schools conducted by the German Catholic and Lutheran congregations, attained linguistic knowledge unimparted at first to attendants at the public schools. In a population containing a large immigrant element from Germany, to which additions were making daily, a knowledge of German was advantageous in many ways, and particularly helpful in business. Before there was a hard-and-fast curriculum for the public schools some of their principals showed interest in this direction, which led to the forming of classes in German that met after regular hours, in charge of instructors recompensed by the pupils who cared to join. The natural history museum in the German-English Academy, open to the public on Saturdays, was advantageous to young people generally as well as to some of their elders, in connection with studies of this description voluntarily pursued. At the German-English Academy advanced pupils received instruction in chemistry by the laboratory method. Their achievements made them the envy of playmates attending other schools, who in some instances took up chemical experimenting on their own account and carried on at least far enough to enable them to manufacture colored lights for use on the Fourth of July.

Intellectual stimulus, from whatever quarter it offered, found Milwaukee educators and Milwaukee youngsters responsive to its appeal. A traveling lecturer who visited the city in the '60s

delivered a course of illustrated talks on science which was attended by many of the older school children in company with their parents, and directed attention to the wonders of astronomy and other branches of physics. The application of electricity to practical ends other than telegraphy was beginning to enlist public interest. There were schoolboys who amused themselves with batteries for electro-plating and who set up telegraph lines over which they could communicate with one another from their respective homes.

Long before systematic supplementary reading had been formally prescribed for children in the public schools it was engaged in by many on their own initiative, the library of the Young Men's Association proving of great assistance to some and others profiting by popular-priced editions of worthwhile literature placed on the market at the time by Eastern publishing houses, which, in the absence of international copyright, were free to issue reprints of the works of European authors. To young people in a receptive condition for cultural opportunity the habit of reading is the open door to knowledge. Then as now the love of study did not come naturally to all. Then as now the majority had need of schools, and educational standards were constantly moving upward.

There were public schools in which the germ of manual training made its appearance in the later '60s, when girls were given instruction in sewing. Cooking came later, its introduction persistently advocated by far-seeing mothers conducting propaganda through the medium of independent organization. Business men were influential in fostering the movement for manual training. Schoolmen were ready to develop its educational possibilities in the fullness of time. There are citizens innumerable to whom the school newspaper looks like an ultra-modern idea. There was a school newspaper in the First Ward Public School when that establishment occupied the old building at the corner of Van Buren and Division streets. At first this paper was a manuscript affair, but in 1869 it came out in the dignity of print. Its name was the *Juneau School Record*, and it owed its initiative to the principal, Charles Whittaker. Out of the enthusiasm that had led to this experiment came the *Milwaukee Monthly Magazine*,

which Mr. Whittaker carried on for several years and finally disposed of to a professional publisher.

Between the early tentative experiments with manual training and the Milwaukee Occupational School, which now attracts attention from educators throughout the world, there was a long road to travel, but the distance has been traversed—and great are the advantages to young people of the existing generation consequent upon the vision of those who planned and the labor of those who engaged in the journey.

With the reopening of the public high school toward the end of the '60s came formal instruction in biology for others than the pupils of private institutions like the German-English Academy. Besides biology and languages the high school curriculum included other important branches of advanced study. In earlier days American public opinion had leaned to insistence on "the three R's" as the limit of education properly chargeable to the taxpayers. There were quarters in which this conception of the scope of public education died hard. When the high school building had been injured by fire, the *Sunday Telegraph* of December 28, 1879, came out with an editorial headed "Let It Drop Out," making strenuous protest against rebuilding. Rare are the instances in which sentiment so narrow finds even verbal expression at the present day, but frequent is the utterance of fervent conviction that on the education of the people depend the preservation of free institutions and the stability of the republic. Now the public high schools in Milwaukee number seven, and they are only part of Milwaukee's provision for free education additional to what is attainable in the graded public schools.

The largest of the State Teachers' Colleges, of which there are seven in Wisconsin, is located in Milwaukee. These institutions have a long and interesting history.

Under the provisions of an act of 1850, Congress granted nearly 4,000,000 acres of swamp and overflowed lands to the State of Wisconsin. Seven years later the Wisconsin Legislature set apart one-fourth of the proceeds of these lands "for the encouragement of academies and normal schools," and provided for a board of normal school regents to superintend the distribution of the income of the fund to colleges and academies which organized departments for the training of teachers. In 1865, by

another legislative enactment, one-half of the swamp land fund was denominated the normal school fund, its income to be devoted to establishing and supporting normal schools, with the stipulation, however, that 25 per cent of this income should be annually transferred to the school fund income, until the annual income of the common school fund reached the sum of $200,000. As the Government survey of swamp and overflowed lands was made in winter and early spring months, when forests and lowlands held considerable water, thousands of acres of the lands transferred under the grant to the State were of excellent quality and very valuable. Estimates which have been made in later times of what might have been realized for the benefit of public education, if these and other grants of land for educational purposes had been wisely and scrupulously made the most of in the interest of the State as a whole, place the amount at $50,000,000, a sum which, properly invested, would have yielded an annual income of $2,500,000. As a matter of fact, the manner in which the greater part of the lands were disposed of was unbusinesslike and wasteful, its outcome profiting speculators and contributing comparatively little to the school funds.

Not till 1866 was the establishment of separate normal schools begun under State auspices. By the fall of 1875 four were in operation, located respectively at Platteville, Whitewater, Oshkosh and River Falls. In 1880 an act of the Legislature made it the duty of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools to establish an additional normal school in the City of Milwaukee, as soon as it should be able to provide for the maintenance of such school from the funds at its disposal. A stipulation contained in the enactment was that a site for the school should be donated by the city and a suitable building be erected thereon, also at the city's expense. Milwaukee prior to this had been maintaining a normal school of its own. In 1881, however, the city bought a site, and in 1885 completed a building, the property, which had cost $52,000, being accepted by the Board of Normal School Regents in June of that year, and the school being opened, with Prof. J. J. Mapel as president, in the following September. An important event in the history of the Normal School at Milwaukee was its removal in 1912 to a spacious and handsome new building with ample grounds erected for its accommodation on Downer

Avenue. The old building had been inadequate, notwithstanding successive enlargements, to meet the growth of the institution, which attracted pupils not only from the immediate vicinity of the city, but also from distant parts of the State. Many changes have been made in the curriculum from time to time. Special departments conducted in the Normal School at Milwaukee and not in the other normal schools of the State are those which afford training in art and in music. The art department was established in 1911. There is also a department devoted to instruction of the deaf. Kindergarten departments are conducted in the normal schools at Milwaukee and Superior. Since 1927 the official designation of the State normal schools in Wisconsin has been Teachers' Colleges. The income for their maintenance comes partly from a tax of one-sixth of a mill on all the assessable property in the State and partly from the interest on the normal school fund, in addition to what they derive from the general fund. In 1928 the special tax netted $936,503 and the interest from the normal school fund was $132,232, in addition to which they received $893,020 from the general fund and $175,368 in fees from students. The total of these amounts being apportioned among the seven Teachers' Colleges now in operation at different places in the State.

To enter minutely into description of all the educational facilities open to Milwaukeeans at the present time would far exceed the limits allotted to this chapter, and confront the reader with a mass of information readily obtainable elsewhere. What is more pertinent to the purpose in hand is a rapid survey of early contributions to educational opportunity due to private and group initiative.

When the Rev. Lemuel Hull had completed his brick residence at the corner of Wisconsin and Jackson streets, in 1841, it was too spacious for the requirements of his domestic establishment, but he held another object in view, proposing to conduct under its roof the first school in Milwaukee for the higher education of women. The prospectus he issued is likely to be interesting to parents and teachers of the present day by reason of the light it sheds on two subjects of perennial interest—the curriculum and the cost of living:

MILWAUKIE FEMALE ACADEMY

In this Institution the year is divided into two terms of 22 weeks each,—the Summer term commencing on the first Monday of May, and the Winter term on the first Monday of November, with a vacation of four weeks between each term.

Instruction is given in all the branches of education usually taught in such Institutions.

Terms:

Tuition for quarter of 11 weeks, in the introductory studies,—as Reading, Spelling, &c. $3.00

For common English branches,—as Geography, Grammar, Arithmetic, Writing and Composition, per quarter 4.00

For higher branches,—as Ancient Geography, Ancient and Modern History, Astronomy, Botany, Logic, Rhetoric, Natural, Moral and Mental Philosophy, Chemistry, Algebra, Geometry, and Evidences of Christianity—including Latin and Greek Languages, per quarter 5.00

Music on the Piano Forte or Organ, with use of instruments, per quarter, extra 8.00

French, Italian and German, do 6.00

Drawing and Painting, do 4.00

Board, per week 2.00

Washing, per doz. ..... .50

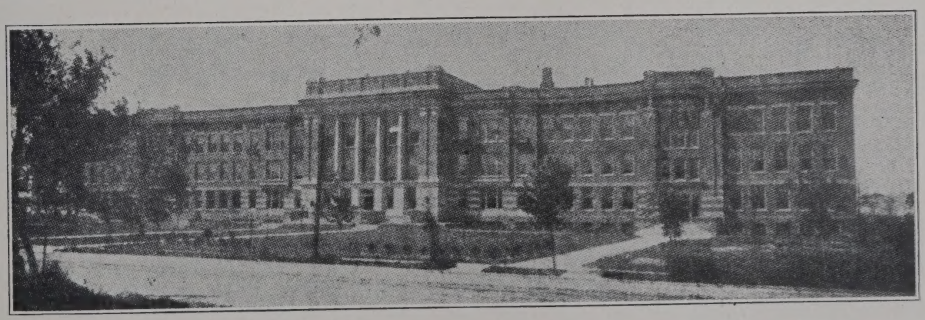
No deductions made for absence except in cases of protracted illness. All payments to be made quarterly in advance.

Lemuel B. Hull.

After the death of Mr. Hull in 1842 the school was carried on for a time by his eldest daughter, Miss Eleanor Hull, and her younger sister. It was in the Hull mansion that Margaret Fuller found accommodation during her visit to Milwaukee in the summer of 1843. Her boarding house, she says, "was also a boarding school, conducted by two girls of nineteen and seventeen years. Their pupils were nearly as old as themselves; the relation seemed very pleasant between them. The only superiority—that of superior knowledge—was sufficient to maintain authority—all the authority that was needed to keep daily life in good order." Affording another glimpse of the establishment, she observes: "To the windows of this house, where the daughter of a famous 'Indian fighter,' i. e., fighter against the Indians, was learning French and the piano, came wild, tawny figures, offering for sale their baskets of berries. The boys (Indian boys), instead of brandishing the tomahawk, tame their hands to pick strawberries."

MILWAUKEE-DOWNER COLLEGE

MILWAUKEE FEMALE COLLEGE
Milwaukee and Division Streets, in the '60s.



MILWAUKEE NORMAL SCHOOL

The next select school for the young ladies of the city was begun as a private enterprise in 1848 by Mrs. W. L. Parsons, wife of the pastor of the Free Congregational Church, and became the nucleus of what is now Milwaukee-Downer College. The salary of Mr. Parsons was $500 per annum. It is not surprising that Mrs. Parsons undertook to add to the family income by teaching. She called her school the Milwaukee Female Seminary. For a time it was carried on in a small frame structure which fronted on the alley back of the present central fire engine house on Broadway, the Broadway front of the lot being occupied by a wooden church subsequently purchased by the city and used in part by the Fire Department, while the upper floor accommodated at one time what was known as the Milwaukee University, later serving as quarters for the primary department of the old Seventh District School. The boarding house used in connection with the seminary at the outset was the brick building still standing at the northwest corner of East Wells and Milwaukee streets, this structure serving later to house the school itself for a time, while the college buildings at the corner of Milwaukee and Division streets (Juneau Avenue) were in the course of construction. At the time referred to Frances Willard, who later became famous, was one of the pupils of the Milwaukee Female Seminary. It is interesting to note that the boarding department of the seminary was conducted by the parents of Mr. Parsons, and that the young ladies availing themselves of its hospitality were assured of "parental supervision over their health, habits and manners." The charge for board was $2 per week, with 25 cents additional for washing.

For twenty years Catherine Beecher had been engaged in the advocacy of advanced education for women, her labors producing fruitful results in the East. With a view of helping the cause in the West she came to Milwaukee, bringing with her Mary Mortimer, and participating in the formulation of a programme by which the scope and usefulness of the Milwaukee Female Seminary were expanded. With her energetic coöperation the institution was incorporated in 1851 under the name of "The Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School," with the following well-remembered names on the list of its trustees: I. A. Lapham, Dr. J. P. Greves, G. P. Hewitt, J. H. Tweedy, A. Finch Jr., J. H.

Van Dyke, W. P. Flanders, Rev. W. L. Parsons, Rev. A. L. Chapin. The teaching staff included Mrs. Parsons and Mary Mortimer. The idea of Miss Beecher was that the institution should be religious but non-sectarian, and this has been adhered to throughout its history. Through the influence of Miss Beecher friendly interest in the school was manifested by the American Woman's Educational Association of New York.

The corner-stone laying at the Juneau Avenue site took place in May, 1852, and the main building began to be occupied in the fall of that year. In April, 1853, by legislative enactment, the name of the institution was changed to the Milwaukee Female College.

From soon after her arrival in Milwaukee till 1857 Miss Mortimer gave all her energy and ability to the advancement of the institution, which during that period was under her immediate direction. In the latter year she was succeeded by the Misses Mary and Caroline E. Chapin, who remained till 1863, assisted after 1861 by Miss Elizabeth Watson. The panic of 1857 had crippled the college financially, reducing the attendance to sixty pupils. Prof. S. S. Sherman, who was one of the trustees, took personal management in the fall of 1863, paying a small annual rental, and assuming the risk of restoring the institution to a paying basis, which he effected in the course of three years. In 1866 Miss Mortimer was recalled and given a lease at $500 per year. The attendance during the first year under this arrangement rose to 296. The college was divided into departments, and Miss Mortimer had the assistance of a faculty consisting of four teachers, each with equal authority. In 1874 she retired, spending the remaining three years of her dutiful and beneficent life in a quiet home on the bank of the Milwaukee River. Miss Beecher died in 1878, and the American Woman's Educational Association did not survive her. It was by Miss Mortimer's advice that the trustees invited Prof. Charles Farrar, who had won renown at Vassar, to take charge of the institution, which he did, receiving a lease of the property free of rent, to run for ten years, with the understanding that he should be responsible for all expenses, including repairs and taxes, assessments, insurance and interest on the debt, which latter, however,

amounted only to $2,000. He was to set the course of study and make his own terms for tuition.

Professor Farrar's administration, which lasted till 1889, is remembered for many things—the change of name to Milwaukee College, the presentation of a telescope by Hiram Barber of Horicon, and the erection of an observatory to house it by William P. McLaren, as well as the construction of a building containing a large hall and room for the art department and for a scientific laboratory. It is also remembered for the fire in 1883, resulting in loss of collections contributed by Professor Farrar and others which had been useful to art and science students. Enlargement of the home building at his own expense was undertaken by Professor Farrar in 1886. The Ladies' Art and Science Class, with Professor Farrar as its mentor, was organized in 1874. In 1877 the alumnae and other friends of the college founded the Mary Mortimer Memorial Library.

After Professor Farrar came Prof. Charles F. Kingsley, who, though not yet thirty years of age, had been in charge of a collegiate school for young ladies at Rochester, New York. Soon after his arrival there came into existence the Milwaukee College Endowment Association, which went to work with a will, and in a short space of time was able to announce endowments aggregating the handsome sum of $75,000, of which $37,000 was the gift of Edward D. Holton. In the hope that it would raise the standing of the college educationally, Professor Kingsley discontinued the preparatory department, which led to an embarrassing decrease of revenue. His retirement, and the appointment of Miss Louise R. Upton as his successor, occurred in the fall of 1893, which is dourly remembered as a year of financial panic.

A momentous date was 1895. Under the presidency of Miss Ellen C. Sabin, which began in that year and continued till 1921, the institution entered upon a new career which more than realized the high ideals of its founders. Miss Sabin brought to her office a dynamic personality, with unusual natural powers ripened by the discipline of long and varied experience, and was uniquely qualified for the responsibilities she had been called upon to assume. After three years as a student at the University of Wisconsin, she had performed instructional work first at Madi-

son and then at Portland, Oregon, in the years between 1869 and 1885. She had visited Europe, familiarizing herself with educational theories and methods there in vogue. From 1887 to 1890 she had won approbation as superintendent of the Portland public schools, and during the following five years had functioned with signal success as president of Downer College at Fox Lake, Wisconsin. When she came to Milwaukee, the resources of the two institutions were combined, Milwaukee College taking the name of Milwaukee-Downer. Radical expansion of equipment and important enlargement of curricular scope were planned at the same time. As soon as preliminaries could be effected, the old grounds and buildings on Milwaukee Street were disposed of and the college was established in a modern and sumptuous home on a wooded tract of forty-three acres, beautifully located in the northern section of the city, between the Milwaukee River and Lake Michigan, whereon had been erected for its use a group of buildings spacious in dimensions, commodious in arrangements, substantial in construction, and pleasing to the eye.

The following sentences, gleaned from an address delivered by Miss Sabin, may be quoted as shedding light on the policy of Milwaukee-Downer: "The business of a college is to aid the young to secure knowledge, to develop their powers, and to establish right character." "The steadfast policy of this college has been to try to meet the needs of its locality, and always to understand and meet the essential requirements in the education of women. We are not indifferent to academic traditions or to the experiences of other colleges, but we have not simply adopted for ourselves the curricula of men's colleges, or made some other woman's college of reputation our pattern and guide." "We have constantly protected and emphasized sound academic studies, and we would allow nothing to impair the cultural disciplines of the languages and literature, the social sciences, pure science, and philosophy. We believe also that education must have motive and end." "We think the connection of the most abstruse subject with life may be demonstrated, and should be recognized by the student. We further believe that woman's education should prepare a woman for women's chief vocation, and that the science and art of home-making, which is a business most complex and most significant, should form a recognized part of her training

for life. We believe that music furnishes an essential and unique element of culture and power. We believe that understanding of the principles of art, appreciation of beauty, and taste, are essential to a well-rounded education, and therefore we provide such fields of study, and give them credit toward a degree."

In 1921 the student body of Milwaukee-Downer numbered 606—405 being enrolled in the college and 201 in the seminary. The college faculty numbered forty-two and the seminary faculty fourteen, a total of fifty-six. It was in that year that Miss Sabin was honored with the title of president emeritus, and the active presidency was conferred upon Miss Lucia R. Briggs, A. M., LL. D., who is incumbent of the office at the present time, the institution retaining its high position among educational establishments for women and enjoying increasing patronage as the years go by. It is a standard college for women, with four-year programmes leading to the degrees of B. A., B. S. (with a major in Science or Home Economics), B. S. in Arts (with a major in Art or Music), B. S. in Nursing, and shorter programmes leading to diplomas in Music and Occupational Therapy. Graduates are prepared for work as teachers, chemists, laboratory technicians, dieticians, institutional managers, librarians in public schools and other occupations requiring special scholastic training.

Even in a brief and hasty survey of the history of education in Milwaukee more than passing reference is due to the Catholic Sisters of Notre Dame and the devoted and indefatigable Mother Superior under whose charge they began their fruitful labors centering in this city and eventually extending far and wide. Often it is asserted that every organization is essentially an extension of the individuality of its earliest director. Without assenting to all the implications of this sweeping assumption, it must be conceded that the Sisters of Notre Dame were fortunate in their leader.

The daughter of parents in comfortable circumstances, she was born in a suburb of Paris in 1824, and her name in secular life was Mary Catherine Friess. The blood of three countries flowed in her veins—Dutch, Bavarian and French. She was brought up in Bavaria by her paternal grandmother, in the house of an uncle who was a Catholic priest and who became vicar-

general and administrator of the Diocese of Eichstaedt. From her early years it had been her earnest desire to enter a religious order, and in 1840 she became a member of the then recently founded congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, the mother house of which was transferred to the vicinity of Munich, where in 1842 she entered upon her novitiate, to be known from that time as Sister and eventually as Mother Caroline. She made her final vows in 1845.

An American bishop had appealed for members of the new order to be sent to the United States, and this brought Sister Caroline and three other professed Sisters with one novice, in charge of a reverend mother, to the shores of America in June, 1847. Two years later the reverend mother returned to Europe. In 1850 her successor sent Sister Caroline to the mother house in Bavaria to argue with the authorities for a modification of the rule of rigid enclosure, and so well did she acquit herself of this important task that she not only succeeded, but, on account of qualities evinced in the undertaking was appointed vicar-general of the Congregation for America, with instructions to repair to Milwaukee, which had been chosen at the suggestion of Bishop Henni, and open what was to be the principal mother house of the Order.

Money for the undertaking had been contributed by King Louis I of Bavaria. Accompanied by three professed Sisters and one novice, Mother Caroline arrived in Milwaukee on the 15th of December, 1850, establishing the mother house in a brick residence on what is part of the site of the Notre Dame Convent of today. The room set apart for a chapel was blessed by Bishop Henni on Christmas Eve, and on Christmas Day he offered up the sacrifice of the Mass. On January 2, 1851, Mother Caroline took charge of the parochial school in the lower story of St. Mary's Church, at the corner of Main and Biddle streets, now Broadway and East Kilbourn Avenue, and in the same year she opened a day school at the mother house.

Mother Caroline and her co-workers were committed to a life of religious devotion involving deprivations and toil with sacrifice of pleasures and ambitions that inspire the average human being. King Ludwig's gift, amounting to some five thousand dollars in American money, had enabled them to make a

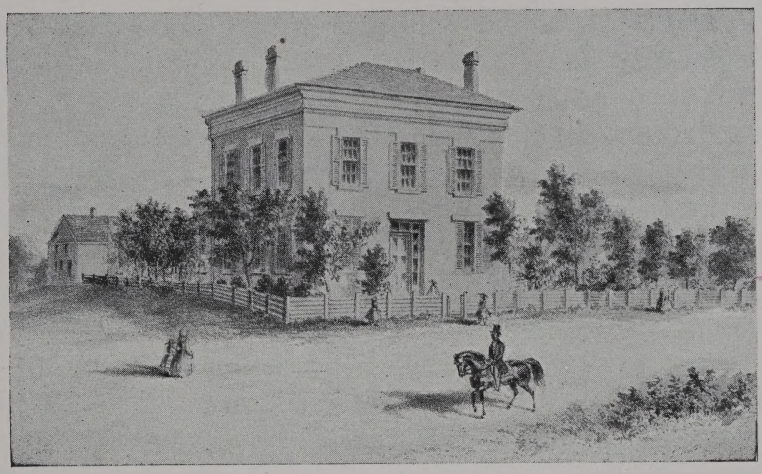
start. To carry on depended upon themselves. They carried on, with results sublimely impressive even when considered apart from their spiritual significance and with sole regard to their outcome in substantial achievement.

For all engaged in the enterprise during its early days, there were experiences of grinding poverty and exacting toil. The duties of the mother superior were not confined to the cloister and the schools, but necessitated exposure to discomforts and dangers in the world outside, for visitation journeys frequently carried her to regions remote from Milwaukee. In June, 1858, when in company with Father Urbanek, who had been chaplain at the convent for many years, she was returning from New Orleans on the *Pennsylvania*, occurred a boiler explosion which hurled a part of the steamboat into the air. Father Urbanek and more than three hundred of the five hundred passengers met instant death, but Mother Caroline was among those saved from the wreck. From childhood her physical health had been imperfect, and at times she suffered painful illness, but she persevered, and her work prospered. As the Order grew, her responsibilities increased in proportion, but invariably she proved equal to their demands.

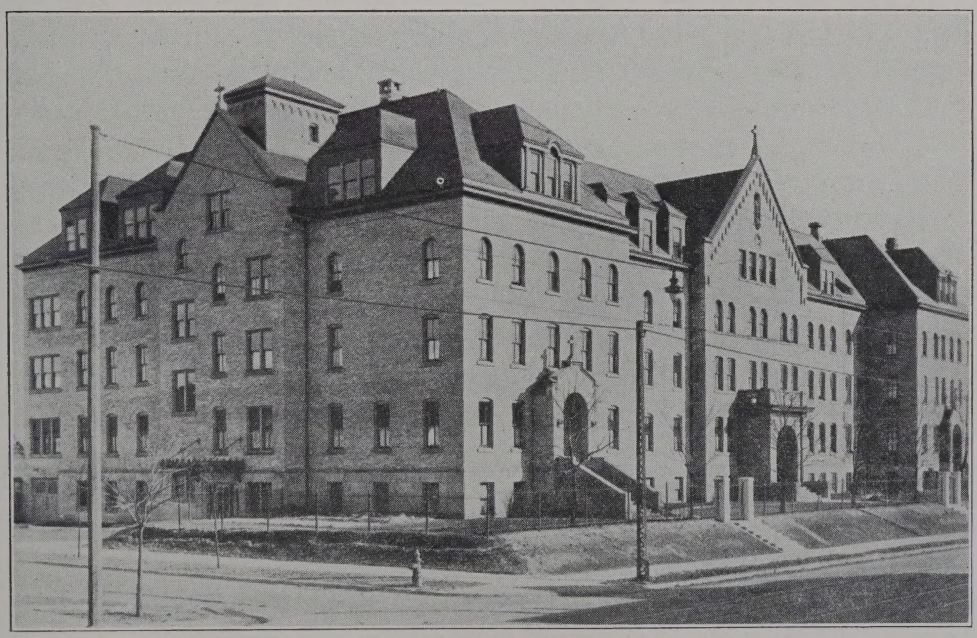
As years went by, missions were opened in sixteen States of the Union and in Canada. In 1880 Mother Caroline was made commissary general for the continent of North America, with responsibility for both provinces then existing and for others that might be established. She visited all the missions at intervals till a few months before her death, and carried on a burdensome correspondence. Her earnest, purposeful, inspiring career came to an end on the 22d of July, 1892.

At the time of her appointment as Superior, her congregation numbered six houses. When, after more than forty years of fruitful service, her earthly pilgrimage came to a close, her spiritual daughters to the number of more than two thousand were instructing seventy thousand children in one hundred and seventy-seven schools. Since 1892 the number of teaching Sisters in the Order and the number of pupils under their care have more than doubled.

Over the grave of Mother Caroline, in the Sisters' cemetery at Elm Grove, is a simple stone, with the inscription, "Mother



NOTRE DAME CONVENT, 1850



ST. MARY'S CONVENT

Sisters of the Divine Savior, Thirty-fifth and Center Streets.

Caroline." Thirty-eight years after her death there was reared another monument to her memory—Mount Mary College, whose residential building bears the name of Caroline Hall. Until its removal to the environs of Milwaukee the seat of this two-million-dollar foundation for the education of women was at Prairie du Chien. With the advantages under which it enters upon its new career, the friends of the institution look forward with enthusiasm to its future. Choice bits of woodland and broad sweeps of lawn comprise the seventy-five acre demesne, to which an old-world charm is imparted by glimpses of cloisters and shrines. Its red-tiled roofs and its walls of cream-colored stone are visible for miles around. Its majestic tower commands the pleasant countryside to the northwest of the city, the slopes of the Wauwatosa region, the bright windings of the Menomonee, and the far-extending reaches of parkway undergoing construction by the city and county of Milwaukee. Such, in substance is the report of a writer for the Chicago Tribune, who paid a recent visit to the new Mount Mary, and who adds: "This is the aspect of the college to passers-by. Within, it discloses the elegance of a country mansion and an institutional vastness—four stories of classrooms, dormitories, refectories, chapels, libraries, drawing rooms and executive offices. But the spirit animating the place is not 'institutional.' It is buoyant, unfettered, even radical—as when the faculty had the courage to reject outdated but surviving techniques of instruction, among them the lecture system, which, they said, had 'degenerated into a stuffing process.'" Mount Mary College is conducted under the auspices of the Sisterhood which Sister Caroline established in Milwaukee.

The history of what now is the Milwaukee University School and what formerly was known as the German-English Academy is closely interwoven with the history of the city. Following is an interesting sketch prepared for this work by Frank S. Spigener, under whose charge as Director the institution has flourished for many years:

"Instinctive desire of the German people in Milwaukee that their children should enjoy the benefits of a sound educational system resulted in a meeting on the 24th of April, 1851, at Wettstein's Hotel, called at the suggestion of Mr. Schumacher and attended by a number of German-American citizens. The situa-

tion was thoroughly discussed, and within a few days, on May 10 to be exact, the Milwaukee Educational Association (the Milwaukee Schulverein) was organized, with the following members on its board: Dr. Aigner, President; C. E. Wendt, Secretary; M. Stein, Treasurer; Dr. Luening, E. Trieger, H. Werdehoff, and F. Fratney, Executive Committee. The Association established a school, later known as the German-English Academy, in a rented building on upper East Water Street, July 1, 1851. Peter Engelmann was selected as the head of the school, which at this time had two classes and an enrollment of forty pupils. Two years later, the state legislature granted the association its charter under the name of the German-English Academy, the charter members being: Christian Preusser, Charles E. Wendt, Claus H. Herde, Matthias Stein, Henry Niedecken, Henry G. Post, Jacob Obermann, David Schultz, Peter Engelmann, Gustav Pfeil, C. H. Papendik, Edward Diederich, and Ferdinand Kuehn.

"It was extremely fortunate that the school began under the leadership of Peter Engelmann. Shortly before its founding he had come to Milwaukee to serve as private tutor of the late General F. C. Winkler, who therefore was Peter Engelmann's first German-American pupil. With the able assistance of M. F. Regenfuss, Mr. Engelmann was able to offer in both elementary and higher branches a rich curriculum, including not only the 'three R's' but many cultural and practical branches, among the latter being gymnastics, manual training and needlework, introduced by Mr. Engelmann long before they were admitted into the public schools. The curriculum included also singing, general history, general science and nature study, the latter being especially valuable under the inspiring influence of Mr. Engelmann who had spent considerable time studying science at the German universities.

"Two months after the opening of the school, larger quarters were provided by the purchase of a building on Spring Street, now Wisconsin Avenue, into which the school moved in September, 1851. In October of the same year, a third teacher and a third class were added. Progress was rapid. In the winter of 1852-53, another site was purchased on Broadway, at that time Main Street, and on this site a building was erected the following summer. It was ready for occupancy in October, 1853. In the mean-

time, the enrollment had increased to one hundred and fifty. So rapid was the progress that the new quarters soon proved to be too small, and various additions were necessary in 1856, 1861 and 1872. The building as finally enlarged served as home of the school for nearly twenty years, containing the necessary equipment for a thoroughly organized school and for many activities which made the school a center of the intellectual and social life of the city.

"An illustration of foregoing fact was the founding of a scientific society by Mr. Engelmann, the members of which were to the largest part also members of the school association. The society started a collection of specimens in the natural sciences, for a time exhibited in the rooms of the school. In the course of years, however, the collection grew to such proportions that larger quarters had to be sought, and finally it was given to the City of Milwaukee, becoming the nucleus of the present Public Museum, which is the pride of our city, and in quality second to none in the United States.

"The large influx of educated Germans after the revolutionary period in Germany, together with the fame of the Engelmann School, as it was popularly called, increased the enrollment until it reached its peak in 1865 when 450 pupils were educated by sixteen teachers in eleven classes.

"On May 18, 1874, Peter Engelmann died, leaving a memory that today is cherished by his former pupils and by the many who throughout the years have remained friends of the school. After a short interim he was succeeded by William Hailmann, who had been principal of a similar school in Louisville, Kentucky. He served only one term, however, and was immediately succeeded by Isador Keller, from Hoboken, New Jersey. Director Keller's incumbency is especially significant, due to the fact that through his activity the union with the National Teachers' Seminary (founded by the German-American Teachers' Association) was effected. By this union the well-established practice in Germany that students preparing to teach should have opportunity during their period of training to apply the principles of teaching in a so-called model school was adapted to American conditions. The school furnished the Seminary its home and the Seminary in turn provided the school with its excellent teaching force.

"In 1885 Mr. Keller resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. Heinrich Dorner. He served for three years and was followed by Emil Dapprich, hailing from Belleville, Illinois, where he had been county superintendent of schools and later superintendent of city schools. Mr. Dapprich continued as director of the school until his death in November, 1903. Mr. Dapprich's administration was signalized by the completion of a tripartite arrangement that made the history of the Milwaukee University School unique. In 1885 the Normal School of the North American Gymnastic Union was united with the German-English Academy and the Teachers' Seminary.

"This union made necessary the enlargement of quarters. Through the generosity and enthusiasm of Mrs. Guido Pfister and her daughter, Mrs. Louise Vogel, the tripartite organization was given its home at 558-560 Broadway. The school building was erected in memory of Guido Pfister by his wife and daughter. In 1892 an addition was built to the above named Gymnastic Union upon a site donated by Frederick Vogel. It consisted of a beautiful gymnasium and a class room for the Normal School of Gymnastics. Mr. Dapprich's administration was marked also by the development of the instructional aspect of the school. Mr. Dapprich, like Mr. Engelmann, was essentially a teacher.

"It was during Mr. Dapprich's administration that the school celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in May, 1901. Upon this occasion Carl von Marr, a distinguished alumnus of the school and an internationally famous artist, presented a portrait of Peter Engelmann which hangs today in the main hallway of the school building. Mr. Dapprich died in November, 1903, and was succeeded by Max Griebsch, who had served as teacher of the Seminary for ten years prior to his appointment as director.

"In 1909 J. Howard Pratt, Ph. D., Yale University, was made Dean of the German-English Academy High School. For many years Dr. Pratt had been principal and owner of the Milwaukee Academy, during which time it had on its rolls the names of many of Milwaukee's leading citizens. Dr. Pratt closed the Milwaukee Academy in 1909 and brought its pupils with him to the German-English Academy. He retained his position as Dean of the Boys' High School until 1923, when he resigned to go into other fields. He was succeeded by Frank S. Spigener, who had been teacher

of History since 1921. While originally intended for boys only, a separate department was organized in 1920 for girls, and thus the character of the school as a college preparatory institution, offering its students a continuous education from kindergarten through high school, was established.

"In 1907 the Normal School of Gymnastics had moved to Indianapolis, and the school bought from the Gymnastic Association the building that it had occupied. The name of the school was changed to Milwaukee University School in 1918 and under the directorship of Mr. Griebsch continued to grow in efficiency and reputation. He resigned in June, 1925 and his place was taken by Dr. Alfred L. Hall-Quest in August of that year. In October, 1926, Dr. Hall-Quest's resignation was accepted by the Board of Trustees and Frank S. Spigener, who had been Dean of the High School since 1923, was given a temporary appointment as Director. The Board confirmed this appointment as permanent in February, 1927.

"For a long time the Board of Trustees had realized that the school had outgrown its usefulness in the down-town section. Both the Board and the patrons felt that the school should be moved to the northeastern section of the city, where there would be ample room for buildings and playgrounds. With this end in view six acres were purchased on Hartford Avenue between Cramer and Frederick streets. Under the leadership of August H. Vogel and the following Board members a campaign was directed among the alumni and friends of the school in order to raise funds for constructing a new building: August H. Vogel, president; Edward R. Wagner, vice president; Charles A. Krause, secretary; J. H. Puelicher, treasurer; Walter Berger, Albert C. Elser, Adolph Finkler, Mrs. Charles F. Hase, Walter Kasten, Mrs. A. L. Lindemann, I. H. Offner, Carl Remeeus, Dr. Joseph Schneider, Mrs. A. O. Trostel, Mrs. Edward Weschler, Walter Zinn.

"The result of this campaign made it possible to begin construction in the early spring of 1926. The school opened in September, 1927. Its building was planned and erected by experts. The furniture had been selected upon the recommendation of the best authorities in this country on school furnishings. The school is now able to offer complete education from kindergarten to col-

lege in one building under conditions comparable to the best in the United States.

"This sketch would be incomplete without special mention of the Women's Service Club which originated February 15, 1853, as the Frauenverein, with a constitution framed by Betty Gruenfeldt, Henrietta Anecke, Henrietta Esch, Florentine Plesh, and Amatie Westze. This organization has aided the school in many ways. It was responsible for the Girls' High School which was combined with the Boys' High School in 1924. It was also responsible for the equipment and operation of the school cafeteria which has functioned for ten years most successfully. The women of this organization have been untiring in their efforts to aid the school in every way."

The University of Milwaukee, an incorporated institution, begun under promising auspices, was carried on in the old church building on Main Street between Mason and Oneida streets which later became the central fire station. In 1856 its faculty was as follows: Chancellor, Rev. Charles Wiley, D. D.; professor of ancient languages, G. S. Lord Starks, A. M.; professor of mathematics, George Bosworth, A. M.; principal of the primary department and instructor in the German language, Theodore B. Elliott. The University suffered wreck in the depression following the panic of 1857.

Milwaukee Academy, founded in 1864 by Albert Markham, A. M., and conducted under his management until his death in 1887, was a college preparatory school of high standing. From 1887 till 1890 it was carried on by Cyrus H. Hill and Isaac Thomas, subsequently by Dr. Julius Howard Pratt, and eventually was merged with the University High School.

The West Side German-English High School, whose first principal was J. Losse, flourished from 1851 to 1877. From 1853 to late in the '70s there was an excellent German and English high school on the South Side, begun by Frederick Geilfuss and continued by others.

Charles F. Larigo's Mercantile Academy, opened in 1849, offered its students an English and mercantile education as well as opportunity for instruction in the German, French and Latin languages by experienced teachers. The Milwaukee Commercial College was opened by Aaron Baylies, Jr., and Lowell Lincoln in

1856 and carried on till the death of Professor Lincoln in the *Seabird* disaster in 1867. The Spencerian Business College was established by Robert C. Spencer in 1863, Dr. William Bayer's Commercial College in 1868, Charles Mayer's Commercial College in 1876, the McDonald Business College in 1883 and Wilmot's Business University in the early '90s, others entering the field as earlier establishments of a similar type were discontinued.

Robert C. Spencer died January, 1916, at the age of 86, while suffering from exhaustion after attendance at the National Commercial Teachers' Association at Chicago, his advanced years having failed to warn him against the perils of midwinter absence from home. Mr. Spencer had been identified with Milwaukee for more than half a century, and was favorably known to a large part of the population as an educator, a philanthropist and a public-spirited citizen. His immense vitality spurred him to keep in touch with affairs even after he felt it necessary to lay down the daily responsibility of the teacher. A native of Ohio, scion of a family noted in the educational world, he entered upon his active career in association with his father and his brothers, assisting in the introduction of the Spencerian system of penmanship and the establishment of a chain of commercial colleges. This was before the Civil war, the outbreak of which found him in Missouri, where he answered Lincoln's first call for volunteers and fought as a private soldier under Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. He came to Milwaukee in 1863, and built up the Spencerian Commercial College in this city, which early acquired the reputation of a model establishment of its class. He was interested in many problems of education and charity—a founder of the Phonological Institute, which was the pioneer in modern methods of instruction for the deaf; also a founder of the People's Institute, and leader in other undertakings to stimulate intellectual life in the community. In politics he was a Republican, and was the candidate of the party for Congress in one of the years when no Republican, however popular personally, had a chance for election in the district then including Milwaukee. Independent and outspoken on every occasion, sometimes quite disposed to be aggressive, Mr. Spencer was an agnostic in his earlier days, and used expressions that shocked the sensibilities of orthodox hearers; but as he advanced in years he softened on this subject, and for a long

time during the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Titsworth he was a regular pewholder and attendant at Plymouth Congregational Church. He is remembered as one of the outstanding characters in the Milwaukee of a generation ago.

The Wheelock School for Girls, conducted by the Misses Martha and Fannie Wheelock, a noted establishment in its day, was discontinued when Miss Martha Wheelock became Mrs. William S. Trowbridge. A number of its alumnae organized as the Wheelock Girls, with the object of preserving cherished memories, their association continuing to the present time.

From 1866 to 1887 Madame Mathilda Franciska Anneke conducted a private establishment for the education of young ladies. She was a woman of strong character and varied accomplishments, speaking and writing German, French and English with fluency and precision. With her husband, who had been an army officer, she had participated in the German revolutionary uprising of 1848, and held latitudinarian opinions on matters relating to politics and religion. Madame Anneke was an efficient teacher, winning and holding the respect and esteem of her pupils.

Concordia College, whose campus and buildings occupy the area bounded by State and Wells and Thirty-first and Thirty-second streets, was founded in 1881 by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States, with coöperation from various sources, notably the Trinity Lutheran congregation of Milwaukee, an energetic individual supporter from the time of its inception to the end of his life being John C. Koch. The announced aim of Concordia College was to fit young men for the advanced courses in the best universities of the country, "as well as to instruct and preserve its charges in the true Christian faith as taught in the Evangelical Lutheran Church." To this end instruction was provided for in religion, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, German, French, mathematics, natural science, music and drawing. Growing from the start, its student body at the end of 1893 had increased to 221. It has ranked as a full grade college since 1891. Modeled at the outset in the German gymnasia, with a view, however, to equipping its students with a culture adapted to the requirements of American citizens, its curriculum is broadly classical, while its instructional methods

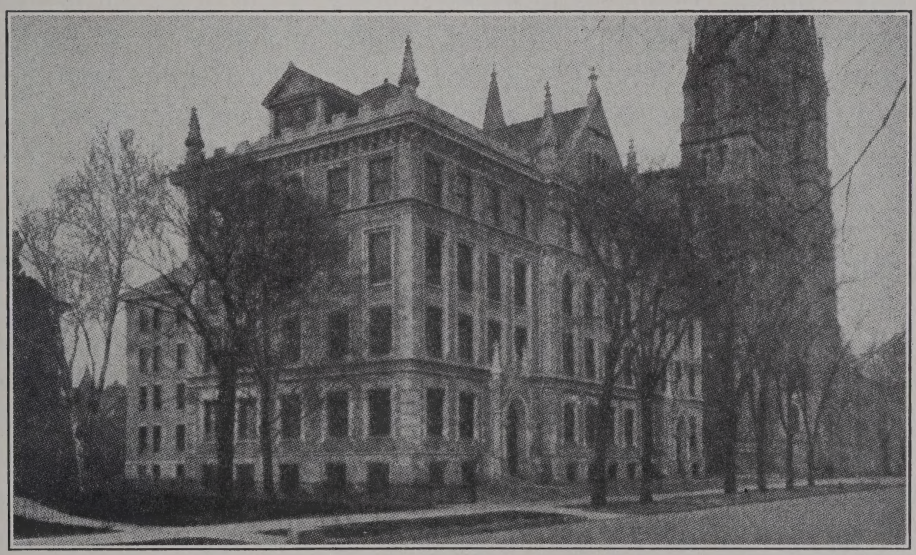
are thorough. The course of studies, all of which are obligatory, extends over a period of six years.

Marquette University's beginnings are outlined in the chapter of this work relating to the ecclesiastical history of Milwaukee. Originating as a day school, in 1855, broadening into an academy in 1857 and obtaining a college charter in 1864, the institution achieved important educational results and attracted an increasing number of students with the passage of the years, adding gradually to the studies included in its curriculum. The cornerstone of its building at the corner of State and Tenth streets was laid in August, 1880. In June, 1887, it graduated its first class with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The charter under which Marquette expanded into a university was obtained in 1906, since which time the institution has advanced with rapid strides. The courses it offers include Graduate School, Liberal Arts, Education, Engineering, Medicine, Pre-Medicine, Music, Speech, Dentistry, Pre-Dentistry, Dental Hygiene, Journalism, Business Administration, Law, Pre-Law and Physical Education. Its student body numbers five thousand. Its buildings are among the architectural ornaments of Milwaukee. Many of its graduates are leaders in the business world and the professional and civic life of the Northwest.

Auxiliary to schools and colleges in the expansion of education are libraries and museums.

Organization and agitation looking toward the establishment of a public library in Milwaukee began in the first year of cityhood, 1846, when copies of the following circular were sent to individuals and institutions in different parts of the United States:

"Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April, 1846.—Sir: A number of gentlemen of this city have associated their efforts for the purpose of establishing a permanent public library, embracing books in all departments of arts, science and literature, and take this method of requesting you to aid them by the contribution of books or otherwise. It is believed that many institutions of this kind in the country (and many individuals) have duplicate books which might be sent to aid in the diffusion of useful knowledge in the growing West, and we cherish the hope that our distant friends



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

will not refuse to aid us in our undertaking. Boxes or packages may be directed to either of the undersigned."

To this call were attached the names of Leander Comstock as president and I. A. Lapham, J. B. Selby, Jr., H. Thompson and J. W. Medberry as trustees of the Milwaukee Library Association. The appeal seems to have failed to produce important results, and presumably the Milwaukee Library Association faded. The beginning of an undertaking to establish a reading room in Milwaukee had been made on the 23d of January, 1845, in the office of the first daily newspaper, the *Milwaukee Sentinel.* The proprietor and editor of the *Sentinel* at that time was David M. Keeler, and its business manager John S. Fillmore. As a daily, the *Sentinel* had become eligible to secure exchanges with leading newspapers throughout the country. Conceiving that these newspapers might be utilized to greater advantage than by consigning them to the ragmaker after clipping, Messrs. Keeler and Fillmore placed them on file for consultation by the public in an apartment of the building at the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, where the *Sentinel* was then published. To this reading room *Sentinel* subscribers were welcomed without charge, while others were called upon to pay a nominal admission fee. Keeler left the city shortly afterward, and his experiment was discontinued.

On the 8th of December, 1847, in the parlors of the United States Hotel occurred a conference whose ultimate outcome was the establishment of the present Milwaukee Public Library, though this was a consummation far from the thought of those who took part in the gathering, their immediate object being the formation of a self-supporting organization to acquire and maintain a collection of standard books for the convenience of its members. The president of the meeting was S. Osgood Putnam, later of California. Its secretary was Edward P. Allis. Others in attendance were John H. Van Dyke, Edward D. Holton, Henry W. Tenney and Garret Vliet. Other meetings followed, and their consequence, on the 20th of December, 1847, was the organization of the Young Men's Association. By 1849 the Young Men's Association was in possession of a library and a reading room. A report to the Smithsonian Institution published in that year credited the library with 1,000 volumes. In 1852 the Young

Men's Association was incorporated by Henry W. Tenney, Martin J. Burk, Benjamin K. Miller, William J. Bell, John P. McGregor, Dr. John K. Bartlett, Charles F. Ilsley, Joshua Stark, Winfield Smith, Henry J. Nazro and Robert Menzies.

In the early days of the Association its members held stated meetings for the practice of debate, but subsequently this activity was abandoned. To replenish its treasury it arranged lecture courses which brought to Milwaukee some of the most noted Americans of the time, including George William Curtis, Horace Mann, Bayard Taylor, Horace Greeley, James Russell Lowell, John Pierpont, Wendell Phillips, the Rev. Thomas Starr King, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

As years rolled by, the Young Men's Association experienced ups and downs. Owning no building, it rented different quarters at different times. When the Young Block, at the northeast corner of Wisconsin and Main streets, was burned to the ground in the winter of 1851, the Young Men's Association was indebted to hard work on the part of citizens, gathered to witness the spectacle of the fire, who carried its books from the doomed structure to a place of safety. After this fire Sidney Rood became the Association's landlord, housing its library in a room above his bookstore in the old Kirby Building, at the northeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, and refraining from collecting rent.

During the later years of the Civil war the library and reading rooms of the Association were on the second floor of the then new building of the *Sentinel*, on Mason Street, from which in the summer of 1867 they were removed to the historic northeast corner of Wisconsin and Main streets, from which they had been driven by the fire of sixteen years before. It was at about this time that the edifice on this site took the name of the Miller Block, though in common parlance it was "the Library Building" for many years. The next removal was to the Academy of Music Building, on Milwaukee Street, a few doors north of Michigan Street, from which later a jump was made across the river to the structure occupying part of the site of the former home of Byron Kilbourn, at the northwest corner of what was then Grand Avenue and Fourth Street. This handsome building was erected by John Plankinton, and known as "the Library Block." In it

the library remained till it took possession of its half of the present Library and Museum Building, erected by the city.

Meanwhile, in conformity with enabling statutes passed by the Legislature of 1878, had been effected the transfer of the library from the Young Men's Association to the City of Milwaukee. The proposition that this disposition should be effected had been made by William Ward Wight during the preceding year, he being at the time a member of the Board of Trustees and having just completed a catalogue of the books, which comprised 9,958 bound volumes, besides a large number of pamphlets, magazines and newspapers. Not all the Assemblymen from Milwaukee were in favor of saddling the city with the expense of carrying on a public library, but the proposal to make it "a branch of the educational department of Milwaukee" was championed by Henry Smith and John Bentley, and the measure went through.

The history of the library continued to be one of steady and rapid growth, aided by gifts from public-spirited citizens as well as by purchases made to keep up with the requirements of the service which a well-conducted institution of its description might be expected to render to the public. When the removal to Grand Avenue was effected, in May, 1880, there were fifteen thousand volumes in the collection; in 1895 there were seventy-five thousand; today there are 888,359. Besides the main library, there are twenty branches, distributed throughout the city, where patrons may take out books for use and return them when they have been read.

Maj. Henry Baetz, who was the first librarian after the library passed under municipal control, held the position till 1880, when he was succeeded by Klas A. Linderfelt. Mr. Linderfelt was an energetic and capable organizer, and did much to extend the usefulness of the library, but proved less efficient as a bookkeeper than as a custodian of books. When he left the city suddenly in 1882 there was a discrepancy in his accounts. Miss Theresa West was librarian from 1893 till 1896, and in the latter year was followed by George W. Peckham, who remained till 1910. Then came Charles E. McLenegan, who died on the 17th of March, 1920. Matthew S. Dudgeon, the present incumbent has held the office from August 15th of the latter year. So brimful is his courtesy and that of his able assistants, and so generous

is their readiness to make the ample stores of knowledge at their command available to the community, that the library has come to be regarded as a never-failing ready reference bureau by the people of Milwaukee.

The germ of the Milwaukee Public Museum was the collection of natural history specimens begun by Professor Peter Engelmann in 1851 for the benefit of pupils attending the German-English Academy. In 1857 he organized the Wisconsin Natural History Society, composed of adult friends of the school, and the collection, greatly enlarged was the property of this society in 1882, when it was offered as a gift to the City of Milwaukee. August Stirn, then a member of the Common Council from the Second Ward, was conspicuously active in the preliminaries leading up to the transfer. As taken over by the municipality, on the 20th of February, 1883, it comprised 19,000 specimens, accompanied by 250 books, maps and charts. At the same time there were purchased, with money raised by popular subscription, many interesting objects from the Ward Natural History Museum at Rochester, New York, these also being presented to the city, and with the treasures of the Natural History Society, accorded room in the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition Building, where they remained open to the inspection of the public till more commodious quarters in the Public Library and Museum Building were ready for their reception in 1898.

Important gifts to the Museum have been made at intervals since its establishment by public-spirited individuals who recognize the efficiency of the service it performs as an auxiliary to other institutions devoted to the cause of education. One of its noted acquisitions from a private source was the Rudolph Nunnemacher collection of firearms. Widely comprehensive, and rich in unique examples, this exhibit arouses the enthusiasm of experts from near and far. The philatelic exhibit was the gift of William J. Uihlein. It is made up of postage stamps innumerable, from every country in the world, admirably arranged for facile inspection, and even in the detail of elaborate and ingenious contrivance for their display representing an expenditure of many thousands of dollars. Having devoted much money and many years to its assemblage for his own delight, Mr. Uihlein presented it to the Public Museum, where it ministers to the delight of others.

Visitors are impressed not only by the extent and variety of the objects assembled, but by the knowledge, care and genius which have been devoted to their arrangement. Evidently the Museum's taxidermists are nature-lovers, skilled in their art. Noteworthy are its so-called environmental groups, illustrating habitats of animals and the animals themselves, in characteristic poses, as at rest, or eating, or in pursuit of prey. Other environmental groups show men and women of various tribes, amid appropriate scenic surroundings, engaged in recreation, or in ceremonial observances, or in industrial pursuits, such as cooking, weaving or fabricating pottery. Numerous, well-selected, and artistically achieved are the tableau-like representations of scenes from American history—such as "Juneau Trading with the Indians," "Black Hawk Brought in Captive," or "Perry's Victory on Lake Erie."

Year by year the scope of the Museum has been extended to include material illustrative not only of natural history but also of successive phases in the evolution of the world and its inhabitants, practically embracing every subject interesting from the standpoint of human intelligence, and supplying visual aids to teaching which could not be provided by other means. "Within its walls," to borrow the language of Dr. S. A. Barrett, its Director, "are gathered hundreds of thousands of objects from the uttermost ends of the earth. The student, whether of high or low degree, can find the actual object of his studies, and is no longer called upon to imagine that concerning which he reads or hears." Here is material for the geologist, the biologist, the archeologist; the entomologist, the ornithologist, the zoologist, the anatomist, the ethnologist, the chemist, and for a variety of special researchers in other lines. Here are entertainment, illumination and inspiration for visitors representing every element in the community. The Milwaukee Public Museum has grown to be the largest strictly municipal institution of its character in the United States.

Public-spirited citizens have laid the community under obligation in many ways, but the Layton Art Gallery, presented in 1888, with provision for its upkeep, by Frederick Layton, involving an outlay approximating a quarter of a million dollars, is the most important gift from a private individual which ever has

LAYTON ART GALLERY

been received by the city of Milwaukee. Other generous citizens have added to its treasures of painting and sculpture open to free inspection. Since 1920 quarters in the building have been used to house a school of art, in whose day and evening courses some 300 students are enrolled, considerably more than that receiving free instruction in classes which meet on Saturday mornings. The school provides a six-weeks' summer course for adults. Under the provisions of Mr. Layton's gift the management of the Gallery is in the hands of a board of twelve trustees. The first of these were Frederick Layton, Charles F. Ilsley, George Dickens, John L. Mitchell, James Clinton Spencer, William H. Metcalf, Francis B. Keene, B. K. Miller, William P. McLaren, Edward B. Sanderson, William Plankinton and Jerome R. Brigham. James K. Ilsley was president of the Trustees when the Layton Art School was established. The first trustees of the Layton Art School were the Misses Alice Chapman and Charlotte Partridge, Dr. Ernest Copeland, and Messrs. George P. Miller, Samuel O. Buckner, Howard Greene, W. H. Schuchardt, Edwin White and James K. Ilsley. As the Layton Art School has no endowment, a fee is charged for tuition except in the Saturday classes. There is a scholarship fund, from which talented students unable to meet expenses have been helped to secure art education. Many artists of wide reputation have been instructors in the Layton School of Art. The director of the Gallery and also of the School is Miss Charlotte Russell Partridge.

CHAPTER XL

INCIDENTS OF PROGRESS

HOW THE TELEGRAPH CAME TO MILWAUKEE—THE FIRST GASLIGHT —EARLY STREET RAILWAYS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN TRANSIT FACILITIES—THE TELEPHONE.

The first telegraphic messages that passed between people in Milwaukee and those in the world outside were transmitted on the 15th of January, 1848. Poles had been set up and wires strung between Milwaukee and Chicago for this pioneer Milwaukee line, to form part of the system of the Erie and Michigan Telegraph Company, of which Colonel James Speed of Detroit was president and Daniel Tillotson the resident trustee. The date named fell on a Saturday. At half-past five in the afternoon the instruments at Milwaukee had been connected with those in Chicago, and James Haviland, secretary of the company, notified the operator at the other end of the line that Milwaukee would be glad to hear from "the Garden City." The instrument began to tick, and the operator proceeded to write down the following reply:

"Colonel Speed's respects to the intelligent, liberal and hospitable people of Milwaukee. Long may their noble city be as now the pride of the lakes and the home of enterprise, prosperity and happiness."

Levi Hubbell [soon to be Judge Hubbell], a master of felicitous phrase, who was a stockholder in the company and chanced to be in the office at the moment, was asked to frame a response, and this was the message that went back:

"The people of Milwaukee thank Colonel Speed for his friendly salutation, and for the manner in which he sends it. Milwaukee tenders to Chicago the right hand of friendship—once united, may they never be divided."

Sunday intervened between this and the public ceremony attendant on formal opening of the line. Then, the little office packed with leading citizens, there was a further interchange of complimentary messages, not without a suggestion of the spirited rivalry existing at the time between the metropolis of Illinois and the metropolis of Wisconsin. Game birds, each of them crowing from his own hill, the Milwaukee rooster crowed as follows:

"Milwaukee, with her fourteen thousand inhabitants, compliments her fair sister city, Chicago, with her seventeen thousand inhabitants, and requests her to clear the tracks to allow her to pass."

To which Chicago crowed back:

"Chicago, with her seventeen thousand inhabitants, will soon have her railroad tracks east to the Atlantic Ocean and west to the Mississippi River so well cleared that the fourteen thousand people of her sister city can have every facility for passing."

Those were days in which dinners were even more than now a means of emphasizing impressive events. The dinner in celebration of the opening of telegraphic communication between Milwaukee and the world at large was arranged by William E. Cramer, David Ferguson, M. E. Lyman, J. E. Wing, Jr., William Allen, William M. Hall, Palmer & Company, James M. McCune, Josiah A. Noonan, James H. Rogers, D. A. J. Upham, Charles James, J. H. Foster, William Duane Wilson, W. W. Brown, S. S. Daggett, James Kneeland, Levi Hubbell, Joseph Curtis, Harrison Ludington, Dr. James P. Greves, Alanson Sweet, I. A. Lapham, Paraclete Potter and George H. Walker. It was tendered as a testimonial to the local trustee, of the company, Daniel Tillotson, and held at the United States Hotel on the evening of January 23, 1848, William Duane Wilson presiding with the assistance of Colonel George H. Walker. After speeches by Judge Hubbell on behalf of the hosts and by Mr. Tillotson on behalf of himself and the Company, happily-worded toasts were proposed by the chairman and responded to by Colonel Walker, D. A. J. Upham, William E. Cramer, Dr. James P. Greves, James B. Martin and others. It was not expected that the telegraph would be a source of profit to its owners at the start. For the purpose of familiarizing business men and others with the benefits derivable from its use, a campaign of education was deemed desirable. The

dinner, bringing the promoters of the enterprise and the stockholders into personal contact, resulted in publicity helpful to the infant enterprise.

Ezra Cornell, who in his later life became the founder of Cornell University, was the man who had first interested Milwaukee investors in the then novel enterprise of sending messages by wire. The line was operated in two sections. The Eastern Section stretched from Buffalo to Detroit, and the Western Section from Detroit through Michigan to Niles, South Bend and Michigan City, whence it was carried to Chicago, and from Chicago to Milwaukee. For convenience in making repairs, telegraph lines of later times have always followed the lines of railways, but there was no railroad west of Lake Michigan when the earliest telegraph began to bear messages between the outside world and Milwaukee. It came up from Chicago by way of the highway passing through Racine, crossed the Menomonee River on poles a short distance west of the bridge at West Water Street, followed Third Street north to Cherry Street, where it crossed the Milwaukee River, and then went by way of Market and East Water streets to the old Dickerman Block, on the east side of East Water Street between Michigan and Detroit streets, where the company had its Milwaukee office. The line had but one wire, and this was not of copper but of iron. The instruments reposed on a shelf, breast-high, in a room looking out upon an alley. Telegraphy was in its primitive stage. Messages were printed letter by letter on strips of paper reeled off by clockwork. Reading by sound was unthought of till later. Private messages cost a dollar for ten words between Milwaukee and New York, the tariff per word to Buffalo being 80 cents, to Detroit 50 cents, and to Chicago a quarter of a dollar. When newspaper dispatches came over the wire, the operator read them off to reporters detailed to take them down at his dictation. Being large customers, the newspapers commanded special rates, their dispatches being transmitted during hours when the line was least likely to be in requisition for private business.

Receiving and copying a presidential message was a formidable piece of business, consuming as much as twenty hours. Not every publication in Milwaukee could afford the outlay essential for the procurement of the President's message by telegraph.

In behalf of the *American*, organ of the Know Nothing party, a piece of sinister strategy was employed. While the message was coming over the wire and being transcribed by representatives of other newspapers in the office of the telegraph company, the proprietor of the *American* surreptitiously stationed himself at a stovepipe hole in a room directly overhead. Crouching in the dark, he heard the voice of the operator as well as those directly addressed, and managed to write down the complete text and get back to his office undetected. The compositors on the *American* worked at top speed, and its issue containing the message was sold on the streets in advance of the other papers. How the *American's* rivals must have loved it! and how its proprietor must have plumed himself on his "enterprise!" But "honesty is the best policy," and the *American* was short-lived.

It is not to be forgotten that when the telegraph came to Milwaukee it was comparatively a new invention. Though Morse's discovery of the principle had been announced as early as 1837, it was not till 1844 that he received recognition and aid from Congress which enabled the sending of the initial message over the wire between Washington and Baltimore.

By the 1st of December, 1848, the telegraph company had extended its line from Milwaukee to Sheboygan; on the 15th of that month it had opened an office in Janesville, and before the end of 1849 lines were in operation to Madison, Mineral Point and Green Bay. All this had been effected in advance of the opening of the first railroad.

As late as 1857 the total number of messages handled daily at the Milwaukee office numbered only about a hundred. Then began the career of Alfred Weller as manager, which lasted many years. A notable expansion of business was inaugurated at the time of the Civil war.

With the advent of the telegraph Milwaukee quickly began to take on the attributes of modern cityhood. In 1851 began railroad connection with the outside world. Gas for lighting the streets and houses became available in the following year. It was on June 6, 1851, that the city contracted for a supply of gas and conceded to the Milwaukee Gas Light Company the privilege of laying mains in streets and alleys within the corporate limits. John Lockwood, who had recently come from Cincinnati, was a

prime mover in the organization of the company, its other incorporators being James Kneeland, William Pitt Lynde, James H. Rogers and D. P. Hull. The capital stock was $75,000, divided into shares of $50 each. The erection of the plant was begun at once. John Lockwood was the first superintendent of the works, which were on part of the site still occupied in the old Third Ward. The original plant consisted of a brick retort house, 52x62 feet on the ground, a gasometer, 72x22 feet, covered with a sheet-iron top, and several smaller structures. About seven miles of pipe were laid to begin with.

The first jet of burning gas ever seen in the city appeared in the retort house of the company on November 12, 1852, and was regarded with awe akin to that with which thirty years later Milwaukeeans looked upon the first electric light. The first gas jet burned beautifully, spectators testifying that it gave "a clear white flame and no perceptible odor." This test was made on a Friday, and it was proposed to light up the whole city on the succeeding Wednesday. On the intervening Sunday, however, a thoughtless visitor turned on a stop-cock in the purifying room, which liberated gas that mingled with the common air, became ignited, and produced an explosion that blew out one side of the building. Fortunately no one was injured, but the accident necessitated a delay of several days. When an attempt to illuminate the city was made on November 23, some of the burners did their duty, but others failed, the gas being turned off again, with the remark that there was too much air in the pipes. However, all concerned were confident that the success of the enterprise was assured.

On the evening of the same day Superintendent Lockwood and his associates received congratulations at a meeting of prominent citizens at Young's Hall. There was a formal dinner, D. A. J. Upham presiding, while Byron Kilbourn sat at the opposite end of the table. Speeches were made by Mayor Crocker, Mr. Kilbourn, Rufus King, Judge Arthur MacArthur, Lucas Seaver, Alderman Vliet, D. H. Richards, Dr. Francis Huebschmann, Daniel Wells, Jr., Harrison Ludington, Sherman M. Booth, J. B. Smith, Moritz Schoeffler, and others.

In 1856 the annual consumption of gas in the city amounted to 125,000,000 cubic feet. The Gas Light Company encountered

difficulties of one description and another during its early years, one of these being due to the effort of a rival concern to establish itself by erecting a plant on the South Side. The rival failed, and its property was acquired by the pioneer corporation at considerably less than cost.

The first rapid transit system in Milwaukee was the River and Lake Shore Street Railway, operated by a company whose principal organizers were Col. George H. Walker, Dr. Lemuel W. Weeks, Col. W. S. Johnson and F. S. Blodgett. Work of construction, started in 1859, had proceeded so far by the month of May, 1860, as to allow the running of the first cars, which were of substantial build, as may be inferred from the fact that it took four horses to draw one. The portion of the line completed at the beginning extended from East Water Street bridge north to Division Street (now Juneau Avenue). Very soon additional rails were laid, with a view of accommodating residents of the upper East Side. This branch started at the corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, running east on Wisconsin to Jefferson, north on Jefferson to Biddle, on Biddle to Van Buren, on Van Buren to Division, and on Division to Prospect, with a turn-table in front of the old Coffee House at the intersection of Prospect and Albion. The Civil war ensued. Money was scarce, and the undertaking did not pay. In 1869 the franchise and all the rights and property of the company were sold to Isaac Ellsworth, who took up the rails on the East Side and relaid them on West Water Street, from which in time extensions were constructed to Reed Street on the south and Third Street on the north.

The Milwaukee City Railway Company was organized in 1865 by John Plankinton, Frederick Layton, Samuel Marshall, Charles F. Ilsley and W. S. Johnson. Its promoters were public-spirited citizens who were recognized as risking their money in an undertaking designed to provide accommodations for citizens in general. The Common Council, taking its cue from the general feeling of the public, was ready to grant them permission to pick out their right-of-way and lay tracks to their hearts' content. But they found scanty profit in the transportation business, and sold out to Mr. Ellsworth at the time he purchased the property of the old River & Lake Shore Company. It was under his careful

management that the system was built up to a paying basis, with not only the extensions already referred to but others on Chestnut Street, State Street, Seventh and Eighth streets, Washington Street, Walnut Street, etc., which served as feeders in the beginning and gradually became sources of revenue in themselves. In 1881 Mr. Ellsworth sold his street railway interests to a group headed by Peter McGeoch, who made a number of additions and improvements, and as owners and operators of the Milwaukee City Railway Company, continued in business till the absorption of all the street railway lines of the city into the single system which under different managements has continued in control to the present time.

While the McGeoch interest was in control the South Side line was pushed out on Greenfield Avenue to Fourth Avenue, and on Fourth Avenue to Mitchell Street, where it connected with the steam motor line of the Forest Home Railroad Company, which traversed Mitchell Street and Forest Home Avenue to Forest Home Cemetery.

Two new street railway companies came into existence in the summer of 1874. The West Side Street Railway Company was incorporated in June of that year by John H. Tesch, John Plankinton, S. M. Green, Sherburne S. Merrill and S. A. Harrison. John H. Tesch was president, Rudolph Nunnemacher treasurer, and Washington Becker secretary, these with John C. Iverson and W. W. Watkins constituting the original board of directors. The road was opened to the public on Thanksgiving Day, 1875, by which time it boasted a double track between West Water and Twenty-second streets, on Grand Avenue to Eleventh, and on Wells to Twenty-second, with a single track on Wells Street from Twenty-second Street to Thirty-fourth Street. In 1876 Mr. Becker purchased enough of the stock to put him into control and from that time till the end of the '80s devoted himself to its management. In 1879 a double track was laid on Twelfth Street from Wells Street to Walnut Street, and the line was extended eastward from West Water Street by way of Wisconsin Street to the lake. In 1880 a single track was laid on Vliet Street from Twelfth Street to Twentieth, and the Walnut Street line was pushed out to the intersection of Beaubian (Garfield) and Teutonia. It was the era of horses and mules as motive power for

street cars. The Becker line used horses, and maintained stables —one on Wells Street between Eleventh and Twelfth, and the other on Wells Street at Twenty-second Street.

The Cream City Street Railway line began by operating cars from the foot of Mason Street to its barns on Farwell Avenue, and toward the end of 1876 was also transporting passengers from Division Street on the north to Kinnickinnic Avenue on the south. Its Forest Home branch was opened in the following year and operated at first only in the summer months. By that time its north-and-south tracks extended from Brady Street to the southern city limits—Bay View, it will be recalled, was not annexed till long afterward—and were seven miles in length. The motive power favored on the Cream City lines was mules. The officers of the company in 1880 were: President, Winfield Smith; vice president, Christian Preusser; treasurer, Ferdinand Kuehn; secretary, William Damkoehler. The Island Avenue line of the Cream City Railway Company was built in 1887. This company was the first to heat its cars in winter.

Milwaukee was growing rapidly. There was a realization that though many miles of street railway were in operation toward the end of the '80s that were not paying returns on the money invested in them, a time was ahead in which franchises would be valuable. Another street railway enterprise came into existence in 1887, the Milwaukee Cable Company, popularly remembered as the Hinsey line, for the reason that John A. Hinsey, who was president of the Common Council, was interested in its promotion. The original idea was to construct some thirty miles of street railway to be operated by cable. While its affairs were pending in the Council improvements in the electric trolley system were effected which gave such promise that Washington Becker became interested in them and arranged for the electrification of the lines under his control. The new company also was attracted by the merits of the trolley system, and secured the Council's permission to use its franchise for an electric instead of a cable line. The Cable Company laid tracks on portions of Sixth Street, Vliet Street, Wells Street, Eighteenth Street and Milwaukee Street, its cars passing over to the East Side from the West Side via the Oneida Street (East Wells Street) bridge and proceeding south on Milwaukee Street to the middle of the block

between Wisconsin and Michigan streets. In conformity with the change from cable to trolley, the name of the company underwent alteration, and it became the Milwaukee Electric Railway Company.

When electric transit came into operation it compelled instant recognition that the era of the horse and the mule as motive power for street cars was practically at an end. Then awoke realization that to provide and maintain the costly equipment required for the installment of electric transit in the urban centers of the country would call for larger investments of capital than had been needed to carry on in the days of horses and mules.

Henry C. Payne brought the urban transit situation in Milwaukee to the attention of Henry Villard of New York at about the time that Mr. Villard was formulating the launching of the North American Company. Already Eastern capital had found investment in Milwaukee street railway property, as was indicated by the circumstance that the president of the Milwaukee City Railroad Company was Walter G. Oakman of New York. Mr. Villard and associates acquired control of the Cream City Railway Company, at that time under the presidency of O. E. Britt, the Milwaukee City Railroad Company and the Cream City Railway Company being merged and a new corporation organized for their management, under the name of the Milwaukee Street Railway Company, with Mr. Villard as president, and Henry C. Payne as vice president. This was effected in December, 1890. In September, 1891, the control of the West Side Railway Company was purchased from Washington Becker. By the end of January, 1894, all the street railways in the city had been absorbed. Mr. Villard's retirement from the presidency of the Milwaukee Street Railway Company occurred early in 1892, and from then till 1895 the responsibilities of the position rested on the shoulders of Mr. Payne.

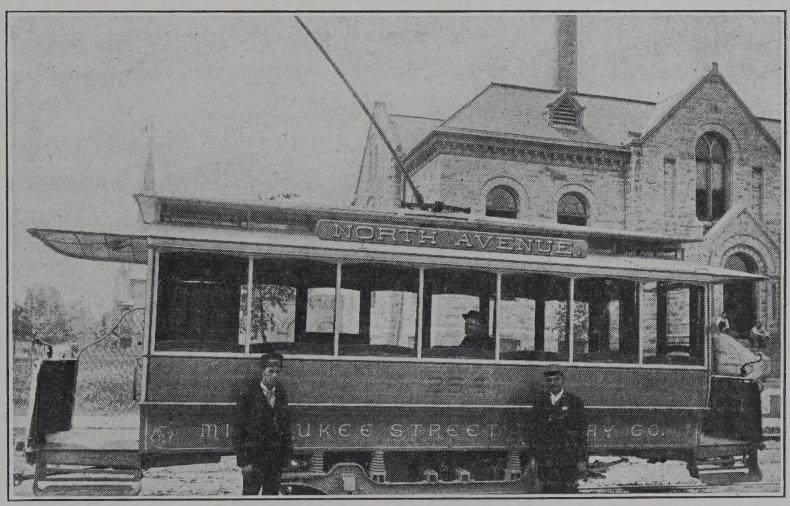
As far back as June, 1886, the Common Council of Milwaukee had passed an ordinance authorizing the Whitefish Bay Railway Company, of which William H. Bradley and I. H. Lowry were principal officers at the time, to use other than animal power for the propulsion of its cars north of the intersection of Bradford Street and Glen Avenue. This railway was popularly known as the dummy line. In 1892 there had come into being the Milwau-

kee and Wauwatosa Motor Railway Company, of which James Petley was president. This was the enterprise which constructed the first trestle at the end of Wells Street across the Menomonee Valley. By 1895 these properties had come into the possession of the Milwaukee Street Railway Company, as had also Milwaukee companies formed for electric lighting purposes, including the Badger Illuminating Company and the Edison Electric Illuminating Company. The two latter corporations, of which Edward C. Wall was president, had sold their properties in 1890 and 1891.

To raise Milwaukee from a horse-and-mule-power to an electric basis had required enormous expenditure of ready cash. Huge sums had been obtained by borrowing. To meet obligations incurred in the flush times preceding the panic of 1893 was a problem that presented formidable aspects to men in every part of the country engaged in financiering operations during the middle '90s. In May, 1895, the Central Trust Company of New York, to which the properties of the Milwaukee Street Railway Company had been mortgaged for ten million dollars, instituted foreclosure proceedings precipitating a receivership, Henry C. Payne and George R. Sheldon being the receivers appointed by the court. Only a few months elapsed before the financial tangle was straightened out, this being effected on January 29, 1896, by the organization of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company—president, William Nelson Cromwell; vice president, Henry C. Payne. Mr. Payne continued to hold the office of vice president of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company till 1901, when, having accepted from President Roosevelt the invitation to enter his cabinet as postmaster-general, he removed from Milwaukee to Washington and withdrew from active connection with business affairs.

The year 1896 is remembered for many important incidents, one of which was the spectacular strike of street railway employes, that tied up the service for several weeks, during which citizens living at a distance from the business center were obliged to walk or avail themselves of accommodation from drivers of horse-drawn vehicles when it was to be had—for the era of the automobile had not arrived. The strike was accompanied by disorder, strikers or their sympathizers engaging in the repre-

STREET RAILWAY CAR BARNS, ON FARWELL AVENUE, 1880



AN EARLY TROLLEY CAR

This represents the type of cars which made the first runs on North Avenue.

hensible practice of throwing brickbats and stones into passing cars. Irrespective of its merits, the general public was impatient to see it settled, and disposed to be critical of Mr. Payne for holding out against the demands of the motormen and conductors who had enrolled themselves in an organization known as the Amalgamated Street Railway Employes. Mr. Payne took the stand that certain of the demands were preposterously unjust and could not be conceded without sacrificing the stockholders, whom it was his duty to represent. He added that surrender to the strikers would be unfair to faithful employes of the company who had stood by it in its trouble and were opposed on principle to becoming members of the strikers' union. The situation was complicated by endeavors on the part of the strikers to bring political influences into play; but Mr. Payne held his ground. The upshot of the matter was a compromise, involving no surrender of principle on the part of Mr. Payne, under which men who had refrained from violence during the season of turbulence regained positions in the company's employ. As an organization the Amalgamated Street Railway Employes ceased to exist after the settlement of the trouble, but some time elapsed before the subsidence of ill-feeling seeking expression through the medium of politics.

It was the year 1896 that witnessed the arrival in Milwaukee of John I. Beggs, who had been the western representative of the Edison General Electric Company, and was appointed general manager of the Milwaukee Electric Light and Power Company, to carry on in association with Mr. Payne. In solving problems of a practical character involving technical knowledge of mechanics and electrical development Mr. Beggs had acquired the reputation of a wizard. By what he accomplished in Milwaukee his prestige was glitteringly maintained. In April, 1911, discoursing on the phenomenon presented by the career of achievement in this city credited to this remarkable man, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* observed:

"Mr. Beggs came to Milwaukee at the age of sixty-three, and after he had definitely decided to retire from business. It was at this time that Eastern friends who were his fellow-stockholders in a number of enterprises asked him to visit this city for the purpose of looking over the street railway property which they had

just purchased. He came. When he had made his survey and report of what in his opinion was required to put the system into ideal working order as a dividend-earning investment, they raised their eyebrows. Half in a spirit of banter, one of them suggested that he take the management of the rehabilitation into his own hands and show what could be done. Talking of it at a later date, he observed, 'I didn't want the job, but they got my Scotch-Irish up.' So Mr. Beggs came to Milwaukee, and in the course of fourteen years this is what he did: Led in the organization of two great traction companies; made plans for the first system of interurban lines in the country; rejuvenated the street-car service in the city of Milwaukee; erected the million-dollar Public Service Building; supervised the laying of 300 miles of track; directed the expenditure of $23,000,000. Incidentally—the outcome of his happy idea of utilizing exhaust steam for the purpose of interior heating—he supervised the laying of many miles of tunnels, at a cost of $808,974, which enabled householders to escape the necessity of maintaining furnaces in their homes for keeping warm, as all that was necessary if they utilized the service which he offered was to turn a valve or a switch. His first work in Milwaukee was to tear up many miles of unprofitable track and rearrange a great deal of the trackage within the city which he retained. While this was in progress he began work upon the Milwaukee-Waukesha interurban line, an undertaking so profitable that it came to be called 'the gold mine.' The Milwaukee Light, Heat and Traction Company was incorporated in 1897. The Waukesha line was opened in the summer of 1899."

The substance of the *Sentinel's* tribute was frankly corroborated by Mr. Beggs himself, who firmly believed that the extension of local lines due to his initiative and constructed under his direction was a vital factor in the marvelous growth of manufacturing centers adjacent to Milwaukee. "West Allis," he said, "would never have existed but for our three lines into that section. We have gone as pioneers into new manufacturing territory in advance of development. Great industries tributary to the Fond du Lac Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street lines were located because of the lines since built. When I came here I found 300 single-truck cars and a system of antiquated, almost worthless tracks. We took over the Pabst property and the Wau-

watosa dummy line, and acquired the viaduct over the Menomonee Valley, replacing its wooden deck with steel. These were the first moves in the activity which has spurred Milwaukee to become a metropolis. Chicago was the metropolis for Southern Wisconsin before that time, and many Waukesha and Wauwatosa people went there on the railroads to do their trading. We then acquired the Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha line, which had been built by promoters on a crooked highway. A new right-of-way was laid out. The Belle City line, the Racine City line, a decrepit, bankrupt property, was then taken. We followed with the laying out of new Milwaukee lines, among them the Oakland Avenue line east of Wonderland to Whitefish Bay. Two years later we started the Hales Corners and East Troy line, which is destined to go to Elkhorn and Delavan. Then followed the acquisition of the Waukesha-Waukesha Beach line, built by local capital to boom real estate near Waukesha Beach. This line has been extended to Oconomowoc and Watertown, and is destined to go to Madison, Juneau, Beaver Dam, Waupun and Fond du Lac, there to join the lines which go to Green Bay. Then was opened the line to St. Martins, Rochester and Burlington, which is destined to go to Lake Geneva, Delavan and Janesville. These lines have made Milwaukee, and have served as an object lesson to other parts of the country."

The useful activities of Mr. Beggs were by no means confined to the vicinity of Milwaukee. He was president of the St. Louis Car Company for many years and his interests were diversified and widely extended. When he died in 1925 the value of his estate was estimated at fifty-four million dollars. Controversy arose regarding the place of his residence, the matter being one of concern in connection with the collection of inheritance taxes. Litigation arose, with the object of ascertaining whether his legal place of abode was in Florida, Missouri or Wisconsin. Undoubtedly his energetic and able exertions were a factor contributing to the prosperity of others. Undoubtedly also he was phenomenal as a money-maker on his own account. Part of his great fortune was acquired elsewhere, but beyond question a considerable portion of his wealth was the reward of his fruitful labors in Milwaukee.

A pamphlet entitled "Fifty-three Years on Broadway," issued by the Wisconsin Telephone Company in the summer of 1930, calls attention to the fact that Milwaukeeans began to be interested in the device for transmitting human speech by wire within a year after Dr. Graham Bell had given his invention to the world. It observes:

"In an upstairs, rear office at 411 Broadway (then Main Street), in the spring of 1877, two men dreamed a dream. They were Charles H. Haskins and his son, Harry. General superintendent for the Northwestern Telegraph Company, Mr. Haskins, Sr., was a recognized authority on electrical principles and the author of a book on electrical theory. To him, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell sent a pair of the first telephone instruments produced. Father and son tested them, found them to be practical—and that was the basis of their dream: a dream of a city-wide system of telephone communication. Others were dreaming dreams at that time—not far different from that of the Haskinses. At Appleton, at Janesville, perhaps in other cities of the state, men were playing with a new toy."

It was in the building at 411 Broadway that Milwaukee's telephone service was born, the first of the initial fifteen subscribers being John S. George, who was the local agent of the Chicago & North-Western Railroad. The first formally organized telephone exchange in the city began operations at the same place on the morning of the 10th of May, 1879. As the pamphlet remarks: "The original fifteen subscribers had multiplied. Dreams were coming true. The first switchboards were made by Harry Haskins, and there were boy operators. Girls were later employed and Milwaukee heard that now famed 'Voice with a Smile' for the first time when Mary Kemp, Carrie Bell and Pauline Juneau, niece of Solomon Juneau, took charge of the switchboard."

In 1882 the Wisconsin Telephone Company was incorporated. Serving 600 telephones, it began occupancy of a building across the way, at 424 Broadway, which was located on part of the site of the central offices of today. In 1896 the number of telephones in service in the city was 3,000. Branch offices had become necessary. The history of the company from the beginning deals with a career of continual expansion. The present building of the

company contains more than 200,000 square feet of floor space and towers above its neighbors "like a castle in Normandy," though no castle in Normandy is half its height. It houses more than 1,500 of the company's employes. The number of telephones installed in Milwaukee at the end of 1929 was 150,000. The sum expended for improvements in Milwaukee during 1930 aggregated $6,200,000. No wonder that its central building has been enlarged till it has become a structure of sixteen stories, with three additional stories in its tower.

And now radio! The radio, comparatively speaking, is still in its infancy. Milwaukeeans have performed their share in developing its possibilities and bringing them into use.

STREET RAILWAY CAR BARNS, ON WEST WATER STREET
1880

CHAPTER XLI

MILWAUKEE TODAY

EQUIPMENTAL ACQUISITIONS DISTINGUISHING THE IMPORTANT MODERN CITY WHICH HAS ARISEN WHERE PIONEERS FOUND PRIMEVAL NATURE LESS THAN A CENTURY AGO—A CHAPTER BEGINNING WITH BANKS AND ENDING WITH PUBLIC PARKS.

One of the salient phases of Milwaukee's development in comparatively recent years has been the expansion of its banking facilities. Manufacturers and others engaged in business find no difficulty under ordinary circumstances in procuring on reasonable terms accommodations requisite to the prosperous conduct of their affairs.

On the subject of money and banking in Wisconsin's territorial period and in the era beginning with statehood and continuing till the resumption of specie payments, what has been said on preceding pages need not be repeated here. Worthy of note, however, is the circumstance that Milwaukee financial institutions whose foundations were laid in the distant past continue in flourishing existence today.

Very often, before the enactment of the banking legislation that signalized the administration of Governor Farwell, it happened that business men who had accumulated capital in excess of what they required in their personal commercial transactions became bankers in fact though not in name. Such was true regarding Lyndsey Ward, the Pixleys and several others heretofore referred to. A citizen of this class was Anson Eldred, whose lumber yard at 168 West Water Street was among the establishments of long standing listed in the first City Directory. He was a manufacturer as well as a merchant, owning a large sawmill and sash, door and blind factory, located at Stiles, Michigan. His business reached out. Mr. Eldred was an early investor in Wisconsin pine lands. He was one of the projectors of the Milwau-

kee & Mississippi Railroad, and was instrumental in purchasing its right-of-way from Milwaukee to Waukesha. He was one of the founders of the Farmers' and Millers' Bank. It was Mr. Eldred who founded the first bank at Prairie du Chien, installing Robert Menzies, another Milwaukeean, as its first cashier. Mr. Menzies, it is interesting to recall, was succeeded by still another Milwaukee man, whose experience in banking gained in that position was exercised on a larger scale in Milwaukee—the late Charles Ray.

Sometimes establishments originating in an informal way developed into sturdy institutions. Sometimes men who opened banks and managed them for a few years became tired of the business and brought it to a conclusion. Sometimes they disposed of their interests to others who carried on. James B. Martin very early engaged in banking on his own account. At the time of the riot in 1861 his office was in the State Bank Building. He became president of the State Bank in 1866. This bank wound up its business in 1868. Mr. Martin's death occurred ten years later.

The Marshall & Ilsley Bank, which has the distinction of being the oldest bank in continuous existence in the entire Northwest, began with the establishment of an office in this city in April, 1847, by Samuel Marshall, under the name of Samuel Marshall & Co., Exchange Brokers. In 1849 he was joined by Charles F. Ilsley, the firm name becoming Marshall & Ilsley. In 1888 the institution was incorporated under the Wisconsin law as the Marshall & Ilsley Bank, with a capital of $200,000, which was raised to $300,000 in 1895, $500,000 in 1905, and $1,000,000 in 1917. The deposits of this bank were $2,545,516 in 1890, and had increased to $22,862,472 in 1920. When Mr. Marshall retired from the presidency in 1901, he was succeeded by Mr. Ilsley, who held the office till his death in 1904. Since that date the presidents of the bank have been James K. Ilsley, 1908-1915; John Campbell, 1915-1920; and John H. Puelicher, whose incumbency began in 1920 and continues at the present time. John E. Jones is cashier. The capital stock is $1,500,000; surplus, $1,500,000; undivided profits, $1,001,713; reserves, $463,992. The deposits are $31,490,137. The total resources are $37,053,303.

What is now the First Wisconsin National Bank began as the

Farmers' and Millers' Bank in 1852, its history being closely interwoven with every major movement in the progress of the city from the building of the pioneer railroads to the present time. Two epochal occurrences in its later career have been its absorption of the Wisconsin National Bank in 1919 and the Second Ward Savings Bank in 1928. The present capital stock of the First Wisconsin National Bank is $10,000,000; surplus, $6,000,000; undivided profits, $2,609,000; deposits, $187,306,000. Its total resources are $187,306,579. Walter Casper is president of this bank and A. G. Casper cashier. George C. Dreher, Fred K. McPherson, Roy L. Stone, Edward A. Bacon and A. G. Casper constitute the managing committee.

The Bank of Milwaukee, which was organized in 1854 by Charles D. Nash, was reorganized in 1865 as the National Exchange Bank. Mr. Nash was its president till 1892, when he was succeeded by Charles Ray, who retired in 1900. Mr. Ray was followed in the presidency by J. W. P. Lombard. On the death of Mr. Lombard in 1925 the office of president devolved upon Grant Fitch, whose father, William G. Fitch, had become teller of the institution within six months after its opening and at the time of his death in 1891 was its vice president and active head. Grant Fitch entered the service of the bank after his graduation from Yale in 1881, and when he became its president had been an officer for forty-four years. On his retirement from the presidency at the end of 1929, he became Chairman of the Board, and G. W. Augustyn was elected to the presidency. The most significant event in Milwaukee banking circles in 1930 was the merging of the Marine National Bank with the National Exchange Bank. The consolidated institution is the Marine National Exchange Bank, capital, $2,200,000; surplus, $800,000; undivided earnings, $404,139. Its total resources are $25,039,615 and its deposits $19,375,558. Arthur H. Lindsay is Chairman of the Board, G. W. Augustyn president and George D. Prentice cashier.

Messrs. Augustus C. Wilmanns and William A. Jacobs, who had conducted a loan business in the period when banking in Wisconsin was practically under taboo, organized the Second Ward Bank on the 1st of February, 1856, and this became the Second Ward Savings Bank ten years later, at which time Mr. Wilmanns was succeeded in the presidency by Valentine Blatz, Colonel Jacobs continuing to do duty as cashier. Joseph Schlitz

and Phillip Best became interested in the organization, and at the death of Mr. Best his interest fell to Captain Pabst and Emil Schandein. John Pritzlaff was an influential friend and customer of the bank in its early days. After the death of Mr. Blatz, August Uihlein succeeded to the presidency, and when he died in 1911 the presidency passed to Joseph Uihlein. Branches were established in 1873 and 1874. The capital had been only $25,000 at the start. By 1909 it was raised to $1,000,000, the deposits and other business of the institution undergoing corresponding expansion with the years. Toward the end of 1928, when the surplus was $3,000,000, this solid old bank was merged with the First Wisconsin National.

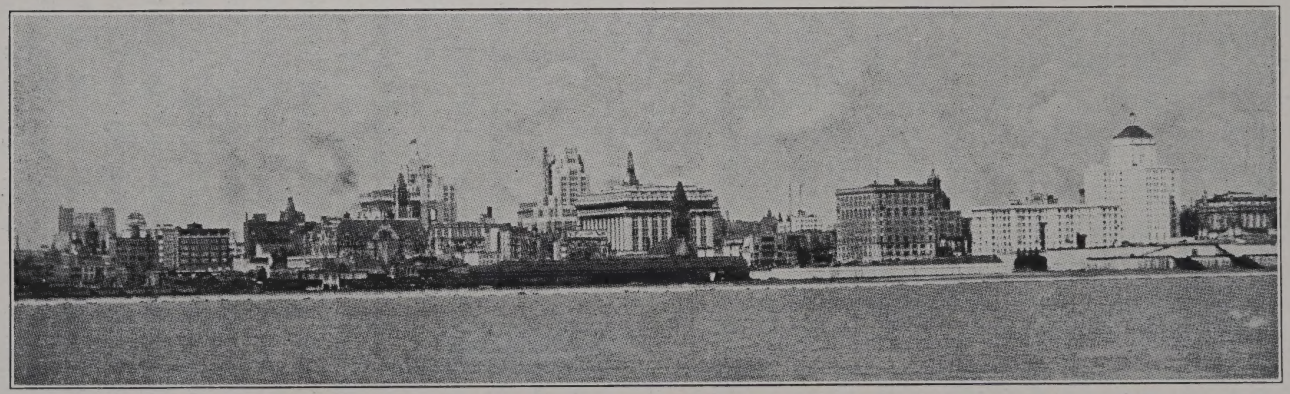
The Merchants' National Bank, organized in 1865, with a capital of $100,000, Edwin H. Goodrich president, Samuel B. Scott cashier, went into voluntary liquidation five years later. A similar course was run by the National City Bank, Anthony Green, president, and James A. Pirie, cashier. The capital of this bank also was $100,000. It opened in 1866 and went into voluntary liquidation in 1875.

The Fifth Ward Bank, which had a capital of $25,000, opened February 15, 1866, with Phillip Best as president and Christian Salentine as cashier. It became the South Side Savings Bank in February, 1868, with Gustav Trumpff as president and John B. Koetting as cashier. This bank crashed in the panic of 1893, under circumstances which aroused righteous indignation against Koetting, who suffered legal consequences that deprived him of liberty but failed to reimburse the depositors.

In 1868 the private banking house of Houghton, McCord & Company was established by George G. and R. P. Houghton and Samuel McCord, Mr. McCord retiring in 1875, when the firm name was changed to Houghton Brothers. In December, 1892, this substantial house became the Central National Bank, with a capital of $300,000, George G. Houghton, president, and Herman F. Wolf, cashier. In 1898 the Central National Bank was consolidated with the Wisconsin National.

The Home Savings Bank, opened in April, 1870, with Ferdinand Kuehn as president and Rudolph Nunnemacher as cashier, had a capital of $25,000. In the following October it combined with the firm of M. von Baumbach, to form the German Exchange Bank, of which Mr. von Baumbach was president and Mr. Nun-

SKYLINE OF MILWAUKEE FROM THE BAY, 1921
Photo taken from the breakwater.



SKYLINE OF MILWAUKEE AS SEEN FROM LAKE MICHIGAN, 1930.

nemacher cashier, the new bank having a capital of $30,000. In June, 1870, with Edward O'Neill as president and A. B. Geilfuss as cashier, the Bank of Commerce had opened with a capital of $100,000. The German Exchange Bank and the Bank of Commerce consolidated on August 13, 1879, to form the Merchants' Exchange Bank, capital $100,000, of which Edward O'Neill was the first president and Rudolph Nunnemacher cashier. This bank merged with the First National Bank, January 25, 1894.

The Wisconsin National Bank was organized December 5, 1892, with a capital of $1,000,000, Frederick Pabst being the first president and Frederick Kasten the first cashier. Captain Pabst died on the 1st of January, 1904, and was succeeded by Louis J. Petit, who remained president till July 1, 1919, when the institution was merged with the First National Bank, the combined organization taking the name of the First Wisconsin National Bank. During Mr. Petit's administration the resources of the Wisconsin National Bank increased from $9,000,000 to $54,000,000, the organization expanding with the growth of Milwaukee, to which it contributed in no small degree.

The most memorable succession of banking embarrassments in the history of Milwaukee occurred at the height of the panic of 1893. While financial distress prevailed throughout the nation, the Plankinton Bank closed its doors on the 1st of June, the Commercial Bank on the 19th of July, the South Side Savings Bank and the Milwaukee National Bank on the 22d of the same month, and the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank on the 25th.

Bad as it was, the situation precipitated by this series of misfortunes was not as disastrous as first appearances implied, for three of the five institutions were possessed of resources substantial in character and sufficient in amount to enable them to make adjustments satisfactory to their creditors.

The affairs of the Milwaukee National Bank were found to be in a condition warranting its early resumption of business, which, accompanied by its rejuvenation with fresh capital, took place on the 25th of September. The closing of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank imposed temporary inconvenience upon its creditors, but ultimately no direct financial loss. The full amount of their deposits, together with interest thereon, was returned to the depositors. Circumstances in con-

nection with the position of this institution at its moment of crisis were unique and are worthy of recital. In March, 1880, Alexander Mitchell, who at that time was its president, had procured the enactment of a law authorizing the stockholders of any state bank to file with the state treasurer a declaration agreeing to hold themselves individually responsible for all its debts, such liability to continue for six months after parting with their stock, in case they transferred their holdings to others. The stockholders of Mr. Mitchell's bank were the only ones who filed under this law, and when the trouble came they held to their agreement, which, of course, greatly simplified the bank's restoration to solvency. With new capital to the amount of half a million dollars subscribed and paid in, the bank resumed business on the 15th of January, 1894.

On the 1st of March, 1894, the Commercial Bank reopened, in the quarters previously occupied by the Plankinton Bank. At a subsequent period, however, the Commercial Bank encountered renewed difficulties.

The involvement of the South Side Savings Bank was hopeless, being due in part to dishonesty in its management, as explained above.

The plight of the Plankinton Bank had come about as the result of loans on poor security and excessive credit granted to individual borrowers, one of whom, at least, was a deliberate swindler. Dissatisfied with the policies of William Plankinton as receiver, impatient creditors procured his removal, and on their petition Henry Herman was put in his place. Then followed ten years of litigation, while rival theorists contended, and shuttlecocking between the Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of the State supplied copious material for the newspapers. An unfortunate incident of the controversy was criticism of Daniel H. Johnson, the Circuit judge, a man of high character and keen intelligence, who exhibited extreme disinclination to acquiesce in the selection of Herman for the trust. Herman absconded, defrauding innumerable creditors of his own and carrying off moneys belonging to the bank which he had been sharp enough to collect. In the sequel, Judge Johnson was vindicated by the Supreme Court—not, however, till after he had closed his earthly career in humiliation, the injustice of which those who knew him intimately all along had deplored. Dividends paid to depositors

at the beginning of the process of liquidation had been sniffed at as insignificant, but they were all that was received. When court costs and attorneys' fees had been liquidated not a dollar was left of the insolvent estate.

Very rare in the course of Milwaukee's history have been departures from integrity or lapses from sagacious competency on the part of men essaying the role of bankers; and very quickly, as a rule, and very surely, without exception, have such men been eliminated from the setting in which they did not belong. Stability, impossible without unswervingly upright and keenly sagacious, far-seeing management, has been and is characteristic of Milwaukee banks, those at the top of the list today by reason of the capital they represent and the volume of business they transact being also at the top of the list in respect to seniority.

An outstanding career in the later financial history of Milwaukee was brought to a close by the death of Washington Becker at his home in this city on the 9th of December, 1929. Born at South Worcester, New York, on the 22d of February, 1847, the son of Abraham Becker, a leading citizen of that place, and enjoying educational advantages including attendance at Phillips-Exeter Academy and Harvard University, he was graduated from the Albany Law School, expecting to make the law his profession, but abandoned that intention and devoted himself to business, influenced by opportunities which enlisted his attention on the occasion of a visit to Milwaukee. His initial demonstration of ability as an organizer and leader in large undertakings came about in connection with the upbuilding of the West Side street railway, which was a struggling experiment when he acquired an interest in it in 1874. As superintendent, manager, secretary and treasurer, he developed the enterprise from year to year. In 1880 he secured control by purchasing the interest of his father-in-law, S. S. Merrill, and became the president of the company. Nine years later he changed the motor power from horses to electricity, and soon afterward negotiated the transfer of the property and franchises to the North American Company for a consideration in excess of a million dollars. By this time Mr. Becker's achievements had gained prestige in financial circles throughout the West. Far-reaching responsibilities were entrusted to him when he was made receiver of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank. His ripe intelli-

WISCONSIN AVENUE, LOOKING EAST, DECEMBER, 1930

gence disentangled difficulties, bringing order out of chaos. When the pioneer fiduciary institution of Milwaukee was reorganized, Mr. Becker was elected to its presidency, which office he retained to the end of his life. He was a director of the Northwestern National Fire Insurance Company and in various other capacities prominently identified with the business interests of Milwaukee.

At the annual meeting of the Marine National Bank on the 14th of January, 1930, the vacancy in the presidency created by the death of Mr. Becker was filled by the election of Arthur H. Lindsay, who had begun his banking career in 1878, and had been with the Marine National Bank for nearly thirty years. On the consolidation of the Marine National Bank and the National Exchange Bank, the institution, as set forth above, became the Marine National Exchange Bank. Mr. Lindsay was made chairman of the board of directors and executive manager of the new bank, and G. W. Augustyn president, while Grant Fitch, with the unusual record of half a century in banking, retired from active management, continuing as a member of the board of directors.

Today Milwaukee has forty-one banks, whose aggregate strength on the 30th of June, 1930, was officially reported as follows: Capital, surplus and profits, $41,649,207.94; resources, $332,429,713.58; deposits, $240,455,766.50. Seven of Milwaukee's banks are national banks and thirty-four are state banks. There are building, savings and loan associations in Milwaukee to the number of one hundred and two, with aggregate resources of $275,000,000. In addition to these there are one hundred and thirty-four establishments engaged in investment activities of various descriptions, making the opportunities to borrow money on acceptable security exceptionally good.

Milwaukee ranks among the most important insurance centers in the United States. In this city are located the home offices of the largest life insurance company in the country west of the Atlantic seaboard; four stock fire insurance companies, with total assets exceeding $40,000,000; mutual fire insurance companies with assets of $1,200,000, and casualty insurance companies with assets of $6,000,000. The total assets of insurance companies with home offices in Milwaukee are $965,000,000. Postal receipts at Milwaukee increased from $3,182,214 in 1920 to $5,683,313 in 1929.

The extent of Milwaukee's wholesale and jobbing business is

indicated by the fact that in the last year for which Government statistics are available it included transactions to the aggregate amount of $170,000,000, carried on by 128 corporations and firms, with 5,353 employes.

The retail market area tributary to Milwaukee includes ten important counties within a radius of fifty miles, whose aggregate population is 1,156,631. There are in the city seven thousand retail establishments, whose annual sales exceed the aggregate value of $432,000,000.

Department of Commerce reports show that in 1927 the number of manufacturing establishments in Milwaukee was 2,040, and the aggregate value of their output was $627,415,824. This enumeration included merely the establishments located within the limits of the city, exclusive of others located in Milwaukee County but ouside of the city of Milwaukee. The value of manufactures produced in the Milwaukee metropolitan district during the year 1927 was $889,642,325.

All types of lake commerce find accommodation in Milwaukee harbor, where 8,564,863 tons of cargo were handled in 1929.

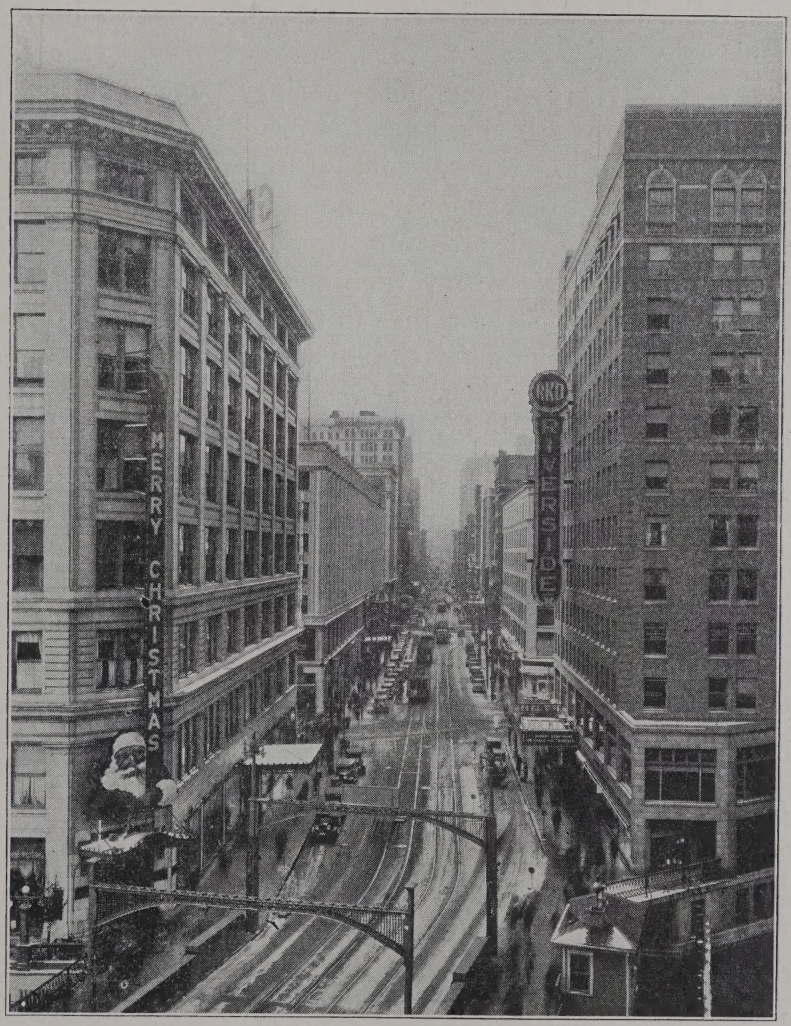
The Federal census of 1930 reveals that in population Milwaukee has risen to the rank of twelfth city in the United States, passing Buffalo, whose inhabitants number 573,076, while those of Milwaukee number 578,249. While ranking as twelfth city in the Union on the basis of population, Milwaukee ranks ninth as a center of industry. In the two years ending with 1927, Milwaukee's gain in value of manufactured output was 15.8 per cent, compared with an average gain of 3.4 per cent during the same period for all the cities in the United States.

The following inventory of Milwaukee's advantages as a center of industries and trade, and also as a place of residence, is based on an authoritative setting-forth lately made by the Milwaukee Association of Commerce in an attractive publication entitled "Industrial Milwaukee—the City of Progress":

Transportation.—Milwaukee has excellent transportation facilities. It is advantageously situated as to rates and modern distribution facilities including railwater connections, carferry slips, open docks, cold storage and merchandise storage warehouses, grain elevators and freight sheds. Milwaukee is also an important cement distributing center. Its location on Lake Michigan, with access to ports on the Great Lakes (and to foreign

ports through the St. Lawrence waterway) affords Milwaukee outstanding water communication. Eight steamship lines serve this port, operating freight and passenger ships to practically all of the principal Great Lakes ports. There are in addition fleets of steamers handling coal, grain and general merchandise. Fourteen docks with warehouse facilities supply port needs. Three important trunk lines serve Milwaukee—the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, Chicago & North Western Railway, and the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railway. Combined, these companies operate 25,838 miles of railroad. Approximately 325 through package cars are forwarded daily from Milwaukee to various destinations in the country. In addition, two carferry lines—Grand Trunk-Canadian National Railways and the Pere Marquette Railway Company—operate between Milwaukee and Grand Haven, Ludington and Muskegon, Michigan. The extensive interurban system of the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company provides service to Watertown, Madison, Racine, Kenosha, Sheboygan and other points; the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee (Electric) Railroad serves Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Waukegan, Chicago and other cities. Both lines also provide merchandise service. Street cars and city buses of the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company afford excellent urban transportation. The metropolitan system carried more than 200,000,000 passengers in 1929. The Chicago & Milwaukee Electric Railroad also operates local service between Harrison Street and Wisconsin Avenue and Second Street. Daily truck service is maintained by approximately forty truck lines between Milwaukee and points within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles. Extensive bus service is operated between Milwaukee and numerous cities in the state.

Labor.—Milwaukee has an abundance of skilled and common labor, and is comparatively free from labor difficulties. Owing to the wide diversification of industry, Milwaukee manufacturers can always rely on a stable labor market in whatever type of industry they are engaged. With the percentage of home owners among the factory workers in Milwaukee second among cities of the United States, the production programmes of its industries are protected by honest, industrious and capable workers. The hourly wage rates compare favorably with those in other industrial cities. Industry and labor alike derive great



WISCONSIN AVENUE, LOOKING WEST, DECEMBER, 1930

benefit through the training of workers by the internationally known Milwaukee Vocational School, the extensive apprenticeship system in vogue, and other special educational programmes.

Diversity of Industries.—Milwaukee leads the country in diversification of industry. It has the largest manufacturers of steam shovels, dredges and excavators, cranes and hoists, concrete mixers and road pavers, motorcycles, refrigerating machinery, electric controls, silk hosiery, work shoes, wheelbarrows, cement machinery, gasoline cracking stills, automobile frames and large diameter gas and oil line pipe. Milwaukee has produced the largest ore crusher, the largest hydro-electric unit, the largest electric heat treating furnaces, the largest mining hoists, concrete mixers, water turbines, grey iron castings, and the largest gas and Diesel engines in the United States. The city is the headquarters for one of the largest tinware and enameling plants in the world, and the largest tanneries for upper side leather and calf skins are located here. Milwaukee leads in the production of leather gloves and mittens and flour milling machinery; it makes more outboard motors than any other city in the world. It ranks third in the manufacture of boots and shoes, flavoring extracts and syrups, knit goods, motor vehicle bodies and parts, paper goods, sausage, signs and advertising novelties. Milwaukee is a large producer of pork and beef and produces more veal than any other packing center in the United States. The American veal market prices are determined by the Milwaukee veal market.

Electric Light and Power.—Milwaukee with its surrounding territory is especially favored with one of the most comprehensive and dependable electric power generating and distributing systems in the country. The rates for the various classes of lighting and power service are lower than the average and compare favorably with rates in effect in any other part of the country served by steam-generated power. The electric utility operating in Milwaukee and adjacent territory is the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company. Low rates for industrial power have resulted in the practical elimination of private plants throughout the city. During 1929 the company distributed 900,000,000 kilowat hours of electrical energy and was serving 222,299 customers at the end of the year.

Gas.—Gas rates in Milwaukee are sufficiently low to allow the

use of this fuel industrially, being the lowest in the country for manufactured gas.

Fuel.—Modern and efficiently equipped dock properties valued at $100,000,000, provide storage capacity of 2,750,000 tons, and assure a sufficient supply of coal to meet all requirements. River facilities permit the wide distribution of coal docks, making this fuel available to all parts of the city by comparatively short truck hauls. Milwaukee's receipts of coal for 1929 were 4,437,507 tons by water and 243,541 tons by rail. Coke to the extent of 695,253 tons is produced in Milwaukee annually, 315,458 tons of which is used for local purposes. Milwaukee is provided with a continuous supply of fuel oil for industrial and domestic use.

Water.—The source of Milwaukee's water supply is Lake Michigan. The capacity of the intake which serves the city is 370,000,000 gallons in twenty-four hours, another intake, in reserve, having a capacity of 95,000,000 gallons. The uniform rate charged is 7 cents per 100 cubic feet. This water is clear, platable and remarkably free from impurities of any description. It is generally used for drinking purposes and is available for the generality of domestic and industrial uses without resort to artificial softening.

Housing Conditions.—Milwaukee is essentially a city of homes, the percentage of home-owning families being 47, which is 16 per cent higher than the average for other cities of the United States. The residential buildings in Milwaukee are classified as follows: Single, 71,953; duplex, 66,336; apartments, 24,811. Slums are unknown.

Population.—The population of 578,249 as enumerated in 1930 indicates an increase of 121,102 during the preceding ten years. Of these the native-born of native white parentage constitute 42.4 per cent; the native-born of foreign white parentage, 33 per cent, and the foreign-born whites, 24.1 per cent, colored residents of all races constituting only 5/10 per cent of the total. A recent analysis, compiled from data furnished by the Department of Commerce, shows that of the total of 24.1 per cent of Milwaukee's inhabitants who are foreign-born 41.5 per cent are German, Austrian or Swiss; 20.9 per cent Polish; 6.8 per cent British; 4.4 per cent Italian; and 3.7 per cent Hungarian, representatives of all other nationalities constituting the remaining

22.7 per cent of the foreign-born, and only 8.3 per cent of the total population of the city.

Streets and Highways.—Milwaukee maintains 704 miles of paved streets, illuminated by 13,300 lighting units. An arterial highway system for passenger automobiles, designation of through routes for heavy trucking, adoption of the uniform vehicle code, and the maintenance of capable traffic bureaus make for convenience and safety. Milwaukee County's system of concrete highways, radiating from the city in every direction, is noted far and wide. Wisconsin's system of state trunk highways —10,226 miles—is supplemented by 13,723 miles of county trunk highways and 56,051 of town highways, giving Wisconsin a total of 80,000 miles of the best of "good roads."

Hotels.—Milwaukee has thirty excellent hotels, equipped for the comfortable housing of convention crowds as well as for admirably meeting all the requirements of travelers and guests in general.

The Auditorium.—Milwaukee's magnificent fire-proof Auditorium has a seating capacity of 13,500, its main arena accommodating 8,000, and the building containing seven other public halls.

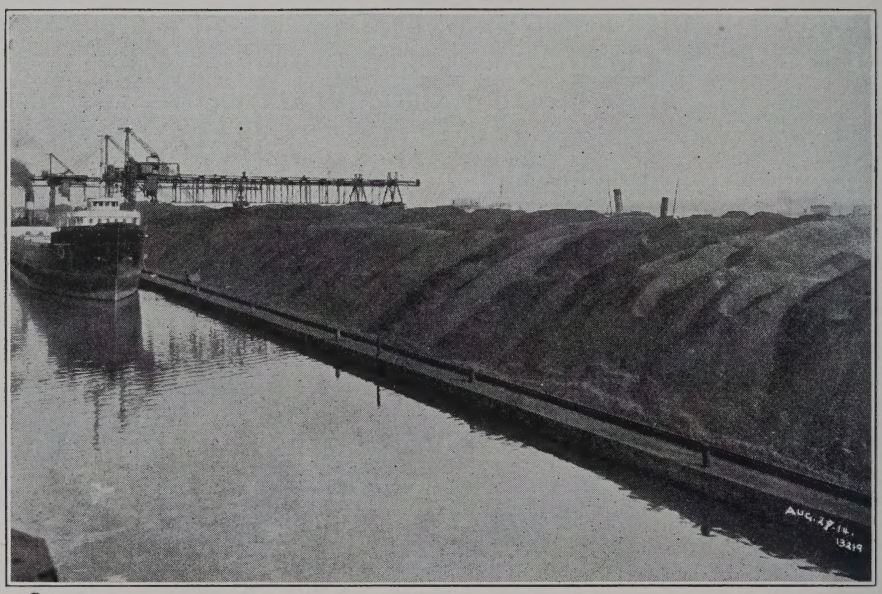
Hospitals.—Milwaukee's forty-four hospitals—county, city and private—are equipped with excellent staffs and facilities. The new county hospital is adjudged to be one of the finest in the United States.

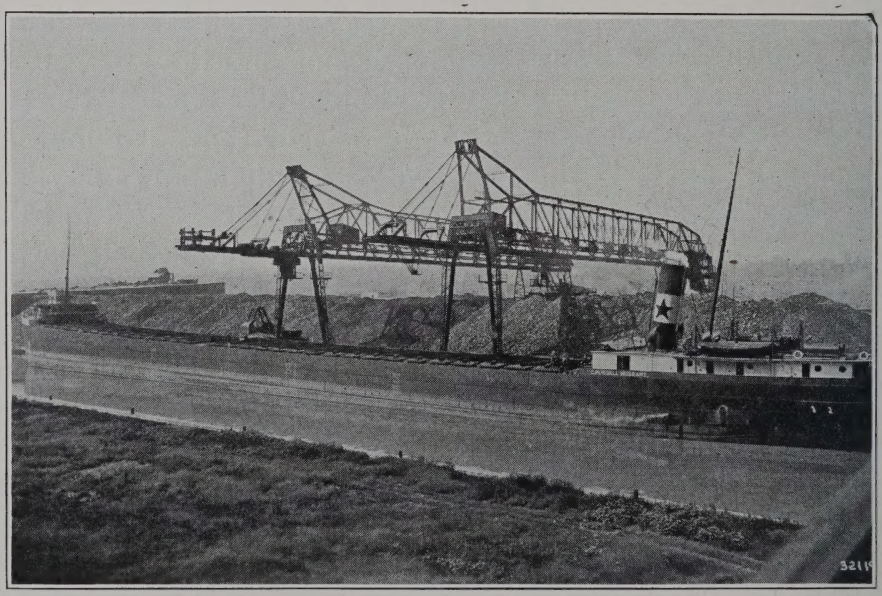
Welfare and Charity.—Operating through a central bureau, Milwaukee charitable institutions are unusually well organized and accomplish much good, fraternal organizations also taking deep interest in activities of this character and giving generously of time and effort to insure the prompt relief of unfortunates by reason of indigence or illness. In 1929 the Community Fund received contributions to the amount of $1,110,664, which were disbursed among thirty-three charitable institutions and social agencies. Hundreds of public-spirited men and women annually devote time and labor to assist in the Community Fund campaigns.

Education.—Milwaukee maintains an excellent public school system, divided into the following units: Eighty-nine elementary schools, four junior high schools, seven senior high schools, two technical high schools, and seventeen night schools. The public school enrollment has risen from 64,815 in 1921 to 88,399 in 1930.

The Milwaukee Vocational School, which covers more than eleven acres of floor space, is recognized the world over for its pioneering example in vocational education, its excellent equipment, extensive facilities, able faculty and admirable curriculum serving as models for other communities embarking in educational activity of a corresponding description, which here has proved its utility by its substantial results. The parochial school system of Milwaukee ranks with the best in the Union. Other widely celebrated educational establishments in Milwaukee include Marquette University, the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, the Milwaukee University School, the Milwaukee Country Day School, Milwaukee-Downer College and the Milwaukee-Downer Seminary for Girls, Mount Mary College, the State Teachers' College, the School of Engineering of Milwaukee, Concordia College, St. Francis Seminary, the Layton Art School, conservatories of music and business schools.

Recreation.—Fifty-eight public parks and playgrounds in Milwaukee cover an aggregate area of 1,113 acres and offer a variety of scenery and recreation. In Lake Park, on the shores of Lake Michigan, one may play golf or tennis, swim, walk on shaded lanes or enjoy the bridle paths. Mitchell Park is famous for its conservatory. The seasonal blooms and the large sunken garden attract thousands of persons annually. Washington Park zoo is nationally known for its extensive collection of animals and is among the finest in the country. Six public parks have golf links. The lighting system in Milwaukee parks is said to be the best in America. There are six public municipal bathing beaches on the lake, three municipal bathing places on the Milwaukee River, and six natatoria. Milwaukee is adequately supplied with theaters, including seventy-nine motion picture houses with a total seating capacity of nearly 100,000.





SCENES IN THE COAL RECEIVING CENTER OF THE MENOMONEE RIVER AREA

CHAPTER XLII

MILWAUKEE'S YOUNGER SISTERS

CITIES AND VILLAGES IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY WHICH HAVE WAXED IN POPULATION AND IMPORTANCE DURING RECENT YEARS, AND WHICH, EXCEPT IN ORGANIZATION, ARE PARTS OF MILWAUKEE —WEST ALLIS, WAUWATOSA, SHOREWOOD, SOUTH MILWAUKEE, CUDAHY AND WHITEFISH BAY—THEIR INTERESTING AND VARIED HISTORIES.

To many people statistics are repellant, because usually they demand study in order to be understood. Occasionally, however, they tell their story so distinctly as to make it plainer than words. When that happens they are interesting not only to lovers of mathematics but also to the average reader. In such a category belong the figures illustrating increase of population in minor civil divisions that have risen into prominence outside of the city of Milwaukee but within the borders of Milwaukee County. The following table, compiled from Federal census returns, shows at a glance the rapid and steady rate at which South Milwaukee, Cudahy, West Allis, Wauwatosa, Shorewood and Whitefish Bay have gained inhabitants since twenty years ago:

	1910	1920	1930
South Milwaukee	6,092	7,598	10,706
Cudahy	3,691	6,725	10,631
West Allis	6,645	13,745	34,671
Wauwatosa	3,346	5,818	21,194
Shorewood	707	2,650	13,479
Whitefish Bay	542	882	5,362

Three of these are industrial and the other three are residential centers. Four are on the edge of Lake Michigan, and two on the western border of the city of Milwaukee. Two other rising communities with village organization are in Milwaukee

County—West Milwaukee, with a population of 4,168, and Fox Point, with 474. The city of North Milwaukee, which had a population of 3,047, became by annexation a part of the city of Milwaukee in 1929.

Each of these neighbor groups has a history intertwined with the history of Milwaukee. In numerous aspects the social, political and business interests of all the area included in Milwaukee County are the same.

The first industrial community which grew up in proximity to Milwaukee was Bay View. At the outset of its career it was not so near as it seems today, for farms and woods separated it from the then built-up portion of the South Side, and urban rapid transit facilities were non-existent. Springing suddenly into importance, following the establishment of the rolling mills in 1867, the promising settlement experienced reverses during the depression caused by the panic of 1873, but welcomed a return of prosperity as general business conditions subsequently improved. For several years the people of Bay View were strongly convinced that their interests would be better subserved by the maintenance of independent local government than by allying themselves with their older and larger neighbor. A formal canvass of sentiment on the subject conducted at the instance of a Milwaukee newspaper in 1880 revealed overwhelming opposition to annexation. Less than ten years, however, brought about a revolution in opinion, and on the petition of a majority of its residents Bay View became the Seventeenth Ward of the city of Milwaukee.

Close to Bay View is a locality where noteworthy buildings had arisen when all the other areas in the vicinity were devoted to farming. St. Francis, lying between Cudahy and the portion of Milwaukee which formerly constituted the village of Bay View, had its beginning in 1847, when it was chosen for the location of the convent and mother house of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis Assisi. In 1850 Bishop Henni directed the building of St. Aemilianus Orphan Asylum on grounds near by. In 1856, with his approval and assistance, the Rev. Michael Heiss and the Rev. Joseph Salzmann, D. D., founded the institution for the education of young men for the Catholic priesthood to which was given the name of the Salesianum, otherwise the

Seminary of St. Francis. Its buildings were reared on the opposite side of the romantic valley through which Deer Creek found its way to the lake. Something of the wildness and beauty of the original forest at St. Francis have been retained despite the progress of city-building in all the region around. Deep in the heart of the woods arose the little Chapel of the Visitation, between which and the Seminary, winding through thickets and over a little hill, and crossing a rustic bridge, was constructed the Way of the Cross. Behind the Chapel is the Seminary graveyard; not far away, the beautiful grotto built in imitation of the famous Grotto of Lourdes. The Catholic Normal School of the Holy Trinity and Pio Nono College, founded by Dr. Salzmann in 1870, were located on ground half a mile to the west, and within a few rods of this, in 1876, St. John's Institute for Deaf-mutes, near which was built in later years the chapel in memory of Archbishop Heiss. As time went on, more commodious and substantial structures supplanted humbler edifices which had sufficed at the beginning, for all the institutions in the group proved their usefulness and underwent material expansion. Their removal to Spring Bank, on the Shore of Oconomowoc Lake, was said a few years ago to be under consideration by Archbishop Messmer. That would result in the sale of extensive acreage at St. Francis and its utilization for purposes of a secular character, changing the aspect which for more than three-quarters of a century St. Francis has presented to the world. Striking is the contrast between the cloistral serenity of St. Francis and the hustle and bustle of its industrial neighbors, Cudahy and South Milwaukee.

In early days, taking its name from the distinguishing geographical feature of its locality, South Milwaukee was known as Oak Creek. Elihu Higgins, from Massachusetts, who arrived in the spring of 1835, was its first settler, being followed shortly by Moses Rawson, John Fowle, Joseph Dibley and others. Higgins opened a tavern, as the place was on the line of the old government road, built for military purposes, over which supplies were hauled from Chicago to the troops stationed at Fort Howard. In 1840 Higgins and Fowle built sawmills, for which the creek afforded water power, and soon afterward Fowle put in a grist mill that attracted patronage from all the surrounding country.

In 1841 the Town of Oak Creek was set apart from the Town of Lake. The place was growing. A scow with the fragrant name of the *Monkey Skunk* was used in the transportation of lumber from the Fowle mill to Milwaukee. In 1850 two schooners, the *Honest John* and the *Julianne*, were built from timber cut and sawed close by, and 1852 witnessed the erection of a sawmill operated by steam, which later was turned to other uses. A woolen mill was one of the Oak Creek experiments which failed of permanent results but exhibited enterprise. Joseph Dibley and John Blake made bricks in the years from 1856 to 1859 on part of the present site of Grant Park. In 1870 Horace M. Fowle and Horace Wells opened a large brickyard at the mouth of Oak Creek, shipping their product far and wide, and continuing in the business till the middle '80s. Baskets were made at Oak Creek at least as early as 1872. After the panic of 1873 succeeded a period of depression, followed in the early '90s by a sudden awakening of ambition, energy and far-seeing enterprise that transformed the rural cross-roads of Oak Creek into the bustling and prosperous city of South Milwaukee.

The South Milwaukee Company, Fred W. Rogers being its moving spirit, laid out a townsite, graded streets, and stood ready to supply new-comers with eligible building-lots. Views regarding the value of realty in all the region roundabout underwent a rapid change. Farm lands which had found no buyers when they could be had for $100 to $200 per acre were snapped up by investors of the neighboring metropolis of Milwaukee from owners who demanded ten times their former price. Advertised public sales of realty brought crowds of purchasers.

Late in 1891 the name of the post office was changed from Oak Creek to South Milwaukee. The incorporation of South Milwaukee as a village was preceded by the taking of a census on the 8th of August, 1892, revealing the population within the village boundaries to be 519. Application for a charter having been granted by the Circuit Court, the first village election was held on the 3d of the following December, F. E. Mansfield being chosen for president, with a quota of other village officers, to hold only till the regular election in the ensuing April. At this regular election the successful candidates were as follows: President, E. A. Bunn; trustees, W. C. Fadel, Jacob Fink, Charles Ahrens, Sr., Joseph Whalen, George H. Hook and Fred

Heidelberg. Meanwhile a building programme had begun. The first factory building was erected by the Schutz Brothers Company, one of whose members was Frank B. Schutz, afterward postmaster of Milwaukee. Koch's Hotel, subsequently to become the Hotel Rogers, was the pioneer building on the original townsite. Numerous others were in course of construction during the winter of 1891-2. In May 1892, work began on the construction of a plant for the Bucyrus Steam Shovel and Dredge Company. The Hatch Cutlery Company, the South Milwaukee Malleable Iron Company, the Adamant Paint Company, the Moore Manufacturing Company (later Stowell's), the Lownes Manufacturing Company, the Huntington Manufacturing Company and the Eagle Horseshoe Company had cast their lot with South Milwaukee, and each of these establishments began building operations betimes, the progress of which soon imparted a changed appearance to the landscape. Meanwhile home-builders were pouring into the place. In 1893 the first high school was erected. Spires of churches began to pierce the sky. In 1896 the Milwaukee Street Railway Company extended its tracks to South Milwaukee. This was the year when South Milwaukee was incorporated as a city.

At the first city election, which took place on the 6th of July, a spirited contest as to who should be mayor resulted in the choice of George C. Busch, who polled two more votes than his opponent, H. A. Ohm. Mr. Busch was re-elected in 1897. His successors in the office have been: 1899, F. E. Mansfield; 1902, Charles Franke, who was re-elected in 1904, 1906, 1910, 1921, 1924 and 1926; 1908, Dr. S. M. Smith; 1916, George Lorig (re-elected in 1918); 1920, William Grobschmidt (re-elected in 1922); 1928, Irving Baetke (re-elected in 1930).

The burning of the old club house, on the site of the present water tower, occurred on the 2d of March, 1893. August 15th of that year the village board authorized the purchase of fire-fighting apparatus. A volunteer bucket brigade had been formed in June. This was followed in October by the organization of a hose company. There has been constant progress in provision for defense against fire, and the firemen have won honors whenever called upon in the line of duty. The present chief of the fire department is John O'Connell.

Educational interests began to receive attention at an early day. In 1837 Mrs. Levina Fowle opened the first private school. The erection of a building to serve as a public school was begun in 1842. A brick building superseded the frame one in 1871. O. L. Hollister, M. D. Kelly and John E. Roets were principals of this school. Today the public school system of South Milwaukee, worthily supplemented by three flourishing parochial schools, affords the young people of the city educational advantages unsurpassed elsewhere. The South Milwaukee Public Library, whose history goes back to 1899, received encouragement of a substantial character in 1917, when a beautiful building for its accommodation was paid for by the Carnegie Foundation. The number of volumes in its collection exceeds nine thousand, and its circulation reaches beyond seventy thousand in the course of a year. The number of its registered borrowers is more than four thousand. A city appropriation provides for its support.

South Milwaukee has a weekly newspaper, *The South Milwaukee Journal*, two banks, seventeen important industrial plants, and, according to the federal census of 1930, a population of 10,695.

Northeastward of South Milwaukee, and contiguous to its choicest residential district, are the four hundred acres of scenic loveliness with a frontage of a mile and a half on the shore of Lake Michigan, which are owned by Milwaukee County, maintained as part of its renowned county pleasure grounds and parkway system, and known as Grant Park. Between Grant Park and Milwaukee is Cudahy.

The idea of the model industrial city which bears his family name originated in the brain of Patrick Cudahy, remembered as a sterling citizen and a captain of industry whose specialty was the packing of pork. His genius for initiative was supplemented by executive ability and energy. What he planned he carried into execution. In the early '90s the city of Milwaukee, in which his business had grown to great proportions during an existence of many years, seemed to be on the brink of enacting an ordinance compelling the removal of packing plants to locations beyond its borders. Eventually a less drastic policy prevailed, and the smaller packers remained. But while the tumult was raging Mr. Cudahy made arrangements to transfer his establish-

ment to an ideal location on the shore of Lake Michigan eight miles south of the city. Having committed himself to the project, he went on with it to the end.

Seven hundred acres of green fields had been selected as the site. The transformation was rapidly effected. Mr. Cudahy found no difficulty in inducing other manufacturing establishments to locate in his neighborhood. Employes changed their places of residence, in order to be near their work, and in a short time the fields in which crops had grown or cattle had grazed since the departure of the Indians were covered with manufactories and homes and stores and churches and schools. Cudahy made a quick start, but was reared upon firm foundations, and there is every reason for looking forward to its indefinite expansion.

Besides the world-renowned plant of the Cudahy Packing Company, the industries of Cudahy include the Federal Rubber Company, which originally was known as the Milwaukee Rubber Works; the Milwaukee Vinegar Company, which first was known as the Chemical Works; the Power and Mining Machinery Company, founded by former officers of the E. P. Allis Company; the Ladish Drop Forge Company, first known as the Obenberger Drop Forge Company; the Drisole Tanning Company; the Utility Manufacturing Company; the Hemholz Shoe Manufacturing Company; the Presto Color Company, and various smaller manufacturing concerns, all flourishing, and employing a total of more than six thousand workers.

The township of Cudahy was recorded in 1892. The village of Cudahy was organized in 1895. The city of Cudahy was incorporated in 1906. The distinction of being chosen president at the first election of village officers, held in 1895, fell to Barney Eaton. The first trustees of the village were Adolph Schoenborn, Patrick McGuire, Emmitt Martin, Michael Glish, Henry Baumgartel and Robert Hopkins. Dr. Joseph Posthauer was the first village health officer, and John W. Kiphutt the first assessor. The first mayor of Cudahy, when it became a city, was Dr. A. C. Sidler, who served from 1906 to 1908. His successors have been Peter Kleineider, Barney Eaton, Christ Woehsner, Paul Mlodzik and Charles F. Cassebaum.

Cudahy has an efficient police department and a well-equipped

volunteer fire department. Its school system ranks high, with an enrollment of some fifteen hundred pupils in the public schools and upward of a thousand in the parochial schools. Its churches are well attended and generously maintained.

Sheridan Park, located on what is claimed to be the highest point on Lake Michigan's beautiful western shore, has a frontage of six city blocks and is equipped with children's playgrounds, tennis courts and a spacious baseball diamond, in addition to a large recreation area for picnic parties. This is Cudahy's special provision for the healthful out-door exercise of its "kiddies."

West Allis is an industrial city of close upon thirty-five thousand inhabitants, which has sprung up in the outskirts of Milwaukee with rapidity astounding even after the contemplation of other statistics presenting remarkable instances of urban growth. Milwaukeeans who are not old remember the whole Town of Greenfield as distinctly rural. To such, at least, it is interesting to review the train of circumstances that combined to bring about its rapid rise.

In 1890 groups representing conflicting interests engaged in strenuous contention over the selection of permanent grounds for the Wisconsin State Fair. The Fair was conducted under the auspices of the State Agricultural Society, and, with the exception of an interval during the Civil war period, had been an annual event since 1853, when it was held at Janesville. Later it shifted between Milwaukee and Madison, and for a number of years in succession was held at Milwaukee on the tract between Twenty-seventh and Thirty-fifth streets then known as Cold Spring Park. In 1890 the westward expansion of Milwaukee made Cold Spring Park available for building purposes. The Agricultural Society committee charged with weighing the merits of rival locations offered for the Fair was favorable to the selection of either of two sites, both in the environs of the city, and final settlement of the matter hinged on a vote in the State Senate. One of the proposd sites was the Lindwurm tract, north of the city, now Lincoln Park. The other was the McFetridge farm property, near North Greenfield, west of the city of Milwaukee and southwest of the National Soldiers' Home.

Influential people interested in the Lindwurm tract included Roswell Miller, president of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul

Railway Company, and Henry C. Payne, president of the Milwaukee Street Railway Company. Both of these gentlemen endeavored to defeat the choice of the McFetridge farm by asserting that their respective corporations would refrain from providing facilities for the accommodation of passenger traffic between that place and the city. Their threats proved unavailing, as the Senate, by a majority of one, decided upon the purchase of the McFetridge property.

Ten years before, when the Chicago & North-Western Railroad Company built its line between Milwaukee and Madison, it had established a station, with the name of North Greenfield, adjacent to the McFetridge farm, and this had become the nucleus of a little settlement. Fred W. Henderson and Stutley I. Henderson had platted lots near by, recording their plat on the 12th of April, 1887. Not long afterward other plats of tracts in the vicinity had been recorded by the Homestead Company, Le Feber & Bowes and Charles Cuppel. With the purchase of the McFetridge farm for the State Fair Grounds the future of North Greenfield appeared to be assured, a prospect, however, which was dimmed by the inadequacy of arrangements for moving crowds from the Fair Grounds to the city. Omnibuses from the end of the street car line at the National Avenue entrance to the grounds of the Soldiers' Home diminished the awkwardness of the situation, but did not cure it. A great improvement was effected when interested real estate men gave a bonus to the Milwaukee Motor Company, operating a dummy, to extend its line to the Fair Grounds, which were entered by way of Fleming Park, near the residence of F. T. Andrae. In 1894, T. J. Fleming, who was made State Fair secretary in that year, devoted himself to an endeavor to induce the St. Paul Railway people and Mr. Payne to recede from the hostile attitude they had assumed while the location of the Fair Grounds was under debate. He succeeded, but even then there was controversy, for Mr. Fleming, whose residence was on Greenfield Avenue, maintained that the Greenfield entrance to the grounds suggested the proper route to be followed by the street railway extension, while North Greenfield people wanted the cars to run on National Avenue to Seventy-third Avenue, and thence to the Fair. Mr. Fleming carried his point by defraying out of his own pocket the cost of putting

Greenfield Avenue into condition for the construction of the extension.

Doubtless these matters are less exciting in narration at the present time than they were during their evolution, especially to participants and to property-owners in all the region for miles around. Even now however, they are gleefully recalled as "happy prologues to a swelling act"—factors in great things that were to follow. But for the location of the North-Western's little station in 1880, and the purchase of the McFetridge farm for the Fair Grounds in 1891, and the triumphant outcome of persistent negotiations by Mr. Fleming and others looking to the provision of easy and rapid transit between Milwaukee and the Fair Grounds, there would not have arisen where it stands the busy and prosperous city of more than thirty thousand inhabitants known to the world as West Allis.

One other important factor was preliminary to the consummation, and that was the establishment near by of conditions insuring employment to a multitude of wage-earners. This was brought about after the lapse of a few more years. For a long time the management of the Edward P. Allis Company, operating the greatest machinery manufacturing establishment in the world, at a location on Clinton Street, in Milwaukee, which it had occupied for forty years, had felt itself cramped for room and had been looking about with a view to the procurement of a site on which to erect a plant with wholly modern equipment and opportunity for indefinite expansion. One indispensable requisite was convenience to unlimited transportation facilities; another was the proximity of land amid healthful and attractive surroundings, procurable at moderate cost, on which an army of employes could purchase sites for homes. Between the National Soldiers' Home grounds and the State Fair Grounds, bordering on Greenfield Avenue, and barely a mile from the then western limits of the city was farmland ideally embodying the desiderated requirements. Stutley I. Henderson was the first who called the attention of the officers of the company to this fact. Arthur McGeoch, a heavy land-owner in the vicinity, became interested in the project, and coöperated in bringing it to realization. Other property-owners agreed to necessary arrangements, which involved the construction of a belt-line with spurs running to

factory buildings and connecting with the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Chicago & North-Western, whose tracks at this place run parallel and about a mile apart. The Allis Company bought one hundred acres at $250 per acre. Attracted by the shipping facilities about to be provided, other manufacturing concerns acquired sites near by.

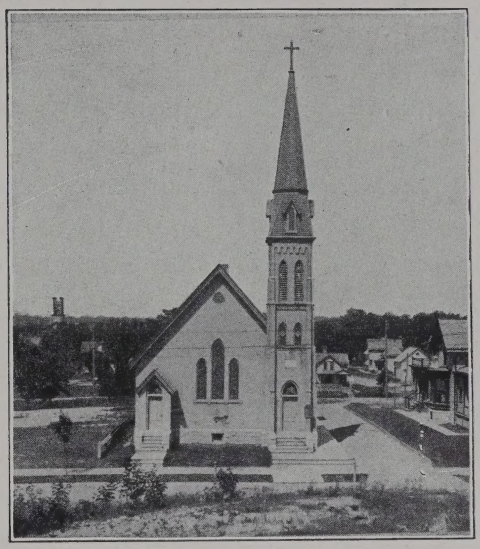
The name of West Allis was applied to the new settlement by people pouring in as home-builders at the start, but North Greenfielders desired the existing designation of the locality to be retained. New arrivals were energtic and constituted the majority. They made application to Judge Halsey of the Circuit Court, who on the 31st of May, 1902, entered an order for the incorporation of the village of West Allis. On the same day a census showed the population to be 1,018. June 28 an election to decide on the question of incorporation resulted in the casting of 189 votes in favor of incorporating the village of West Allis and thirty-three against the proposition. July 23 was the date of the first election of village officers, resulting in the choice of F. W. Henderson as president; William McKowen, S. M. Tibbits, O. L. Richardson, Frank Simonet, Joseph Schunk and Charles Winkler as trustees; H. D. Hill as clerk; Thomas O'Hara as treasurer; George Leonard as assessor; F. H. Marvin as supervisor, and Charles Hamme as justice of the peace.

Two hundred houses had been built in West Allis before the place was a year old. The construction of streets and making of other needed improvements proceeded apace. Differences of opinion on matters of public policy gave rise to lively discussions, and successive village elections did not fail to elicit interest. Some time elapsed before a working agreement was reached on the subject of providing a water supply, but at a special election in March, 1905, the issue of $60,000 of bonds for the installation of a permanent water supply was authorized by a decisive majority, after which mains were laid from West Allis to Milwaukee. Other work in connection with the supply of water went forward without wrangling obstruction. In February, 1906, a census showed the population to have increased to 2,306. In April of that year West Allis became a city of the fourth class. At the first municipal election Frank E. Walsh was the successful candidate for mayor. He appointed Rublee A. Cole to the office

of city attorney. Four policemen were also appointed and a well organized volunteer fire department established. A school board was appointed, which body petitioned the Common Council to erect a school in the First Ward and set aside the sum of $18,000 to pay for it. In September, 1906 the City Council began to hold its meetings in a new city hall. Mayor Walsh was re-elected in 1908 and 1910. In 1912 he was succeeded by Frank Baldwin. By this time the population had increased to 6,000. The city boasted fifty-five miles of streets. No permanent pavement had been laid, but one and a half miles of streets had received surface treatment and twenty-three miles of water mains had been laid, with about the same length of sanitary sewer mains. Progress in public improvements was carried on rapidly during all the following years, and today the condition of West Allis with respect to public health and comfort is of a character commanding favorable comment from visitors. The election of 1914 placed J. J. Mullhaney in the office of mayor. In 1916 he was succeeded by David Love. In 1918 F. S. Baldwin was chosen for the second time. Beginning with 1920 Del Miller was elected four times in succession.

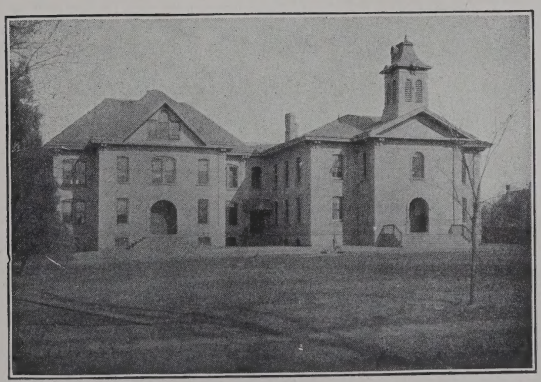
West Allis is rightly proud of its competent police department, its up-to-date fire department, its efficient health service and its modern schools. Its three-story high school covers nearly a city block and seven substantial and attractive buildings house the children in the grades. West Allis school grounds are equipped with recreational apparatus and are ornamental as well as practical. The West Allis Public Library, in a Carnegie building, is maintained by taxation and contains 15,000 volumes. Part of the city's educational system is an excellent vocational school. There are also night schools, summer schools and social center activities. There are four parochial schools, with an attendance of more than 1,400 pupils. Upward of 6,000 attend the public schools, while the enrollment at the vocational school exceeds 600. A large proportion of the population of West Allis are churchgoers. West Allis churches are numerous and make a noteworthy contribution to the architectural interest of the city.

Wauwatosa's story begins almost contemporaneously with the arrival from the East of pioneers intent on establishing homes in Wisconsin. At first the place was called Hart's Mills, because Charles Hart made use of the water power of the Menomonee to



(Courtesy of the Wauwatosa News)

OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
WAUWATOSA



(Courtesy of the Wauwatosa News)

OLD SCHOOL, WAUWATOSA

operate a flouring mill. The limestone bluffs in the vicinity became the basis of a profitable industry, contributing stone and lime for the construction of buildings in Milwaukee. George D. Dousman, as well as John Bowen and the Rev. Enoch D. Underwood, Jonathan Warren, L. L. Gridley and John Foley were among the settlers prior to 1838. Albert Fowler, a conspicuous figure in early Milwaukee, was active also in connection with the beginnings of Wauwatosa. General John Crawford took up a claim in the township and lived to be one of the patriarchs of Milwaukee County. As a member of the Board of Supervisors in the early '70s he gave valuable attention to the building of the second Court House, on the site of the structure given to the community by Juneau and Martin. Jonathan Warren was Wauwatosa's first town clerk, A. O. T. Breed was the first treasurer, and the first assessors were Sanford Wheeler, Bigelow Case and C. A. Hastings. The county charitable institutions are located on rising ground southwest of the original site of the village and on the opposite bank of the Menomonee River. A pickle factory flourished at Wauwatosa as early as 1860, and there were two breweries in the early days. Other industries have prospered; but Wauwatosa's rise has been dependent less upon industrial enterprise than upon its charm as a place of residence. Numerous are the dwellers in delightful Wauwatosa whose occupations call them daily to Milwaukee or West Allis. Between the heart of Milwaukee and the heart of Wauwatosa street cars carry passengers for a single fare. Undoubtedly the facility of transit consequent upon the advent of the automobile has played an important part in the expansion of Wauwatosa.

The incorporated village of Shorewood occupies the favored region on the edge of Lake Michigan intervening between Milwaukee's northern boundary and the southern limits of Whitefish Bay. Its designation was East Milwaukee until a few years ago. Colloquially it is referred to as "the Gold Coast," an intimation that its inhabitants are as rich in purse as they are in commendable enterprise, especially illustrated in the maintenance of the idyllic environment in which they have built their homes. Shorewood is distinctively a place of quiet and of picturesque enchantment, whose people have no present desire that it shall compete for commercial or industrial development with the bustling world outside. The efficiency with which it carries on its local govern-

(Courtesy of the Wauwatosa News)

OLD MILL POND DYKE, WEST OF PRESENT MAIN STREET, WAUWATOSA

(Courtesy of the Wauwatosa News)

IRVINGTON HOTEL, NORTH MAIN STREET, WAUWATOSA

ment attests devotion to order and capacity for the management of affairs. Lynx-eyed policemen see to it that the streets of Shorewood are safe for pedestrians as well as for cautious drivers of cars. The public schools of Shorewood are deservedly a matter of local pride. The growth of Shorewood is one of the phenomenal revelations of the census of 1930.

Whitefish Bay, which is on the lake front north of Shorewood, was made approachable from the city by a toll road much appreciated by owners of speedy horses. This was in the '70s, when most Milwaukeeans regarded North Avenue, then North Street, as pretty well out in the country. By the early '80s Whitefish Bay had begun to be known to picnickers. As the city grew, systematic provision for entertainment of visitors was made at the Bay, which attained wide celebrity as a pleasure resort following the erection of a hotel and music pavilion and the terracing of the bluff by the Pabst Brewing Company. In 1892 a realty development project resulted in the grading of miles of streets, which even were provided with sidewalks. A cluster of attractive homes arose on Day Avenue. At that time Whitefish Bay was a prosperous village; but utter stagnation followed the panic of 1893. Some years afterward wooden sidewalks in the unoccupied portion of the platted district were surreptitiously removed by skirmishers for fuel, and roadways became overgrown with grass. The dummy line, and later the electric railway, as well as a little steamboat making trips between Grand Avenue bridge down-town and the pier at Whitefish Bay carried passengers by thousands to the resort, which retained popularity till the advent of prohibition, and then ceased to exist. Later the concrete stairways leading from the crest of the bluff to the shore of the lake were taken up and the hotel was taken down. The grounds were made available for residence sites. Of late years the natural beauty of the neighborhood has attracted renewed attention from home-builders.

Long gone by is the time when Whitefish Bay was Milwaukee's "farthest north." Still farther north has arisen the incorporated village of Fox Point, and farther north than Fox Point is the unique suburban residence neighborhood surrounding Donges Bay—this being as far north as one may go without getting beyond the limits of Milwaukee County.

CHAPTER XLIII

EARLY SETTLERS' REMINISCENCES

CRUDE CONDITIONS OF THE PIONEERING ERA RECALLED BY EYE-WITNESSES—A BUDGET OF VERACIOUS NARRATIVES EMBODYING CURIOUS AND ENTERTAINING INFORMATION RELATING TO MILWAUKEE'S BEGINNINGS.

"You can tell what the books cannot," said General Sherman, addressing a gathering of Union soldiers in the summer of 1880. His meaning was that little incidents and suggestions of surrounding circumstances woven casually by veterans into narratives of events in which they were actors sometimes convey a more accurate and thrilling conception of what occurred than the pages of a formal history. Recitals of participants and eye-witnesses must be drawn upon to complete an authentic picture of the inauguration of white settlement in Milwaukee and of life in the city during the early days. A few repetitions will be noted, but usually it will be found that different individuals referring to the same thing describe it from different points of view.

A file of letters written during the ten years between 1836 and 1846 by Increase Allen Lapham to his brother, D. Lapham, who was established in Cincinnati, sheds interesting light on many matters pertaining to the settlement that was to become the metropolis of Wisconsin. Here are extracts from the earlier epistles of the series, each under its appropriate date. The date of Mr. Lapham's arrival in Milwaukee was July 1, 1836:

"July 7, 1836: Milwaukee contains about fifty houses, mostly on the east side of the river, and is supposed, with the suburbs, to contain about a thousand inhabitants. Town lots are worth $500 to $5,500.

"July 27: Milwaukee is on the site of an Indian town, and the wigwams are still to be seen. The Indians found here belong principally to the Menominees, or wild rice eaters, and are said

to be much less savage and quarrelsome than most other Indians. They are certainly better looking men, and much whiter than we usually see. The land in the neighborhood has not yet been brought into market, so very few farmers have settled here as yet, and the town is far in advance of the county, and every kind of farm produce is very high. Our town is improving as rapidly as the supply of lumber will allow, and many buildings are waiting for lumber to finish. Lumber is $50 a thousand.

"December 25: Snow fell about two weeks ago to the depth of two feet but has now thawed and settled to one foot. Sleighs, cutters and jumpers are flying about in every direction. The river is frozen solid as a rock, affording the most smooth and level road imaginable.

"February 25, 1837: Our town has grown more rapidly than any other town of its age in the United States, and would have grown much faster if we could have procured building materials. In October, 1835, the first lots were sold. There were then only three cabins in the town and not more than half a dozen persons. In one year from that time two hundred buildings were erected and we had a population of twelve hundred souls. About $30,000 have been expended in grading streets and making other public improvements. The society here is good—the people are principally from New York and the states East of it. Many are from Canada. They all possess the enterprising, go-a-head spirit of the New Englanders. The country has not kept pace with the town in its onward march for the land belongs to the government and cannot be purchased until the president of the United States sees fit to bring it into market. However, many people have taken possession of these lands with the intention of purchasing whenever they are brought into the market, and in this way we have many fine farms. In our immediate vicinity the land is covered with a dense forest—the timber of which is said by our ship carpenters (for we have several vessels on the stocks, besides one steamboat which is now launched, and therefore we have ship carpenters) to be much more solid and firm in its texture than the timbers of the Eastern states. But as we travel into the interior we find first the 'openings' and finally the 'prairie' at a distance varying (according to direction) from ten to twenty miles. It is believed that a canal forty miles long will connect us

with the Rock River and thence with the lead and copper mine district between the river and the Mississippi, as well as with the whole immense valley of the father of rivers. I shall start out as soon as our snow is gone and the weather permits to make an exploration of the route of this canal.

"September 27: Our town is not improving as much this summer as last, but I think as much as any other town of its size in the United States. Money is scarce, provisions scarce and dear, at least some kinds. We feel the pressure of the times here in the woods, very little doing in the way of improvements. In fact Milwaukee begins to be a dull place and will have to jog along at the rate of other towns. There is no doubt, however, that it is a valuable location and will sustain itself through these hard times. It is the natural port of entry for a large portion of Wisconsin, embracing some of her most valuable lands."

As "special correspondence," under the date of Watertown, Wis., November 30, the issue of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* for December 1, 1901, contained the following:

"The first white woman of whom any record is had who settled in Milwaukee now resides in the town of Emmet, four miles north of this city. Although in her eighty-ninth year, she still possesses her faculties to a remarkable degree. She is Mrs. J. Carley, and came to Milwaukee in 1834. She resides with her son-in-law, Harvey Warriner. Mrs. Carley's maiden name was Warriner, and she was born in Paris, New York, in 1813. When eighteen years of age she was married to Mr. Carley at Brownwell, New York, and they moved to Ohio, where they resided a short time. They came West, traveling by water to Chicago, which place they reached in the fall of 1833. When asked about her recollections of Chicago at the time, she stated that it was but a hamlet, her most striking recollection being of seeing soldiers and a fort. She also remembers that many log and frame houses were built at Chicago that fall and winter upon which her husband worked.

"In the spring of 1834, however, they decided to go farther north, and, as there was not even a road through the wilderness, decided to reach Milwaukee by boat. They built a scow and started on their journey. The boat, which contained six persons, was propelled by oars and poled along near the shore. Many

times when the weather was bad they were compelled to pull the boat on shore and wait until the storm subsided. The voyage was a tedious one, and occupied several days, but at last they reached Milwaukee without any mishap.

"Mrs. Carley says her recollection of the place at that time is that there were two houses, built of logs, in one of which Solomon Juneau lived and conducted a trading store. The land was low and marshy on one side and hilly on the other, the ground being covered with a dense growth of trees. When the party arrived at Milwaukee her husband secured work in a sawmill. Among the persons who were there at the time she mentions Rodney J. Currier, Andrew Lansing, and men named Bean, Ennis, Blair and Thompson.

"Mr. Walker built a little trading store on what was then called 'the Island,' and traded with Indians, of whom there were many in the vicinity. During 1834, she says, Solomon Juneau was away most of the time, but she saw him frequently during the next year. There was no means of crossing the river except with the aid of a scow made of logs, and, with the exception of herself, there was no white woman in the place. She and her husband left Milwaukee in the fall of 1835 and went to Root River, near Racine, where Mr. Carley found work, a sawmill being erected there. In 1836 her husband engaged in sailing on Lake Michigan, but the boat of which he was master was wrecked. They resided at Root River till 1844, when they came to Watertown. Her husband went to Texas in 1848, and was never heard of again, and she took up her residence with her son-in-law, Harvey Warriner, in Emmet, and has lived there since."

Mrs. Angeline (Brown) Hill was the mother of Dr. Warren B. Hill, who in association with Dr. W. H. Earles organized Milwaukee Medical College, which became the nucleus of the Medical Department of Marquette University. She arrived in Milwaukee early in 1835, at the age of eight, growing up with the city. Her father, who had come from Chicago with Horace Chase and Samuel Brown in December of the preceding year, had bought from a French settler the latter's claim to a tract on the West Side with a shack upon it and then returned to Chicago for his family, which included the little girl and her step-mother, Mr. Brown's second wife. In 1845 Angeline married Avery Hill, who like her

father was a building contractor and an upstanding citizen. Mr. Hill died in 1863, leaving his widow with five children, the youngest being the future physician, then an infant only two years of age. In 1902, when she was seventy-five, Mrs. Hill narrated as follows some of her experiences in infant Milwaukee:

"We started from Chicago early Monday morning, and late Saturday night got to Chase's Point, the claim taken up by Horace Chase. My father, being a strict Sabbatarian, would not go further till Monday, and remained over Sunday at Chase's shack. Chase's Point was down where Bay View now is, somewhat south of Jones Island. Monday morning we sailed up the river on a scow. The Frenchman of whom father had bought the claim built a shack a little west of the present site of the Schlitz brewery. We tied the scow at a point on the river bank opposite the house. Never shall I forget the first glimpse of my home. Father had sent one of his men ahead with money to purchase provisions at Juneau's store, but the man had bought a barrel of whisky with the money, and a large number of Indians had responded to his invitation to take in the liquor. They were all inside the shack when warning was given that we were coming up the river. The bank was very steep at that point, and as the Indians, dazed with the whisky, rushed out of the shack they made a grand rush for their canoes which were drawn up on the bank. They ran so fast and were so unsteady on their legs that when they came to the bank they lost their footing and rolled and tumbled helter-skelter into the water. Was I scarced? Oh, no. You see I had been in Chicago before coming here, and was used to the Indians.

"My first impressions of Milwaukee were not very pleasing. All the land which is now the Third, Fourth and Second wards was a swamp. On the east side of the river, where the First and Seventh wards now are, there was a sandy sloping bank, with trees further back. Over to the northwest, where are now the Ninth and Nineteenth wards, there were tamarack swamps, while away in the distance in every direction were the oak openings for which the Wisconsin of that day was noted. The only houses were the shacks or huts in which the half-breeds lived. The only store was that kept by Solomon Juneau, and there was no church, no schoolhouse, no bridge and no harbor, except the natural one."

Of her school days, Mrs. Hill said: "The first school I

attended was kept by a man named Worthington in the Cottage Inn, which stood in what is now the vicinity of Michigan and Milwaukee streets. We crossed the river in a boat, for there was no bridge at that time. I went only two days, for the little half-breed children swore at me so that I was afraid to go. I do not know whether I ever went to school in a regular schoolhouse. For several years the schools were kept in private homes, and I attended them there."

Mrs. Hill's stepmother was the first white woman to bake bread in Milwaukee. At one time her disinclination to reward admirers of this product of her skill came near producing a riot. She had just finished a large baking, and some Indians who were passing came in and demanded that it be turned over to them. Mrs. Brown stood between the Indians and the inner room where the bread was, and, with assumed carelessness, began "paddling" in a boiler of hot water that stood upon the stove. At every flirt of the paddle with which she was stirring the clothes in the boiler, drops of scalding water spattered on the Indians, who tired of that sort of thing and beat a retreat.

The shack which formed the first home of Deacon Brown's family was what its name implies. Its floor was on the ground. Its only window was a hole in the wall, and its door a roughly-hewn piece of lumber set against another opening in the wall when the family wished to keep out the rain. The father made the first beds by driving staples into the walls and laying boards across them. A rude trundle bed was improvised of rough boards into which the children were put, and in day time these were shoved under the larger bed of the parents. The hired men whom Mr. Brown had brought with him wrapped themselves up in Indian blankets and slept upon the floor. In the fall this hut was replaced by a small frame house containing a living room, a bedroom and an attic. This house burned down in 1837 while Deacon Brown and his wife were visiting their old home in Massachusetts. Mrs. Hill, even at that time, possessed the coolness and energy by which she was later distinguished. She had been left with her grandmother and an aunt, and her father had charged them all with the care of a small trunk containing valuable papers. When the house caught fire the little girl of ten was the only one to remember the injunction. Seizing the trunk she exerted all her

small strength to drag it into the yard, where she calmly sat down upon it and watched the destruction of the home.

Upon Deacon Brown's return from the East he rebuilt this house, but a short time later, finding himself unable to hold his claim, which had been covered by a "float," removed to a farm which he had bought in the western part of the town. There, at what later became the corner of Sixteenth Street and Fond du Lac Avenue, he built a large and comfortable house for that day, in which was born his son, Thomas H. Brown, who lived to become mayor of Milwaukee.

The aunt who was with Mrs. Hill at the time of the fire that destroyed her early home, was Mrs. Daniel Brown, who with her husband had come to Milwaukee a few days after the arrival of Samuel Brown. Both were religious men, and remembered for having participated in making arrangements for some of the first gatherings of Protestant worshipers which were held in the infancy of the settlement. At the age of ninety-three this venerable survivor of Milwaukee's beginnings recalled the following interesting incident:

"Solomon Juneau was a Catholic. Broad enough to help all forms of worship, he offered the use of his store, the only large building in the place, to the Brown brothers for a Protestant service. The Rev. Mr. Barber, a Presbyterian minister who was traveling through the West, preached in this store at one of the earliest Protestant services in Milwaukee. Solomon Juneau and Mrs. Juneau, together with twenty-five or thirty Indians were among those present. The service was unfamiliar to the Indians, and they became restless and noisy. Juneau, who was very tall and strong, and who ruled the Indians with an iron hand, rose from his seat and calmly threw them out of doors, one by one. When he had ejected the last one, he resumed his seat and signed to the astonished preached to go on with the service. Mrs. Brown adds that the Milwaukee Indians never disturbed another religious service after that."

Two other brothers Brown, unrelated to Samuel and Daniel, were early arrivals in Milwaukee. These Browns, or Brownes—it is a happy thing when all the differences in a family are confined to the matter of spelling its name—were natives of Granville, New York, where Jonathan, the eldest of thirteen, was born

during the progress of the War of 1812. At the age of twenty-one he came West, making most of his way on foot. At the banquet of Pioneers and Old Settlers on February 22, 1886, one of the speakers was Charles E. Browne of Chicago, brother of Jonathan Brown of the Town of Granville in Milwaukee County. In the month of February, 1835, Charles E. Browne and Jonathan Brown journeyed on foot from Chicago to Milwaukee. In his address at the banquet Mr. Browne observed:

"I had been engaged for some eight months previously in teaching school. After spending a few days looking about in Milwaukee, my brother and I pitched our tents in the unbroken forests in the town of Granville—the first and at that time the only inhabitants in the town. After erecting a temporary shanty, I left him solitary and alone and returned to Chicago, to procure such articles for our comfort as we could not find in Milwaukee. On my return some two weeks later, owing to a heavy fall of snow, which covered up the Indian trail that ran within a mile of our location, I was lost two days and one night in the woods. Then the sun made its appearance and gave me the points of the compass. I found my brother as glad to see me as I was to see him, for he was on his last rations. We cleared the first ground and raised the first potatoes in the town, or rather my brother did. After planting the potatoes the mosquitoes came upon us in such numbers that I thought our lives were in jeopardy. Thinking that one of us at least ought to be saved, as we were the only representatives of our family in the West, I sold my share of the potatoes to my brother, came to town and was engaged as a clerk by an old gentleman named James Ghenny, who kept a small variety of goods in a board shanty on East Water Street. My brother remained in the woods during the summer and raised 300 bushels of potatoes, selling them for $300 in cash, the first, I believe, ever sold in Milwaukee which were raised in this State. He still lives in Granville, the name given to the town by us after the town in Washington County, New York, in which we were born. After spending the best thirty years of my life among you I returned to Chicago, but I have never lost my interest in Milwaukee. There was one act of the citizens of Milwaukee toward Chicago of which I was particularly proud. When that city, in all her pride and glory, was reduced to ashes, and her citizens,

homeless and penniless, were driven out upon the prairie without food, Milwaukee came to her relief, sending the first carload of provisions that arrived."

Jonathan Brown had less than a dollar in his pocket when he and his brother reached Milwaukee in 1835. Spending part of this for bread and the rest for pork, he and Charles went on into the wilderness for the purpose of staking a claim, and this was effected within the present town of Granville, to which he gave its name in honor of his old New York home. At Granville he remained until he reached an advanced age, when he moved in to Milwaukee, which had become the home of his daughter, Miss Abbie Brown, well remembered as the founder of a successful School of Business. When he celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday, in March, 1898, he received hearty good wishes from members of the Old Settlers' Club, many of whom were numbered among his long-time personal friends. Indulging in reminiscence, he observed that while his log cabin at Granville was in process of erection he and his brother slept in the open air, a bundle of brush serving for a pillow. During the first season he not only raised the potatoes he disposed of so profitably to the early settlers of Milwaukee, but a sufficiency for his own use, and completed a clearing of considerable extent. Wolves and Indians were his only neighbors for a time, but they never harmed him or his. Mr. Brown was of a cheerful disposition, and remarked that the howling of wolves is no more injurious than the chirp of crickets. As for the Indians, they were peaceably disposed, and the latch-string of his cabin was always out for red men desiring quarters for the night when storms were sweeping through the woods. In course of time he traded his quarter-section for a farm in the near vicinity which had been put into a state of higher cultivation than was usual at that early stage of agricultural development in Wisconsin.

Joe Slidell, a carpenter, who had come from Detroit and obtained employment on Kilbourn's side of the river, wrote to his wife under date of the 9th of June, 1836, and the letter has survived the vicissitudes of time. It gives a vivid picture of the situation in the rising village, from the point of view of an enthusiastic West Sider. It also throws an interesting light upon the

methods by which Solomon Juneau maintained his ascendancy over the Indians, and therefore is quoted at length:

"I am now pretty comfortably situated on the west side of the Milwaukee River, the side the town will be on. I have got part of the roof on the house. As I have told you before, this is going to be a thriving village, and that pretty soon, judging by the way folks begin to come in.

"Mr. Juneau, who lives on the other side, said to me only yesterday while I was doing a job for him, that in two years there would be three hundred houses built. This is good news for me, and I guess can be relied on. Juneau is a fine man. He owns about all there is of the East Side. He has a trading-house, as I believe I told you. While I was fixing his shelving for him, there came in three Indians to trade. One of them was a fierce fellow, and did a great deal of jawing. As I made out afterwards, it was about a blanket, which he said the clerk had cheated him with. The clerk laughed at him, which made him worse. He opened the blanket, that he had twisted around his shoulders, though the weather was hot enough to roast eggs, and pointed to where it was torn. The clerk said something in the Indian tongue that made the savage tearing mad. He caught up one of the hatchets which were kept for sale, and made for the clerk, who jumped over the counter and ran. I felt a little nervous myself. Just then Juneau came in. He went straight up to the savage, whom he called 'Bill,' stroking him on the cheek in a playful way, when the Indian put down the hatchet and appeared to cool off very quick. Thinks I, 'If I were as big as you are, Mr. Juneau, I'd pitch him out-doors neck-and-heels.' But the Frenchman understands these redskins better than I do. When the three were going out, he took down a heavy Mackinac blanket and threw it over the head of the cross savage, who pulled it down under his arm. Not one of the three said a word, though the present was a handsome one. But that's their way.

"These Indians are a rascally set of cheats. Not long ago one of them brought in a lot of smoked chickens and sold them to a newcomer for prairie-hens. They were a neighbor's chickens, that had been stolen a few nights before, and fixed up to make them look wild. You needn't let the Indians frighten you, though, for, except stealing, they never trouble the white folks."

George Pinckney was a brother-in-law of Slidell, by whose ardent praise of Milwaukee he had been induced to come from Detroit. His views on arrival were the reverse of those entertained by Slidell, and he unburdened himself in a letter to his sister, which she preserved along with the epistle from her husband. Pinckney's letter was as follows:

"Joe has got me out here, and here I am, and a more miserable, God-forsaken place I never saw. The town—or what there is of it—is right in the middle of a swamp. You can't go half a mile in any direction without getting into water. It's a deep mud-hole all over. The river is a great thing, I expect, but when you have to paddle over it three or four times a day in a dug-out, it's a nuisance. Joe has got his house away out beyond the swamp, where the wolves can get over the fence, and the town can never reach him. But there's no use in my saying anything to him. He's in love with the place, and you'll have to come; though if I had my way, I'd rather have you stay in old Detroit, where I wish I was now."

There was living at Trempealeau, Wisconsin in the early part of 1900 a man who claimed the distinction of being the first white boy whose feet ever trod the soil of Milwaukee. He was Charles J. Cleveland, born at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., November 18, 1823. When he was still an infant his parents were seized with the emigration fever, and removed at first to Canada and then to the western portion of the United States, landing at Chicago in October, 1833, at the time when the Sacs and Foxes, after the conclusion of the Black Hawk war, were receiving the first of the payments due them under the treaty of peace. There were 4,000 Indians at Chicago at that time, and only a few scattering whites. The senior Cleveland, whose name was Henry, was one of a party engaged to cut a road from Chicago to Milwaukee. Others of the group being Quartus G. Carley, Andrew Lansing and Rodney J. Currier. They were provided with ox teams and axes. A stretch of twenty-five miles of heavily wooded land was the most serious obstacle which they encountered, and they opened the first highway between the two great cities of the future on the western bank of Lake Michigan.

Reaching his destination, Mr. Cleveland entered a claim for land on the west side of the Milwaukee River, and then returned

to Chicago, coming back to Milwaukee with his family in the spring of 1835. It was then that Charles J. Cleveland arrived, a youth in his twelfth year, old enough to work, it seems, for he secured employment in a sawmill. In later life, describing his first impressions, he said that all he could see on landing was Indians, except the white people who had come on the schooner that brought him from Chicago. His duty consisted in performing chores about the mill and running errands down to Solomon Juneau's store. For recreation, his only recourse was playing with Indian boys and riding in their canoes.

Cleveland's father and uncle were engaged to get out the timber for Juneau's first frame residence, which was built in May, 1835. When this had been accomplished, Charles assisted his elders in working on the erection of the building. A vast assemblage of Indians was attracted by the unusual spectacle. Describing the scene, Mr. Cleveland observed, "They were of both sexes and all ages—first a row of pappooses, behind these a row of squaws, and bucks in the background of the circle. All were greatly amazed at what they saw, but not one of them could be induced to help in the work. When asked to take part, they would shrug their shoulders and exclaim, 'Ugh!' I thought them as worthless an outfit as existed anywhere on earth."

Mr. Cleveland's narrative went on to state that his father and uncle were prevented from acquiring title to the land his father had picked out in 1833, by Byron Kilbourn, who had bought up all the floating claims he could procure, and used them to secure the Cleveland claim and others. "Rather than engage in litigation," said Mr. Cleveland, "the Clevelands gave up their titles and moved to Pike's Grove, thirty miles from Milwaukee—with one exception, Harry Cleveland, who declined to surrender his rights. There was litigation in which the Land Office at Washington took a hand, and which was finally compromised by Kilbourn giving him a deed to eight acres of ground opposite to Juneau's, about on the site afterward occupied by the Plankinton House. He held that land until it became valuable, and then sold it to a Mr. Brown for $26,000, Brown having borrowed the money to make the purchase. Then came the panic of 1837 and the hard times. Unable to repay his creditors, Brown went into insolvency, lost his mind and died."

On the 1st of July, 1835, Charles Cleveland set forth on foot to join his father at Pike's Grove. At Walker's Point he was given shelter over night by Isaac P. Walker, brother of George H. Walker and afterward one of the first United States senators from Wisconsin. Resuming his journey on the following day, the boy made his way to Pike's Grove and his father. Tiring of Wisconsin, the father in 1841 took his family to Texas, coming back to Wisconsin however in 1844.

In 1849, at Belvidere, Illinois, young Cleveland was married. He went to La Crosse and afterward to Black River Falls and still later to Neillsville, where he built the first house. After 1857 his residence was in the neighborhood of Trempealeau, except while he was soldiering in the Civil war as a private in the Forty-sixth Wisconsin.

The first white child born in Milwaukee who was not wholly or partly of Indian extraction was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. U. B. Smith, and came into the world on the 10th of October, 1835, at the home of her parents, which was on the east side of East Water Street, in the block between Wisconsin and Michigan streets. On her marriage she became Mrs. Hockelberg. She died in California, on the 23d of September, 1908. The second white child born in Milwaukee was the son of Mr. and Mrs. William Sivyer, who then lived in the next block north, on the west side of the street. As the first white boy born in Milwaukee, his parents had him christened "Charles Milwaukee." Bronze tablets have been affixed to the buildings now occupying the spots on which these earliest native white Milwaukeeans obtained their initial glimpses of mundane surroundings. At the "open house" meeting of the Old Settlers' Club on the 1st of January, 1909, Charles Milwaukee Sivyer read a biography of Mrs. Milwaukee Smith Hockelberg containing a picture of living conditions in Milwaukee while he and she were children. This portion of his interesting paper is here reproduced:

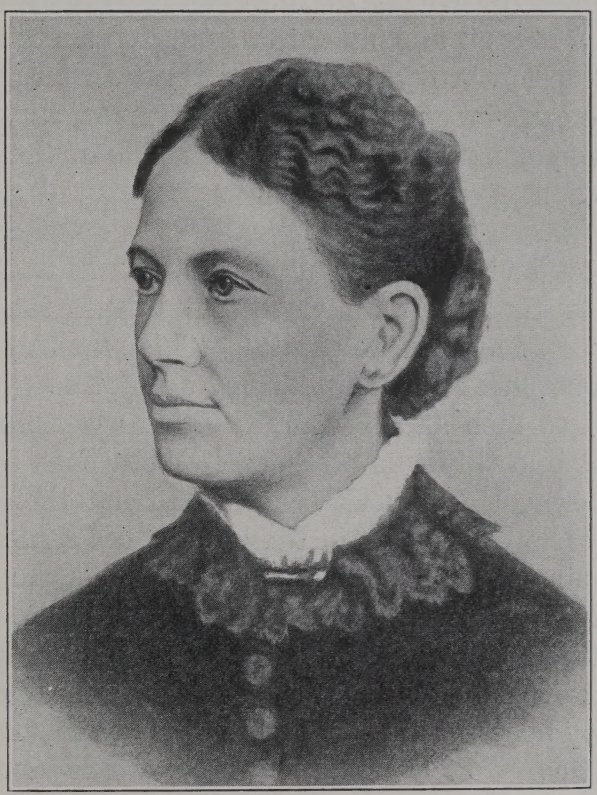
"Uriel B. Smith, a native of Vesper, N. Y., then a young man of twenty-one, came to Milwaukee from Massachusetts with his bride in the spring of 1835, settling temporarily on a slope which was afterward a part of the Joel Wilcox farm, near the outlet to the Milwaukee River. As he was a tailor, he deemed it wise to locate near the business center of the hamlet, which was then at

East Water and Wisconsin streets. He selected a site on the east side of East Water Street, about midway between Wisconsin and Michigan streets, upon which he built a small house that served him as a home and workshop.

"The demand was good for fur and blanket overcoats. His stock of cloths was also made up and sold before navigation was renewed. In fact, all the stocks of the small stores, including Juneau's, were depleted long before spring set in, leaving little to be dealt out but cornmeal and perhaps small lots of dry salt pork that had been brought from Indiana by Hoosiers in wagons hauled by oxen. Besides these things the settler would find at one or another of the stores a few tin cups, tin plates and spoons and iron knives and forks.

"There were but few log or board cabins in the place, and these were mostly far apart, some on squatters' claims, making visits impossible, owing to the depredations of the Indians whenever a cabin was left unguarded. For a while the village remained nearly in a state of nature. The paths or trails wound around stumps and trees. Little of the underbrush had been cut away, and there were but few evidences that ox teams had cut into the trails. As for large American horses, there were but few if any, though Indians with ponies daily moved in and out of the place from their camps in the timber near by, their wigwams usually being in groves on the banks of the Milwaukee and Menomonee rivers.

"The houses in which the first two white children were born cost less than a hundred dollars each, and some of our neighbors' cabins hardly half of that amount. We had a floor, and they had none, using defective, unsalable furs to walk on. Some of the houses had no glass whatever, the light coming from the door when it was open and from the fireplace when the door was closed. Stoves were scarce. Few people had one of them. Logs dragged to the cabins by ponies or oxen were converted into fuel. The settlers of 1835 and 1836 nearly all built their houses near the river, and used its clear, pure water for all purposes. There was an abundance of material for the rather primitive houses of our earliest pioneers. They could cut tamarack trees and poles in the densely-studded swamp where the Auditorium is now being erected. Having cut such timber as they needed they dragged it



MRS. MILWAUKEE SMITH HOCKELBERG

First white child born in Milwaukee, October 10, 1835.

to the river and with the aid of canoes pushed their rafts over to the east side of the stream. In winter the logs and poles were hauled over the ice.

"Juneau's store was located at the corner below my birthplace and Breed's store across the street, south of it. Both were stocked with such things only as people had to have, whisky included. Juneau kept a raft in the water at the rear of his store, which served as a dock or wharf for landing passengers and freight from the small boats that came into the river from the lake. When the stream was low a boat exceeding three feet in draft would ground in the channel at the mouth of the river, as well as in the mud and weeds at many points on either side of the stream. At several places along the river log rafts served as docks for landing.

"The first school that Milwaukee Smith and I attended was in the courthouse, then the most costly building in the territory of Wisconsin erected by private capital. This was in 1843-4, when we were but seven and eight years of age. The teaching force consisted of two men and a woman. There was but one school in the village, and this was attended by both boys and girls. It was a select school, as public schools had not then been established. The girls wore boots in the winter, the same as the boys, and broke their trails through the snow just as the boys did. I used to draw Milwaukee Smith to and from school on my little hand-sled. With the other children, we played on the ice of the pond in front of the courthouse, where the fountain is now, and sailed little toy boats in the same pond during the summer."

In 1887, George P. Delaplaine, an early resident of Milwaukee, who later established himself at Madison, of which place he became a leading resident, recalled his early Milwaukee experiences at the request of Secretary Ruben G. Thwaites, and the latter recorded them, as nearly as possible in the language of Mr. Delaplaine, in Volume IX. of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The portion most likely to be of general interest is as follows:

"I left Cincinnati in December, 1835, then a lad, in the company of Garret Vliet, a well-known surveyor, who was coming to Wisconsin on service for the Government. We went to Milwaukee overland, via Terre Haute and Chicago.

"After spending the winter with Captain Vliet, chiefly in surveying around the Oconomowoc lakes, I returned to Milwaukee in the spring of 1836, and entered the employ of Solomon Juneau as a clerk. Juneau's store at this time was on the northeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Soon after my engaging with him, he sold out that plant to a Mr. Prentiss and moved to the West Side, on West Water Street, near Spring Street, the new establishment being known as Juneau's 'yellow storehouse.' I was then placed in charge of the store, in which I slept, though I had my meals with the Juneau family, their dwelling being a nice, large two-story house.

"There were always a good many Indians around Juneau's establishment. He had a rather domineering way with them, but they appeared to hold him in high esteem and to regard his word as law. They called him 'Solomo,' the nearest approach they could make to Solomon. The relations between Juneau and the Indians were of a decidedly fraternal character, despite his top-lofty manner toward them, and the severe lectures which he administered to those who were habitually tipsy. Juneau was six feet tall, well-framed, and fine-looking, with expressive eyes—a perfect Adonis. He had curly black hair, and was a man of imposing presence. His wife, a half-breed, was a very excellent woman, and their home, of which I saw a great deal, possessed quite as many comforts as those of their English and American neighbors. He had generally to entertain Indians with a free hand; and almost every night, in the trading season, there were at least half a dozen camped out on the floors of his living rooms. When parties of Indians would come in to Milwaukee to trade, it was no uncommon experience to have all the squaws quartered in the Juneau parlor, while the bucks camped just outside the settlement, say a block or two up the river. Juneau was an unworldly, confiding man, and land speculators frequently took advantage of him, obtaining parcels of his land in Milwaukee in return for deeds in various fictitious 'paper' towns throughout the new territory. Upon leaving Juneau, I went to clerk for Lindsey Ward, in his general store, on East Water a few doors below Wisconsin Street, and there I staid until I came to Madison, where I arrived June 2, 1838.

"I have distinct impressions of La Tendre, a half-breed who

had once been a voyageur but was now a runner, being occasionally employed in that capacity by Juneau. He was a bright-looking, active, but not very intelligent, although Juneau trusted him implicitly, often giving him heavy loads of specie to carry overland to Chicago. I remember that he once brought one thousand dollars' worth of specie—most of it silver—all the way from Fort Dearborn, Chicago. It weighed sixty pounds, and was not a burden that could well be distributed over the body. The Indians would not take bank bills, hence the necessity for this large mass of coin. I think that some of the money was used in paying Government annuities to the Indians, it being sent to Juneau for distribution, the rest of the specie consignment being used in Juneau's fur trade. La Tendre's method of running was to hold up both hands close to his shoulders and go at a dog-trot. In this way he is said to have averaged forty miles per day.

"Jacques Vieau, a brother of Andrew, was another familiar character of those days. He was a voyageur, and had done some trading with the Indians, but at the period at which I knew him he did not appear to me to have any business. He was then a well-dressed, fine-looking fellow, some forty-four years of age, and was in and out of Juneau's a good deal, being Juneau's brother-in-law."

John B. Merrill, who for many years was prominently identified with the marine interests of Milwaukee, came here with his parents as a youth of twelve, in the year 1837, and fifty years later said:

"In 1835 we left Jefferson County, New York, intending to come through to Milwaukee, but on reaching Cleveland we heard so much about the wild Indians out this way that we settled in Cleveland, where we remained two years. In 1837 our family of seven again started for Milwaukee, with two teams, to make the trip overland. We passed through Chicago, which was no larger than Milwaukee then. It was a September morning when we reached Walker's Point. There were no bridges crossing the river, and father and myself crossed on a ferry. He came up town to find a house, but houses were scarce at that time. East Water Street had just been filled in, having been a marsh along the river, which was then only about forty feet wide. With changes of wind the river used to overflow, the water coming up

to East Water Street. In front of Solomon Juneau's residence, on the present site of the Mitchell Bank Building, there were two bears performing on poles. I remember that as clearly as if it was yesterday, for I was afraid of bears, being then only twelve years of age.

"We dropped in at the Cottage Inn, in the same block. We heard that a Mr. Sanborn had built himself a new log house and that we could probably rent his old one, which was out toward where the Soldiers' Home now is. The owner had removed every door and window of the old house, and had even taken up the floor to put into his new building. It was the best father could do, however, and he rented it. Our furniture came around the lake from Cleveland, and we settled down in the old log house, living there for a month, until we could do better. Then we moved into a house at the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, opposite the residence of Byron Kilbourn. In 1838 father opened a tavern on the river bank, then about twelve feet high, where Ferry Street now is.

"Many of the early settlers stopped at father's tavern. Most of them came here by vessels, which dropped anchor in the bay, the river not being navigable at that time, except for very small vessels. I do not mean to convey the impression that the vessels obliged to anchor in the bay were large compared with the lake craft of today. Those arriving from the lower lake ports were laden with immigrants. I have seen vessels coming into the bay so crowded with passengers and baggage that chairs were lashed high in the rigging. Many of the pioneers of Chicago were on those vessels, which went on to that port after partly unloading here. The passengers destined for Milwaukee were brought into the harbor through the old entrance near the present location of the rolling mills dock, on small steamers which landed them at docks along the river, of which there were half a dozen.

"Many of those early-day immigrants settled here, but more of them went farther, taking up land in the interior of the State. The only road into the country was the Prairieville (Waukesha) trail, cut through the woods. The travel was all by wagon, a team and man costing five dollars a day. Some of the arrivals were very poor, not possessing the two hundred dollars necessary to pay for a quarter-section of land. But they were supplied with

money by agents who came here from the East, all of whom became rich by charging exorbitant rates of interest. For instance, when a poor man wanted to borrow two hundred dollars to secure his land, they furnished it, but demanded a mortgage or bond for four hundred dollars—double the amount of the principal—and charged twenty-five per cent a year interest on the entire four hundred dollars. When it came to a settlement they exacted the whole four hundred dollars named in the mortgage or bond. The farmers always submitted to the exaction—at least I never heard of one of them defaulting."

The following record of his recollections of early Milwaukee was made by Matthew Keenan in December, 1894. He grew up in the city and was an important contributor to its development. His death occurred on the 20th of August, 1898:

"I came to Milwaukee while I was in my thirteenth year, early in June, 1837. The same month the *Sentinel* made its appearance as a weekly, having been started by Solomon Juneau. I remember the first editor of the *Sentinel*, John O'Rourke. He was taken sick shortly after and was cared for in Juneau's house, then located on the site of the Mitchell Building. I saw him there during his illness. He was a young man without a family, and his death was an occasion of much regret to Juneau. In 1844, when the *Sentinel* was turned into a daily, I was about twenty years old, and was employed as a clerk in J. A. Arnold's store, south of the present Houghton Bank Building. Next door south from our store was James Kneeland's store, and the *Sentinel* was published in the same locality. The Wisconsin Marine Bank was then located on Wisconsin Street, just east of the alley. The post office was in the same locality and the postmaster in 1844 was J. A. Noonan. Ludington's store was at the corner on the site of the Pabst Block. Abner Kirby kept a jewelry store on the opposite corner, and Christian Preusser had his store on the same side of the street, nearer to Mason Street. Jefferson Street was then opened, but not graded. East, Water, Wisconsin and Huron streets were then the principal streets on the East Side. Spring Street existed only for about a block and a half, north of that being a swamp and the way to the west being stopped by a high bluff. But one could go up Chestnut Street, and Winnebago Street was already quite a thoroughfare. The only way to

Waukesha was by way of these two streets. A high bluff filled the space on the East Side where the American Express Building now stands, and there was a high bluff about where the *Sentinel* Building is now. The old Land Office was located on Main Street (Broadway) about where the Conro Block is at present. J. Albert Helfenstein was the register of the Land Office and Paraclete Potter was the receiver. This Mr. Potter was the father-in-law of Hans Crocker. The Land Office was then about the busiest place in town. There was no mayor then. The city was not yet incorporated. In those days we could not imagine Milwaukee would ever attain its present proportions."

On the same schooner that brought John O'Rourke to Milwaukee with his press and printing outfit to start the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, leaving Buffalo in May, 1837, was Calvin Trowbridge, with most of his family, including his young son John, who, on arriving here, went to work as "devil" in O'Rourke's office, together with two printers named Chubbock and Crowfoot, whom Mr. O'Rourke had engaged in the East, and who were companions of the voyage. William S. Trowbridge, whose work as a surveyor is familiar to students of early Milwaukee, was a son of Calvin Trowbridge, and had come to Milwaukee in 1836, purchasing the claim on which his father was to settle from a French squatter who had built a log shanty but had taken no steps toward acquiring ownership. Another son of Calvin, Martin L. Trowbridge, had followed his brother to Milwaukee in 1836 and begun the work of making a clearing. While thus engaged, he had cut himself with an ax, starting at once for the nearest neighbor's, but fainted on the way from loss of blood. Fortunately the neighbor had found the youth and cared for him. On the following morning, when the neighbor went to retrieve the ax, he found in the snow the tracks of a gray wolf which had followed in the footsteps of young Trowbridge, attracted by the scent of gore. One of the daughters of Calvin Trowbridge was Margaret, who later became Mrs. Souther, and who said:

"When we settled here, a circle of bachelors had taken up claims around the section. They were separated by woodland, and it was not easy to go from one house to another. It was the custom among them just at dark to inform one another of their mutual welfare by giving a loud whoop. One would start it and

the next and then one of the others would follow, each in his turn. If any of the neighbors neglected to whoop it was taken for granted that something was wrong, and investigation would follow. The gray wolves were numerous in 1837. At Wauwatosa a woman was killed and eaten by the beasts. She had started to go home after dark, and only her bones were found afterward. It was no uncommon thing to hear wolves howling and see them come up to the edge of the clearing looking for food. Indians were numerous in the neighborhood, but the Indians were quite harmless."

Another daughter was Nancy Elizabeth Trowbridge, who became a teacher, and who lived on the old place till the end of her life, occupying a frame house which on the advent of streets and numbers in the vicinity came to be known as 579 Thirty-third Avenue. Not long before her death, which occurred at her home, on the 6th of May, 1913, she made the following interesting contribution to the history of what has become an important section of Milwaukee:

"An early settler [on the Indian fields] was a Mr. Landon, whose daughter married Captain Sanderson. Mr. Landon afterward sold to Mr. Layton, the father of Frederick Layton. Mr. Merrill owned a farm near by which he bought from the Government. Forest Home Cemetery then was an extensive wood. The residence of a Mr. Pauff and the O'Neill distillery were not far away.

"When my father settled here in 1837 the road from Walker's Point was through an unbroken forest all the way, this forest extending far to the west. The Fifth Ward flats were full of water as far as the Hanover Street bluff, along which the roadway ran to town. Opposite the site of St. John's Church was the Childs House, a hotel ['Childs, Mrs., boarding house, Hanover above Virginia'—McCabe's Directory, 1847.] Between that place and ours the only house was a bakery, which was between First Avenue and Hanover Street. Our nearest neighbor at first was Samuel Sanborn, who lived near the Menomonee River. Afterward he moved southward and kept a hotel near the National Avenue road. For many years after his departure a well which he built for the benefit of the public stood out near the sidewalk, indicating the old locality of the hotel. Mr. San-

born was essentially a pioneer, and as soon as people began to come to Milwaukee in large numbers he moved away, going first to the Bark River in the Town of Summit, but not remaining there very long.

"In 1839 Alanson Sweet built the house on National Avenue afterward called Orchard Home. It was not till several years after our arrival that Hiram Mabbett built the suburban residence standing next east of the Soldiers' Home on National Avenue. On the Soldiers' Home tract stood two log houses, one occupied by a pioneer named Watrous and the other by George and Henry West. Our neighbor on the east was Merrick Palmer, who had taken up Government land on his arrival in 1834. In the '40s he built a log house there which was afterward taken down. In 1849, at the time of the gold excitement, Mr. Palmer sold out and went to California. He was a man of enormous physical strength. It was said that when getting out tamarack timbers he would hitch a team of oxen to one timber, taking a similar one on his shoulder and getting it out as quickly as the oxen would manage the other.

"About a year after my father's arrival David Hollister built the colonial residence on National Avenue which for some time afterward was known as the Captain Cotton house. Mr. Hollister was a large property owner on the south side of the river. He afterward moved to Utah. The house was built and set up in Sheboygan, brought here in pieces on scows and set up by Mr. Hollister, who owned a farm north of National Avenue and west of Twenty-second Avenue. He made it his residence for several years, selling it to Charles Hastings, and the Hastings family lived there for many years. The central portion of the house, with the pillars and colonial piazza, was the oldest, the wings being added at different times. Capt. Lester H. C. Cotton lived in it only a year or two, and that was many years subsequent to its erection."

Miss Trowbridge went on to say that there were school facilities in the Town of Greenfield even in the early days, and it was on account of this that she was able to receive the benefit of schooling at the Indian fields. She added: "I began teaching in the Milwaukee public schools in the autumn of 1840. The school was opened in the old courthouse that summer, and I had

charge of the primary department, being a pupil-teacher. Professor Charles Whipple was the principal. From that time on for thirty years I taught a part of every year, either in Milwaukee or in the county outside. I was sixteen years in the Fifth and Eighth Ward schools."

March 11, 1907, Mrs. Elizabeth Maxon wrote a letter which shortly afterward was read at a meeting of the Old Settlers' Club of West Bend:

"I was born in the Village of Catskill, N. Y., February 22, 1828. My father, Peter Turck, and his family, consisting of his wife and seven children, landed at Milwaukee Bay in August, 1837. My youngest brother, Benjamin Turck, born January 24, 1839, made the family consist of eight children. When we landed no pier projected from the shore. The ship anchored in the bay and we were lowered into a yawl, the men carrying the women and children from the yawl to dry land. At that time Milwaukee seemed to have only two dry goods stores, one kept by a man named Hollister, and two small hotels, the Leland and the Belleview. My father took his family to Mequon, sixteen miles north of Milwaukee. We had no neighbors nearer than two miles. My father built the first sawmill in the vicinity of his new home. The country settled very rapidly and there was a great demand for lumber. In 1846 I was married to Densmore W. Maxon and moved with an ox team to Cedar Creek, Washington County."

Mrs. Charlotte Crawford Terhune was a daughter of General Crawford, who after steamboating on the lakes exchanged the occupation of a vessel captain for that of a tiller of the soil and passed many peaceful years in the pursuit of agriculture at Wauwatosa. In August, 1900, Mrs. Terhune gave the following interview to a reporter for the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin*:

"My mother and we three little girls left our home in the Town of Madrid, N. Y., in the summer of 1840. My father had left three years before and had a home all ready for us in Milwaukee. The only part of our trip I distinctly remember was our journey from Buffalo on the steamer *Great Western*. We anchored in beautiful Milwaukee Bay November 10, 1840, and were transferred to the shore in a small boat, landing at the foot of what is now Wisconsin Street. There was no dock—only a gang-plank thrown out to the shore. I think I was the first to

run up the hill. A ferry crossed the river at what is now Grand Avenue. For a short time after meeting my father we lived at the old American House. My father had made a claim for a quarter-section of land and commenced building a log house which was to be our home. My mother spent many lonely days, but we children enjoyed it all. My first trip to the house was made in a cart drawn by oxen.

"After running wild for a year I was placed in a church home and school kept by Miss Eleanor Hull, where I remained two years. I first went to church in the old courthouse and was confirmed in St. Paul's Church by Bishop Kemper in the spring of 1843. The Juneau children were my playmates and we felt very much at home among the Indians, who prior to this time were numerous. Often I have sat in Mr. Juneau's lap while he sang Indian songs to me.

"After my school days I taught school in the First Ward at the corner of Van Buren and Division streets; then on Huron Street, and later on Eighth Street near the present site of the public library. I then accepted a position in New York City in a young ladies' school kept by Madame O'Kills. I remained there from 1852 to 1855. While there I had many a delightful trip to West Point, where on one visit I met Charlie King, at that time a cadet, and Alfred Mahan, now an admiral.

"I returned home, and in 1856 was married. I helped my husband during the war, was secretary of the Sanitary Commission, and assisted Mrs. Colt as president. My husband died in 1868, leaving me with two sons, one daughter and two stepsons."

The name of Hans Crocker was associated with that of Alexander Mitchell in the upbuilding of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway. A native of Dublin, he came to Milwaukee in 1836 and lived here till his death in March, 1889. He had practiced law in Chicago. He was a reader of books and a ready writer. One of his first activities was that of editor of the *Advertiser* at the outset of its career. He gave this account to a reporter a short time before his death:

"When I arrived, Milwaukee had about two hundred inhabitants and there was a struggle between the inhabitants of the East and West sides as to the location of the town. The *Advertiser* represented Byron Kilbourn and his followers, who

were booming Kilbourntown. The *Sentinel* was backed by Solomon Juneau, who was the champion of the East Side forces. People flocked in from the East in large numbers, and there was a property boom in 1836, but when Andrew Jackson issued his specie circular everything went to smash. Many of the boomers went away, and in 1838 there were fewer people here than two years before. In that year, however, Harrison Ludington came here with a lot of money and the boom began again."

Mr. Crocker was associated for three years with Horatio N. Wells and Asahel Finch, withdrawing in 1839. Subsequently he formed a partnership with John H. Tweedy. Upon the establishment of the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Company by George Smith and Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Crocker became its attorney. Mr. Crocker was interested in the enterprises of Mr. Mitchell and was his confidential advisor to the end of the latter's life. As railroads began to be built, he was more closely identified with them than with anything else for many years. His business tact and acumen were proverbial. His health was poor in the concluding decade of his career. He was survived by his wife and two children, John T. Crocker, purchasing agent of the C., M. & St. P., and Mrs. J. B. Oliver. He was a public-spirited man, and did much to advance the interests of the city. Not an office seeker, he was active in politics. He was noted for his appreciation of the humorous side of life. He and Mr. Mitchell were neighbors and in almost daily intercourse for fifty years. When the bill giving lands to railroads between Milwaukee and the Mississippi River passed the Legislature in 1856, there was great jubilation in Milwaukee. Colonel Crocker brought from Madison the pen with which the measure had been signed by the governor and exhibited it at a mass meeting at Market Square. On that occasion he made the prediction that a time would come when Milwaukee would have a population of one hundred thousand.

At the annual meeting of the Milwaukee County Pioneer Association held at the Hotel Pfister February 22, 1898, B. K. Miller (Sr.) was elected president. Following the transaction of business, the pioneers to the number of twenty-eight sat down to a dinner at which there was no set programme of toasts, but the following reminiscences of early Milwaukee were related by Mr. Miller:

"My father was appointed United States judge by President Van Buren in the autumn of 1838, and he immediately proceeded to Wisconsin. He remained during that winter, and stated that he had determined to remove to Milwaukee, a village on the western shore of Lake Michigan; that there was a fine harbor at that point, and in time Milwaukee would become a large town. He had gone as far west as Madison, the capital, and found the country to be fertile. He had met a great many of the men of leading in the territory, and they were energetic and very able. In April, 1839, we left Harrisburg, Pa., for Milwaukee. This was before the days of railroads. The journey to Pittsburgh was by canal, in fast packet, and consumed four days; then by steamer three days to Portsmouth on the Ohio River; thence by canal to Cleveland, which took a week. The boats on this canal were divided into three compartments. In the forward compartment the women were located, in the second the horses, and in the third the men. There were four horses. Two rested on the boat, while the other two drew it. Mitchell, who formerly kept the Eastern Hotel, on Huron Street, was a fellow passenger from Portsmouth to Cleveland. The first steamer that reached Cleveland after we arrived there was the celebrated *Illinois*, Captain Blake.

"We started, and in five days reached Mackinaw, and two days were consumed between there and Milwaukee. The steamer anchored in the bay just off of the mouth of the river, which was half a mile south of the present harbor entrance. We were rowed ashore in a yawl boat. The wind was blowing hard from the northeast and was very cold, the sea was high, and when we reached shore we were all thoroughly drenched. Driftwood, which covered the beach, was so interlaced with the stunted pine that it was difficult for us to make our way. After hard work we reached the foot of Huron Street, where we met a lumber wagon driven by Bob Legg, which carried us to the Milwaukee House, on the northeast corner of Wisconsin Street and Broadway, kept by Daniel Wells. On that day Daniel Wells moved out and Captain Cotton moved in.

"In a few days the steamer *Constellation* came along, on its way to Green Bay, which was then the largest place in the territory. After the term of court, we waited for a steamer, and,

none coming along, we took the schooner *Nekick*, Captain Briggs, and in seven days reached Port Washington, after having been driven by storms once nearly to Mackinaw and once to the Manitoulin Islands. The passengers were my father and myself, Mortimer M. Jackson, afterward judge of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and consul to Halifax, and a stranger whose name I have forgotten. During one of these storms Judge Jackson became very despondent, and cried out frequently, 'What will become of my poor wife? What will become of her?' This stranger said, 'Oh, stop over there. She'll get another husband inside of a year!' Mrs. Jackson was a very handsome woman. Fearful, when near Port Washington, that we might be driven off again, and as my father had to be in Milwaukee next morning or the term of court would go over, the calendar having about 1,200 cases, they had the yawl let down, and my father, Mr. Jackson, the gentleman whose name I have forgotten, and one of the sailors, rowed that boat twenty-four miles to Milwaukee. The time from Green Bay to Milwaukee on that occasion was eight days.

"East Water Street then ended about where the Black store stands [south line of lot which forms the site of the Marshall & Ilsley Bank.] In the fall of 1839 the bluff was cut through and a track for a street made from East Water Street to Juneau Avenue. A track wide enough for one wagon had been made from Huron Street south to where the East Water Street bridge now is. A stream ran across the street at Detroit Street, with a small bridge across it. Spring Street [now Grand Avenue] ended opposite the present ladies' entrance to the Plankinton House, and from that point west there was a swamp with a heavy growth of tamarack. This street was opened to Sixth Street in the winter of 1839. West Water Street from Grand Avenue south was not opened through the marsh until 1841 or 1842. All of the Third Ward south of Michigan Street was a marsh and not filled for many years. I have put on my skates at the corner of Wisconsin and Van Buren streets and skated from there south to the old harbor mouth. In 1839 the forest trees were standing on Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets in front of where the post office is now, and north there was a forest, with an occasional house.

"Buck refers to the frog shower as having occurred in 1836. It occurred in 1839. The rain and the wind were very heavy one night, and in the morning the ground was covered with small green frogs one-half an inch to an inch in size. There were millions of them. I saw barrels of them shoveled out of the areas of the old Milwaukee House. By night they had all disappeared. No one could account for the phenomenon. Doctor Lapham was greatly interested in the subject. While he could foretell winds and storms, the frogs beat him.

"The United States gave alternate sections of land from Milwaukee to the Rock River for the making of a canal to be called the Milwaukee and Rock River canal. I was present when the work was begun July 4, 1839, Byron Kilbourn using the shovel. The canal was completed as far as the dam across the Milwaukee River, and then abandoned. Byron Kilbourn was the originator of the plan, and would have succeeded but for the opposition of Milwaukee men. Mr. Kilbourn has never received the recognition from the people of Milwaukee that he deserved. In addition to the canal, he was the originator of the building of the railroad to Prairie du Chien, to Galena, to La Crosse, to Berlin and to Fond du Lac. He was a remarkable man, and probably, with the exception of John H. Tweedy, who was his great opponent, was one of the ablest, if not the ablest man who ever came to this city or State.

"After the annual Indian payment in the autumn of 1839, the Indians held a war dance on Wisconsin Street. There were several hundreds, besides the squaws and children, but in the evening the white warriors had a dance in the Milwaukee House. Captain Cotton sat on the bar, striking a tin pan as a drum. Don A. J. Upham, Daniel Wells, Hans Crocker, John H. Tweedy, Alexander Mitchell, Elisha Starr, E. B. Wolcott, William A. Prentiss, Eliphalet Cramer and others were the bloodthirsty warriors who sang and danced. Suffice it to say there was no sleep in that house that night.

"In May, 1839, a singular ceremony took place in the Presbyterian Church then on West Water Street near Wells, where the services were held in a little schoolhouse. I was present on this occasion. One of the members had frequently been admonished to cease lying, to which he was addicted. Failing to reform, he

was publicly read out of the church during the service. A Scotchman named Crawford was the pastor.

"Solomon Juneau was a fine-looking man, large and erect, as well as kind and benevolent. He had great control over the Indians. In fact, both the whites and the Indians loved him. He knew all the boys of the village by name. Whenever he met one of us he would stop and have a chat, sometimes walking with us, going out of his own way. Mrs. Juneau was of a very retiring disposition. She did not mix with the whites, but endeavored to do her duty to her large family, her relatives and her friends. The Indians had wigwams on Michigan Street near the Juneau residence, and I have seen Mrs. Juneau giving provisions to the squaws. The water supply was from a spring in the center of Broadway, opposite the Marshall & Ilsley Bank [at the time when Mr. Miller wrote, the bank was on the east side of Broadway between East Wisconsin and East Michigan streets.] Mrs. Juneau carried water from the spring to her house, having a yoke across her shoulders, and carrying two pails. She usually wore a blue cloth coat and trousers, but I have seen her wearing a blanket.

"The first funeral I remember was that of Mr. Gardner, a young lawyer. He owned 120 feet square on the southwest corner of Broadway and Wisconsin Street. The casket was placed in a lumber wagon; the family occupied an open barouche, the only carriage in town, and the men fell in two by two in the rear. The procession moved around George Dousman's residence on the corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets, thence diagonally to the courthouse and through the woods to where All Saints' Cathedral stands, and where the road ended. From there they proceeded by a path to the burying ground, which was where Kewaunee Street now is. The procession was delayed until a tree which had fallen across the track could be removed.

"At that day there were two Indian burying grounds. One was on the bluff on the lake, between Wisconsin Street and Huron Street, and the other was on the hill south of Sycamore Street and west of Sixth Street. The marks of the graves remained until these hills were graded.

"All who were boys with me in 1839 and 1840 are dead, with one, or perhaps two exceptions. Most of them I have seen buried. In traveling a few years ago with a gentleman named Bottsford,

from Chicago, he remarked: 'I knew most of the early settlers of Milwaukee, and they were a remarkable set of men. They were strong men, physically as well as mentally. They laid the foundations of a city which has grown beyond what I ever imagined, and they must have been strong men, or the city could not have grown so, on account of its close proximity to Chicago. I honor the pioneers of Milwaukee.'

"In 1874, two evenings before my father's death, we were walking on the West Side. We stood on the corner of Ninth Street and Grand Avenue. The moon was rising out of the lake, and it was a clear, beautiful night. He remarked: 'I am satisfied that I did wisely in coming to Milwaukee. I have always respected and loved the early settlers. They were strong and mostly good men. Many of them are poor, and they are all entitled to respect. Those that come after will reap the benefit of their labors.' "

Mr. Miller was not destined to fill out his term as president of the Milwaukee County Pioneer Association. His death occurred on the 12th of September, 1898.

Mrs. William Pitt Lynde, who came to Milwaukee as a bride in June, 1841, and was a leader in the social life of the city from that time till her death in 1897, wrote the following reminiscences in 1895:

"I was married in Tuxton, Cortland County, New York. Mr. Lynde and I went in a carriage to Syracuse, where we took a packet on the Erie Canal to Buffalo. At Buffalo we took the steamer *Wisconsin*, the finest on the lakes, for Milwaukee. Captain Blake commanded her and a man named Barton was steward. Both were famous on the lakes and Captain Blake was known as the 'Admiral of the lakes.' When we arrived at Milwaukee we were met by the lighter *C. C. Trowbridge*, for there were no piers and the steamer could not approach the wharf. The first sound I heard was cow bells, for everybody kept a cow and the cows were turned out to pasture where they would.

"At midnight we landed at Dousman's warehouse at the foot of East Water Street and were met by Mr. Lynde's brothers, Charles J. and Watts. Mr. Lynde's first inquiry was, 'Where is the carriage?' and the answer was, 'We haven't any carriages here.' So we started on foot for the new house that Mr. Charles Lynde had built on the northeast corner of Mason and Jackson

streets. When we reached Doctor Wolcott's house, where the Hotel Pfister now stands, we started diagonally across the intervening square, brother Charles saying, 'I will go ahead and you follow me closely so the hazel bushes won't strike you in the face,' and brother Watts said, 'Be careful and don't stub your toes on the snags.'

"The next day when I looked out at my new home I think that my first impression was astonishment at the newness and wildness of the place. You see, I had always lived in town and I suppose I regarded streets as a natural feature of the country. Milwaukee had then about 1,500 inhabitants, I think, and the people were very social and kindly spirited.

"Among those whom I met were Doctor and Mrs. [E. B.] Wolcott, whose daughter is now Mrs. Theodore Yates; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Cary, who lived on the northwest corner of Oneida [East Wells] and Jefferson; the Taylors, who lived on Jackson near Mason; Mr. and Mrs. D. A. J. Upham, Daniel Wells, Jr., Governor Ludington, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Brown, the parents of Mrs. Edward Ferguson, Mrs. James H. Rogers, who was one of the leaders in society and whose daughters are Mrs. Joseph Bradford, Mrs. James Bradford and Mrs. Nettie Cleaver; Judge A. G. Miller, father of B. Kurtz Miller; Mrs. Mary F. Papendick, Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Arnold. Mrs. Arnold was a beautiful woman and their daughter is now Mrs. Arnold Grant of Washington, D. C. Then there were the Misses Tiffany, who became, during the following year, Mrs. Levi Blossom and Mrs. Fred Wardner.

"Shortly after I arrived I went out one day to make calls and dressed as I had done in the East for such an occasion and I remember that I wore low shoes. In going through the woods where the courthouse square now is the underbrush was so thick I lost my way, and when I finally succeeded in getting out I went home, having learned the lesson that when I lived in the backwoods I must dress accordingly.

"George Dousman's house stood at that time on the present site of the post office. Later he built a new house where Whitnall's store now is. Byron Kilbourn was also here then, and Mr. French and Mr. Pixley. Mr. Sivyer lived in the only brick house in Milwaukee, and it stood in the rear of where the Sivyer row now is on Mason Street back of the Layton art gallery. Mr.

Harrison Reed was then the editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and lived in a small house, where James Morgan now lives, with his sister Martha [south side of East Wells, north of Jefferson Street.] When I went to call on Miss Reed I saw the first hot-house plants I had seen in Milwaukee. She had brought them from Cleveland and it shows that she loved flowers then as well as when as Mrs. Alexander Mitchell she had the largest private conservatory in Milwaukee. Mrs. Dr. Noyes lived then on the southeast corner of Jackson and Mason streets. One of her daughters is now Mrs. Frank Crosby and another is Mrs. Bridges of Tacoma, Wash. Mr. George Reed, Doctor Weeks and George Walker lived on the south side. Mr. and Mrs. Higby lived where the Layton art gallery now stands. Mr. Ambrose Ely, father of Mrs. Lydia Ely, lived on the corner of Mason and Jefferson streets. Mr. Ira E. Goodall was also here then, and Dr. J. K. Bartlett. Elisha Starr was the postmaster.

"The first time I went to church both the clergyman and the congregation crossed the river in a scow which was drawn across by a rope ferry. Services were held in the upper hall of a store owned by Jacob L. Bean. The Rev. Mr. Watson conducted the services and preached upon the Syro-Phoenician woman. As I said before, the cows pastured where they would and each wore a cow-bell. One of these cows was grazing just outside and as often as Mr. Watson grew eloquent, tink-a-ling-ling went the bell. Finally, unable to endure it longer, he interrupted himself and exclaimed, 'Won't some good brother have the kindness to drive away that cow?' In the choir were Mr. and Mrs. Asahel Finch, Miss Van Alstine (afterward Mrs. Nelson Ludington) and Miss Chappell. Mr. Finch later became Mr. Lynde's law partner and the partnership continued for over forty years.

"Three weeks after Mr. Lynde and I came to Milwaukee his brothers, Charles and Watts, went East to bring back their furniture, et cetera. When returning, the steamer they were on, the *Erie*, burned off Silver Creek, August 9, and both brothers were lost. Mrs. Charles J. Lynde was the only female saved out of 300 passengers. Mr. Lynde and his brother Charles graduated from Yale together and they were law partners and the bond between them was a very close one. Immediately on receipt of the news we went East expecting never to return; but in June of

1842 we returned, bringing with us a little daughter. In the meantime the question of abolition of slavery had grown to be a great one and the church, which was a union of Presbyterian and Congregational and called the Convention, separated on it. The abolitionists, of whom were Deacon Brown, father of Mayor T. H. Brown, and E. D. Holton, organized a church. Mr. Lynde was a Democrat always and believed in the Missouri compromise, so he went with the other faction and the first contribution he made was at this time, when he gave $100 towards the purchase of a lot for a new church. In 1843 Mr. Lynde was appointed territorial representative by President James K. Polk. Having an infant daughter, I did not accompany him to Washington that winter; but went the next, when I met Mrs. James Madison and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton.

"When you ask me to tell you of the hardships and privations we endured in those days I must answer that I don't remember any. We always had plenty of help. There were always Germans and Scandinavians who were glad to get into good families. To be sure they were not 'trained' servants; but ladies expected to be their own housekeepers in those days. We drew water from wells and cisterns instead of from faucets, and we had fireplaces and stoves instead of furnaces; but there was always water in the wells and plenty of wood to burn. We had no carriages, but we were not afraid to walk. There was a great deal of sociability in those days and we had tea-parties and sewing societies and we went to lectures. I remember a Mr. Codding, 'Free-Soil' lecturer, who came. I recall one St. Patrick's Day celebration that we had. Mass was said out of doors on the present site of the courthouse. Although it was the 17th of March, there had been a light fall of snow and the men sent around bobsleds for the ladies. The sled I went in was driven by John Lace, who was afterward shot by Mary Ann Wheeler, whose lover he was. This was one of the early tragedies.

"There were not many Indians here then. They came into town to sell baskets and to beg. They played dice in the streets, for they were great gamblers.

"Solomon Juneau lived then where Chapman's store is now. [A mistake—it was on the south side of Michigan Street, between East Water Street and Broadway.] Afterwards he built a house

where John Black's now stands [northeast corner of East Juneau Avenue and Milwaukee Street,] and the Indians used to camp in the adjoining fields. I remember Juneau's children and his son Paul Juneau was very handsome and a great society man.

"Among the people whom I remember as being here in 1843-1844 are Henry Williams, of the firm of Shepard, Bonnell & Williams, merchants. Shepard came from Pennsylvania, Bonnell from New Jersey and Williams from Rhode Island. Mr. Williams was the father of Mrs. Col. John Upham. Then there was Judge A. D. Smith, who married a sister of George Reed, and Daniel Newhall and Deacon Byron, father of Mrs. Edward Sanderson. Silas Chapman taught school in the basement of the Presbyterian Church.

"Several years later a number of these people, Deacon Hewitt, and the Carys, Mrs. S. B. Grant and I started a benevolent society out of which grew the Protestant Orphan Asylum. And I remember, too, that just before the church was completed we held a fair, in the edifice, for several days to raise funds for the building. In those days Mr. Paraclete Potter was receiver of the Land Office and Mr. Delafield was his clerk. Mr. Potter was succeeded by Mr. Albert Helfenstein. Mr. J. H. Tweedy and Hans Crocker, who married Miss Augusta Potter, were also here, and the Ogdens, also Eliphalet and William E. Cramer. Quite an event of those days was the arrival of Elisha Eldred and family. The family was a large one, and Mr. Eldred was known to be a man of means. Five years after I came my father, Dr. Azariel Blanchard, and a family of nine children came here for a permanent residence. Mr. J. P. McGregor arrived, too, at that time."

Victor Schulte is remembered by old Milwaukeeans as one of the most noted of the city's early architects and builders. Victor Schulte, Jr., one of his sons, who, at the age of eighty-four, is a storekeeper at St. Francis, made the following interesting statement to a *Milwaukee Journal* interviewer in October, 1930:

"Father came from Germany to Milwaukee in 1840. There seemed to be no buildings in prospect then, so he went to Janesville, where the outlook was as dull as here. After a year he returned to Milwaukee, in time to be awarded the contract to build the bridge at Chestnut Street, now Juneau Avenue. The first bridge was a draw, and proved unsatisfactory, so a span

was constructed which could be raised high enough to permit the two boats which plied the river to go under it. Those were stirring times. West Siders maintained a ferry line that brought in passengers from steamers in the bay. It was feared that intending settlers who had been landed on the West Side might find it too easy to change their minds and settle on the East Side if they could cross the river on bridges. In 1845 West Siders proceeded one night to tear down the west half of the bridges at Chestnut and Oneida streets. My father went out and told them that the bridges were not paid for, and that if they persisted in destroying them they would find themselves in debt. The East Siders were indignant, and wanted to destroy Byron Kilbourn's house. That was an exciting night."

Of his father's later career, Mr. Schulte said:

"Father's shop was so close to the river that part of it stood on piles. He used to dump all his shavings into the stream. All the big frames and timbers were turned out by horse-driven machinery, the horse going round and round like those on the old water-pumps. Father built few dwellings, but churches always entranced him, and in 1846 he began his career of church-building in Milwaukee. He was a contractor and builder as well as an architect. His first undertaking was St. Mary's Church, on Broadway. The following year Bishop Henni authorized the construction of St. John's Cathedral. The great arch was a remarkable piece of work. Father used no steel beams like those which hold arches today. He employed oak timbers, which he cut himself at North Point and hauled down to his shop on the river to be trimmed. The stucco for the interior was mixed in the basement of our house. When the Cathedral was well under way, father built Trinity Church on Greenbush and Park streets. By 1854 the Milwaukee diocese began to realize the need of a school in which to train young men for the priesthood, and father was awarded the contract to build the seminary at St. Francis. That changed our lives. Father bought a farm in the woods near the seminary, and after the completion of his contract settled down to farming. He died in 1890. After my brothers grew up and moved away, I stayed on. In 1881 I started a general store—it's more like a grocery store now—and have been keeping it ever since."

Peter Van Vechten, Jr., wrote for the Old Settlers' Club the following description of Milwaukee as he found it on his arrival in 1845:

"The *Sentinel* office was on the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, over L. J. Higby & Company's store, but it moved in January, 1846, to the brick store that stood north of the Ludington Block. Ludington & Company were on the corner where Pabst's Block [Wisconsin Trust Building] now stands. They occupied a two-and-one-half-story frame store, with a general stock. H. B. Dellicker was in Ludington's store, selling hammers and nails, cotton and silks, plows and harrows, salt and molasses, pork and beans, paints and whisky, during the week, and attending prayer meetings Wednesday nights, church and Sunday school Sundays, and Dutch dances and his girl Saturday nights. The country was new and we had to hustle to keep up. It was growing very fast.

"Alexander Mitchell and David Ferguson attended to all the business of the Wisconsin Fire and Marine Insurance Company, in Mrs. Lowry's building, that stood on the northwest corner of Wisconsin and Broadway, and you had to go down one step to get in. Wisconsin Street at that time was fifteen feet higher than the present grade. The walls of the Law Buildings of Tweedy & Upham [Wisconsin Street, between East Water and Broadway] were up, but the structure was not finished till 1846. White & Seymour opened the West Building with a restaurant and saloon called the Halls of the Montezumas."

"There was a valley on Wisconsin Street between Jackson and Marshall streets, and a spring of good water, with marshy ground about it. On the 10th day of October, 1845, I saw George Strong shoot thirteen snipe about the swamp and swale on Wisconsin Street and in that vicinity. The water from this spring was utilized by being conveyed through bored tamarack logs to the Tremont House and the United States Hotel. Some of these logs were taken up when the new Chamber of Commerce was built. The lake bluff was a great place of resort for all newcomers. Warm mornings and evenings would find many people strolling on the bank of the lake. At the head of Wisconsin Street the bluff was as high as the roof of the Chicago & North-Western depot building, and there was a steep rise from Van Buren Street

to the head of the bluff. The lighthouse stood in the middle of Wisconsin Street. About 1850 Thomas Green built a pavilion on the north side of Wisconsin Street and called the place 'Green Lighthouse Garden.' Many a summer night dance we had in that garden." [This garden opened a little earlier than Mr. Van Vechten surmised. In the *Sentinel* of June 26, 1848, is the announcement that "Mr. Green has fitted up his garden near the lighthouse in good style, where he will be happy to see all who are fond of promenading. He intends to keep ice creams and other fixings for the benefit of his customers."]

"The winters were long, and we were shut up from November until May, except for the old stage wagons and tri-weekly mail from Chicago. We had to spend the time in dancing parties and mischief. At a meeting of the residents of '36, held at the Milwaukee House, December 16, 1845, it was 'Resolved, That the residents of the Town of Milwaukee give a ball at the Milwaukee House on January 16, 1846; the invitations not to be confined to such residents, yet it is expected that every '36er will be present." The managers chosen to carry the resolution into effect were Solomon Juneau, Byron Kilbourn, George H. Walker, William Paine, Hans Crocker, John H. Tweedy, George D. Dousman, Henry Williams, Daniel Wells, Jr., Fred Wardner, Levi Blossom, A. O. T. Breed, William Brown, Jr., William A. Prentiss, Owen Aldrich, T. C. Dousman, T. J. Noyes, H. N. Wells, George O. Tiffany, Elisha Starr, J. B. Zander, William A. Rice, Jonathan E. Arnold, Rufus Parks, George S. Hosmer, P. W. Leland, James Sanderson, George E. S. Vail, Albert Fowler, Josiah A. Noonan, Joshua Hathaway, J. Sherwood and Clinton Walworth. Nearly all of the gentlemen and their ladies attended the ball. George H. Walker was not married then, but he was there, and had a good time. Many who had arrived later than '36 were there, and they all enjoyed the evening.

"The four principal hotels had omnibuses that went to the boats, and they kept a watchman on the bank of the lake, near the lighthouse on Wisconsin Street. When he saw a boat coming from Buffalo or Chicago he would notify the American House, the City Hotel, the United States Hotel, and the Milwaukee House. The smaller hotels had runners. When the people of the town noticed the omnibuses going to the boats many of them would

run down to Strong's pier at the head of Huron Street, to see if they had any friends on them.

"Caleb Wall tried to keep a temperance house. That order of establishment was not in favor with the public at the time, and he could not make it a financial success. He was succeeded by P. G. Jones, from Prairieville. The City Hotel, later the Walker House and still later the Kirby House, was kept by Daniel Wells, Jr. It was the only brick hotel in Milwaukee until the opening of the United States Hotel. The post office, with Noonan as postmaster, was in the store on the East Water Street front and the office of the hotel at the north end on Mason Street, Cyrus Athearn having a tobacco store where the main entrance was at a subsequent date. The City Hotel was well kept and full of people every night. The Fountain House, kept by Daniel Nieman, was at the corner of West Water and Second streets, one of the famous places on the West Side. The Washington House was on the water power, and kept at that time by Silas Griffith. Afterward it was sold to Frederick Vogelsang, moved to the corner of Third and Cedar streets, and opened in 1856 under the name of the Republican House. The Tremont House was on the corner of Main and Michigan streets, where the Chamber of Commerce now stands, and was kept by Nat Holman and Isaac Jones. Holman had been with Wells in the City Hotel until June, 1845, when he took the Tremont House.

"Milwaukee could not well get along without a Cottage Inn. The one that stood on East Water Street burned April 7, 1845, and as no one on the East Side seemed anxious to take the name, Col. Jesse M. Van Slyke opened a Cottage Inn on Clinton Street between South Water and Lake, giving a New Year's supper on December 31, 1845. Van Slyke had come from Schenectady, New York, where at one time he had a store on the canal and did a large business, but was flattened out in the panic of '37.

"Barney Stimson kept the Cross Keys Tavern, on lower East Water Street. All the Englishmen who came to Milwaukee stopped with him or at the Eastern Hotel, kept by John S. Mitchell at the head of Huron Street, near Strong's pier.

"The American House, on Spring Street, changed hands about the 1st of November, 1845, A. Rossiter & Company taking charge. He conceived the idea that the man who drove the omnibus for

his hotel was not holding his own in competition with the other drivers, so he shipped him and put on Tom Christy. This was resented by the drivers for the other hotels, who tried to make life miserable for Christy. They claimed privileges due by reason of length of service and did not propose to let a stranger jump their claim. Christy was as alert in his own interest as they were in theirs, and at the end of the week, as he was able to back up his arguments with his fists, he silenced their clamor. Christy held his office of omnibus driver for the American till 1856.

"I will give a description of places of business on East Water Street when the United States Hotel opened, in December, 1845: The hotel extended over the stores on East Water Street up to No. 148, now 348. The hotel occupied the front rooms of the second and third floors. It was kept by Dexter Taft and W. H. Spurr. It was opened for boarders who had taken rooms over the stores November 17, 1845, but not for the public until December 1, 1845. The stores were finished about that date, and as nearly all were occupied by newcomers I will give the list, as a record for the Old Settlers' Club: Sexton & Crain occupied No. 132 East Water Street, and the others the stores north of that number, respectively: Williams Lee, saddlery and harness; D. C. Van Tine, banker. In 1846 Allis & Allen took this last store, which was No. 136, using it for a leather store. Then came William Pierce, boots and shoes; H. B. Peck, dry goods (Peck & Baker in 1847); E. & J. Cramer, hardware; Samuel J. Van Vechten, dry goods and groceries; Isaac A. Hopkins, books and stationery; Daggett & Richardson, Yankee notions. That was as far as the brick buildings extended. Then frame buildings: John Weldon, restaurant and dwelling, 148½ East Water Street; Henry Miller, confectioner; John H. Silkman, hats and caps; L. Armstrong, saddler and harness; Winter & Geisberg, drugs; Michael Walsh, groceries. From there to Michigan Street was vacant till 1847, when Alexander Mitchell built his bank on the corner and James Christy a brick store next south, which was occupied by William S. Wells & Company, merchant tailors. The hotel had its office on the corner of East Water and Huron streets.

"The buildings on East Water Street were mostly one-and-one-half-story frame; a few brick stores in the burned district. On Market Square Jacob Nunnemacher had his butcher shop on

the corner of East Water and Oneida in a frame building. There was a bayou running up what was later River Street, and a bridge across it from the main land on Oneida Street to the point of land, and a continuation of Oneida Street, to the east end of the pontoon bridge. On the small point of land, on the south of Oneida Street, a German squatter had a shanty on sticks or small posts. Jacob Nunnemacher was filling up his lots, and filling in the bayou from them to the present line of the docks of the river, and filled around the back and sides of the German's house. Jacob and the squatter had many spats over it. When it came to the point where forbearance ceased to be a virtue and possession was nine points of the law, the German struck Jacob over the head with a stick of wood and knocked him out. At first the German thought he had killed Nunnemacher, and was badly frightened. He was glad of a chance for settlement. Nunnemacher got the land for the cost of filling, with the exception of what he paid in settlement to the German.

"The principal place of amusement was Military Hall, on the south side of Oneida Street, between Market and Main, next east of the alley. It was built by the Washington Guards, of which David George was captain; D. Upmann was first lieutenant, Charles Geisberg second lieutenant, and J. A. Liebhaber orderly sergeant. Upmann and Liebhaber raised a company and went to the Mexican war, in 1847. In this hall they had military drill, political meetings, church sociables, concerts, dances and theatrical performances, until 1849, when J. B. Rice's theater was opened on Broadway, where the Marble Hall was later. Prior to leasing it to J. B. Rice for the fall and winter, there was a German dance in Military Hall every Saturday night, and we boys used to go there to learn German. William A. Webber, who wore a wig, attended the theater. Tangle McCracken was in the gallery. He had a string with a bent pin at the end which he let down while a confederate sitting next to Webber entangled it in his wig, which soon went soaring into the air, to the confusion of Mr. Webber and the edification of the spectators.

"There were no buildings on West Water Street from Sycamore Street south. You could not go on West Water Street in the spring or fall until it was frozen. In 1846, when we had low water in the lakes, and the marsh became so you could see the

ground above the water on Reed Street, Daniel Wells, Jr., sent a man with 2x4 joists and 6-inch fence boards, and made a claim on it.

"In November, 1845, there were pontoon float bridges at Spring Street, Walker's Point and Oneida Street, and a tamarack pole bridge across the Menomonee at West Water and Reed streets. The floats of the bridges were so low that the planks were only just above the water, and citizens essaying to cross had to be careful that they did not splash themselves in transit. Huron Street had only been filled enough to make a road above the water, to go to Stevens' north pier, north side of Huron Street, or Strong's pier, south side of Huron Street. All south of Huron Street was water until Erie Street, where one could go to the mouth of the river. [No straight-cut until 1856.] All steamboats landed at the piers except in rough weather, when they came into the river for shelter. The water south of Huron Street to Kinnickinnic Bay was full of ducks. We would go on the strip of land and shoot the ducks as they flew from the lake to the river and back. There was always some one in a sailboat to keep them on the wing. In winter the best skating was on the ice in the Third Ward."

At the annual banquet of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County in 1895 an interesting address was delivered by John A. Dadd, who came in 1850, and was successfully engaged in the retail drug business for many years:

"I found the city of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, a heterogeneous mass of buildings mostly of frame but many of brick construction, with wooden sidewalks of varying elevation, many of them having awning posts at the outer edge, from which awnings stretched to the buildings. Teams filled the streets, bringing all kinds of produce, many of them having traveled from great distances to reach the city. Wheat-buyers thronged the places frequented by the teams, inspecting and purchasing that cereal for the numerous firms engaged in its shipment. Prairie schooners were frequently to be seen, laden with lead from Galena and Mineral Point. No railroads had yet been built, and goods intended for the interior were loaded onto wagons at all hours, to suit the convenience of the teamsters. General stores were the rule, dealing in mixed merchandise, and specialization developed

slowly. Many firms maintained wagons which traveled through the state peddling their wares.

"In 1850 there were five wards in the city. The built-up portion on the East Side ended at Division Street on the north. Solomon Juneau's house stood at the northeast corner of Division and Milwaukee streets. On the West Side, Twelfth Street formed the western boundary, with a ravine running through what was then called Spring Street, crossed by a bridge of logs. On the South Side the buildings were more widely distributed, Solomon Juneau was alive. Byron Kilbourn's was a familiar figure on the streets, and so was the portly form of George H. Walker. There were predictions at that time that Milwaukee would surpass Chicago, but when the iron horse touched that place, connecting her with the East, the prospect vanished.

"Banks were at that time few. The leading one was the Wisconsin Fire and Marine Insurance Company Bank, located on the corner of Michigan and East Water streets in a two-story brick building where the present fine structure stands. It was managed at first, and afterward owned, by the late Alexander Mitchell, a man renowned for his inflexible integrity and his skill as a financier. This bank controlled the circulation of the entire Northwest as far south as St. Louis and as far east as Detroit, and was the only one in Milwaukee at that time that issued bills. It has done more to develop the commercial and manufacturing interests of the city and State than has any other. Mr. Mitchell's credit was such as to command any amount of capital required. To him is due also the credit for building up the great system of railroads now known as the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, by uniting numerous fragments to form a trunk line. Other banks were gradually established, among the earlier of them being Marshall & Ilsley's and the old State Bank, with John G. Inbusch as president and Moses M. Scott as cashier. The late Charles T. Bradley was many years its president.

"The volunteer fire department was then in existence, the brakes manned by citizens of high and low degree, led by such men as General Rufus King, S. S. Daggett, Peter Van Vechten, Jr., Daniel Schultz, Christian Preusser, A. J. Langworthy, John Loomis and General John C. Starkweather. I cannot refrain from stating here with all due modesty that I was a member of

that department for eight years, and I feel it an honor to have been with them, for they were a noble body of self-sacrificing men, as are also the men who now compose our most efficient, energetic and courageous fire department."

Mr. Dadd was an Englishman. In the address from which the foregoing excerpt is taken he referred as follows to the German element in Milwaukee: "According to the last census our population is more largely composed of representatives of the German race than that of any other city in the Union. This gives it a stability, a staying power that few other places possess. Germany is the mother of nations. It is her blood at the root of the Anglo-Saxon race which gives it its wondrous power. A few years ago I heard a lecture by Matthew Arnold entitled 'Saving Remnant of Nations.' He spoke of the various nations and their characteristics, the likelihood of their permanency or decay. In speaking of the American nation, he said our salvation and existence are guaranteed by the infusion of Teutonic blood in our veins. Arguing from these premises our permanent prosperity is assured."

Carl Theodore Wettstein, who was a son of Theodore Wettstein, proprietor of more than one popular hotel in Milwaukee during the period intervening between the Mexican and the Civil wars, came to the city on a visit in 1906, after long absence, and was inspired to interesting reminiscences of the early days. Here are some of his recollections of the heyday of Market Square:

"When I first set foot on Market Square I was twelve years of age. In 1848 Market Square was the wood market, and sometimes fifty teams could be counted on the Square, with loads of wood. Not one horse would be seen, for the farmers brought their grain and wood to the city with ox-teams. A prominent feature of the Square was a well known all over the city as "Market Well." The water drawn from it by a large pump, was as clear as crystal and as cold as ice. Its location was directly opposite the entrance of the St. Charles Hotel, quite a distance south of the Bergh fountain.

"Directly over this pump, on ground where the St. Charles Hotel now stands, was a long, narrow one-story frame building. Above the door a gun was stretched, and a sign underneath had the inscription, 'Matthias Stein, Gunsmith.' This was the home

of 'Father Stein,' as he was called, one of Milwaukee's earliest German pioneers, and one of the most amiable and kind-hearted men I ever had the pleasure of meeting. Until 1846 or 1847 this and the adjoining buildings stood eight or ten feet higher. Market Square originally was nothing but a marsh, and 'Father' Stein could shoot all the ducks he wanted from the door of his gunshop. I had opportunity to become acquainted with Mr. Stein's good qualities, as we were next-door neighbors for five years, my father in 1850 having rented the adjoining two-story frame building from him to be changed into a hotel, under the name of 'Gasthof zum Deutschen Haus' (Hotel to the German House). It was a queer name; I believe he took it from a prominent building in Frankfort, Das Deutsche Haus, where the sessions of the new Bundesrath were held, that pretension of a parliament, representing a Germany which did not exist. When the sign was put up, some one discovered that the painter had made a bad job of it, the u in Haus looking more like an n. Assuming that the sign was equivalent to "Hotel to the German Hans," there were those who insisted in calling my father by that name.

"Many of the pioneers of Milwaukee were almost daily guests in that little hotel. Among them I can remember Edward Salomon, lawyer, later on Governor of Wisconsin; Meyer Friend, wholesale clothier; Henry Seifert, lithographer; Herman Kemper, insurance agent; Charles Geisberg; Henry Niedecken; Colonel Jacobs, founder of the Second Ward Bank; Herman Haertel of the People's Bank; Charles Le Saulnier; Voyta Naprstek, who had a bookstore on Market Square; Emil and Adolph Neumann; Frank and Gustav Hebgen, with Bradley & Metcalf; Conrad Wellauer, uncle of Jacob Wellauer; Dr. Fessel; John Thorsen and his three friends, whose names I have forgotten, a splendid quartette of pleasant and refined Norwegians, with others whose names I cannot now recall. Oh, yes there were two other unique characters I must not omit, as they were known all over the city—old bachelors, who boarded at our hotel and were considered almost members of the family—'Old' Hoffmann, collector, and Professor Walther, a private teacher.

"The majority of the men I have mentioned were members of the male chorus of the new 'Musik Verein.' Whenever the Verein had a concert or opera or rehearsal, the whole male chorus came

on like a whirlwind, with Maestro Hans Balatka at its head, a hungry and thirsty crowd. Tables were put together, lunch was brought in, and, after an energetic attack upon it, which soon emptied all the plates, the singing began again. All the airs and songs they had rehearsed were repeated, so that I, who waited on them, soon knew the entire repertory by heart. Sometimes the singing attracted so many outsiders that the adjoining dining room had to be thrown open in order to accommodate the crowd. It was the most interesting, the most refined and the most good-natured crowd that ever came together in those days. This sociability lasted as long as my father was in this hotel. When he moved to the Milwaukee House the company was broken up.

"After being in this hotel for five years my father, with another gentleman, bought the Milwaukee House, a large four-story structure with a tower, located on the northwest corner of Huron and Main streets (now Broadway). They remodeled and refurnished it, and were doing a fine business. One night—Christmas Eve—three months after the hotel had been reopened, the hotel burned to the ground, but all the guests had ample warning and escaped, though the hotel was a total loss.

"After two years Mr. Upmann bought the Stein property on Market Square, put up a four-story brick building, and rented it to my father, who opened the Hotel Wettstein. Later Mr. Upmann took charge of the hotel himself and gave it the name it bears today.

"North of Stein's gunshop, a young widow, Mrs. Mittendorf, had a small house. She was an amiable lady who made a comfortable living for herself and her children by hard work—principally laundry work for our hotel. Later she had a store on East Water Street. She won the esteem of everybody. North of the house was a narrow two-story brick building owned by Henry Breidert, the commencement of what afterward became Breidert's Block. Who occupied the corner I cannot remember. I think Nathan Pereles had not established himself there as early as 1848.

"South of Father Stein's, separated only by a narrow walk, was the three-story frame building which in 1850 my father occupied as a hotel, whose capacity he doubled a year or two later by renting the building to the south. South of the hotel I can only remember a small two-story frame building at the corner,

the jewelry store of the pioneer Christian Preusser, with his pleasant brother Gustav as assistant, to whom I served many cups of coffee in my father's hotel.

"Across the street, on the corner, was the Prentiss Block, with the post office on the ground floor. North of the post office were other buildings, of which I remember a small two-story frame building occupied by Schwefel's drug store. Doctor Fessel with his family occupied that part of the house which was not used as a drug store. Doctor Fessel was a fine musician, one of the prominent members of the orchestra of the Musik Verein. One of his daughters afterward married Hans Balatka, the Verein's first leader, who boarded in our hotel during all the five years my father kept it.

"Adjoining Schwefel's drug store on the north was a two-story frame building occupied by one of Milwaukee's pioneers and best-known citizens, Henry Bielfeld as his home and office, the sign on the door reading, 'A. Henry Bielfeld, Notary Public.' He was a daily guest at our hotel. 'Es liebt die Welt das Strahlende zu schwaerzen und das Erhabene in den Staub zu ziehn,' ('the world loves to blacken greatness and glory and to draw the sublime into the dust'). This was his favorite sentence. The next house was occupied by a confectioner, Ruitz, the finest in the city. He had married a young German lady who had come across the ocean with us in the three-master *George Washington*, under the protection of my mother. Our families were very friendly, and in 1850, at the age of fourteen, I was taken out of school by my father and placed as an apprentice with Mr. Ruitz to learn the business of baker and confectioner. I remained with him a year, when he was seized with an attack of rheumatism which disabled him for three months, during which time I attended to the whole business with the exception of the making of ornamented torten. When he was well again my father took me back into the hotel. What queer pranks fate often plays! Had my father left me with Ruitz I might today be wearing a white apron and white cap. I might have been one of the leading bakers of Milwaukee.

"At the end of my trip around Market Square, I must mention a leading figure identified in my memory with that locality at the time of which I speak—Moritz Schoeffler, editor of *Das Banner*, a pioneer German journalist of America. I think his

office was located between Preusser's jewelry store and our hotel. Some years later *Das Banner* was united with Fratney's *Volksfreund*, under the name of the *Banner und Volksfreund.*

"Nor must Hermann Schwarting be overlooked, that quiet, kindly disposed, good-natured man, who had one of the best grocery stores in the city. Also I must mention the occupant of the corner where the Blatz Hotel came to stand in later years—Jacob Nunnemacher, a hard-working man, a king of pioneers, the ancestor of a family that rose to prominence in Milwaukee."

"When I came to Milwaukee in 1848 the principal political parties were the Democratic, the Whig and the Abolition parties. The Germans in our city all belonged at first to the Democratic party. For one of that nationality to ally himself with any other than the Democratic party was regarded as an impossibility, if not a crime. It was natural. The word Democrat had a different meaning for the Germans than for others amid the conditions of those times. In Germany—or, to speak more precisely, in Prussia, for there was no 'Germany' then—Democrats were those who stood in opposition to tyranny, monarchy and aristocracy—upholding everything that was free and good and noble. Most of the emigrants from Germany in 1847 and 1848 were revolutionists. They left the fatherland because they were obliged to or because they were disgusted with its political outlook. When they arrived here and found a Democratic party, they joined it because they had been Democrats at home, and they supposed that the word meant the same thing here as there. When my father joined the Whig party it caused an outcry, because his reason for this independent choice in his political affiliations was not understood. He subjected himself to criticism in another way—by arranging a social event at which no one could gain admission except upon invitation, and at which all participants were expected to be attired in dress suits—in short, a 'closed ball.' Previously to this innovationary event, men had been free to attend social parties in their heavy boots and Sunday coats. Compulsory requirements as to dress aroused much resentment. Those who accepted invitations to this entertainment were reproachfully referred to as 'Geschwollene' (Swollen, Swells), nor did the objectors content themselves with this expression of derision. My father had a wholesale notion business on Spring Street, east of

the American House. One morning he heard a loud noise on the street, and on looking out saw a procession of men and boys, with cowbells, tin pans, tin horns and other instruments capable of producing discordant sounds. In the midst of the procession marched a man leading a large dog with a pair of leathern spectacles affixed to his nose. My father wore spectacles, and the meaning of the procession could not be misunderstood. A few days later another turbulent procession passed his store. This time the spectacles had been fastened upon the nose of a dummy swinging on a gallows. The marchers built a bonfire in which the bespectacled dummy was consumed. Having a sense humor, my father looked on at the burning of himself in effigy—saw the funny side of the situation, and enjoyed it immensely. Most if not all the Germans who took part in this demonstration of disapproval lived to change their point of view, and a few years later joined the new Republican party.

"It was in my father's store on Spring Street and the adjacent store of Mahler & Wendt that the foundation of the Musik Verein was laid. I remember well the first concerts of the society, in the building on the northwest corner of Spring and West Water streets and also in a church on Main Street.

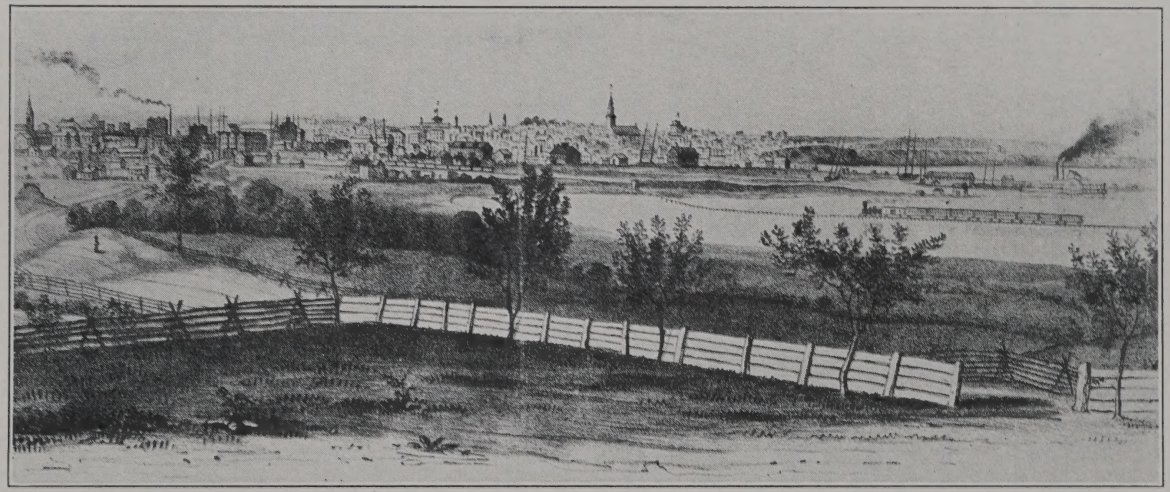
"In my father's 'Gasthof zum Deutschen Haus' I remember having waited upon such distinguished personages as Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, the Prince of Neuwied, Wagner the German historian, Charlotte Pfeiffer, the celebrated woman traveler and naturalist, and others who came to America to study conditions in this country. I also remember the slender, youthful, student-like figure of Carl Schurz, who was with his young wife at our hotel when in Milwaukee."

Of the elder Wettstein it is worthy of recall that he wrote a pamphlet on Wisconsin and its resources which was widely circulated in Germany and contributed to bring thousands of welcome immigrants to the Badger State. The Professor Walther briefly mentioned was a versatile and interesting character long familiar to Milwaukeeans in general, who won a host of admirers and friends in different walks of life. Walther was the name under which he chose to be listed in the City Directory. In Germany, where he was born, his name was von Alten, but he saw fit to change it by legal process and was known in Milwaukee as

Walther. Before coming to this city he had gone through various adventures, beginning with a voyage in a sailing vessel around Cape Horn, at the time when gold was discovered in California. Five years later he was with Walker, on the Isthmus of Panama. He had taught school in the Sierra Nevadas, but his first experiment in Milwaukee, prior to the outbreak of the Civil war, was to make a living as a fisherman on Jones Island, long before the advent of "Governor" Kaminsky or any of that monarch's faithful subjects. He owned and operated a fishing smack, but subsequently abandoned the island and opened a school north of the city, near what afterwards became Wonderland Park. During the Civil war he served as captain of a company of Wisconsin volunteers. On the return of peace he settled for a time at Sheboygan, teaching school and also officiating as justice of the peace and town clerk. Coming back to Milwaukee, he started a German-English academy on the South Side, which later formed the nucleus of the South Side Kindergarten and the South Side Casino. Then he was teacher of German in the public schools and finally principal of the Eleventh District School, retiring from active labors some twelve years before his death, which occurred on the 28th of August, 1909.

A very interesting summary of the history of Milwaukee during the sixty years beginning with 1857 was made by Judge James G. Jenkins in the course of an address which he delivered before the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County on the 29th of January, 1917, the occasion being a reception in his honor which had been arranged by the members of the Club. It was the year of this country's entry into the World war, a circumstance to which the Judge referred in the course of his remarks. A part of what he said is reproduced as follows:

"I was admitted to the bar in the city of New York in the year 1855, at the age of twenty-one. In 1857 I determined to follow the advice of Horace Greeley to 'Go West, young man,' and on the evening of Saturday, September 30, 1857, I arrived in Milwaukee, without an acquaintance in the town, and with only twenty-five cents in my pocket. I have not much more now. Believing, however, that the best is always the cheapest, I put up at the Newhall House, then the new palatial hotel of the city. My first act after registering was to write home for money.



VIEW OF MILWAUKEE, JUNE 1, 1857

"The following day was the most lonesome Sunday I ever experienced. I wandered about the streets, meeting no familiar face, an utter stranger, passing several churches. Throngs of people were entering, but I did not go in, for I had no money in my pocket for the contribution plate, and did not believe in sponging my religion. The only letter of introduction I had was to Peter Van Vechten. This I presented the following day, and he most kindly introduced me at several law offices.

"I commenced my career here as a law clerk at the munificent salary of $3 a week, in the office of Jason Downer, afterward a justice of the Supreme Court. I soon concluded that the best thing I could do was to learn German. To effect this object I employed and studied under a professor of that language, boarded at a German hotel, and drank lager beer; but after six months' strenuous labor thereat—I mean the study, not the beer,—I found I was unable to properly pronounce 'ich', and I abandoned my effort in despair.

"The first case I had upon my own account was early in 1858, when the financial panic was in full swing and many were seeking to postpone the inevitable day of payment. An old settler employed me to attend court some considerable distance in the country to stave off a foreclosure suit on his home. I succeeded and secured for him a year's time. He said he was unable to pay me for my services and traveling expenses, and he gave me his note for my fee. I have that note now. Some day I may have it framed as a souvenir for posterity.

"I was attracted by the high rate of interest allowed at the West, and with glowing visions of future wealth I invested my meager earnings in loans solicited by gentlemen with whom I became acquainted, taking their notes drawing 12 per cent. interest. I have all of those notes now. They are barred by the statute of limitations, and their makers are all dead. They are not available as collateral at the bank. The makers of the notes got the capital, and I got the experience.

"Of the three founders of Milwaukee—Solomon Juneau, Byron Kilbourn and George H. Walker—the latter two were here upon my arrival. These men, I think, builded better than they knew. They were sturdy pioneers, but I doubt if they had the vision of the present day. Think of it—in 1835 the population

of the town was 500; in 1857 all that was claimed for it was 35,000, and western towns were never over-modest in stating population. Now, here is a city of more than 400,000 souls, a great manufacturing center, a great educational center, noted for its love of art and for its institutions of charity. Who may measure its future greatness?

"It is well upon this occasion to recall to memory some of the prominent men of 1857. There were Alexander Mitchell, Hans Crocker, John H. Tweedy, Jackson Hadley, Charles T. Bradley, William H. Metcalf, James Clinton Spencer, Edward Sanderson, Samuel Tallmadge, Angus Smith, Guido Pfister, John Nazro, Edward P. Allis, Eliphalet Cramer, John Furlong, John Pritzlaff, Doctor Dousman, Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Bishop Henni, James Kneeland, Frederick Layton, John Thorsen, John Plankinton, Samuel Marshall, Lester Sexton, Charles F. Ilsley, William A. Prentiss, Albert Conro, Elias Friend, Captain Frederick Pabst, Greenleaf D. Norris, Daniel Wells, Jr., Harrison Ludington, Josiah A. Noonan, Dr. Lewis McKnight, Christian Preusser, Matthew Keenan, Ferdinand Kuehn, James B. Martin, Increase A. Lapham, General Rufus King, and many others, all able men, who in their different ways aided to lay deep and well the foundations of a great city.

"Like other towns, Milwaukee has had its ups and downs, its days of brightness and its nights of darkness, its days of peace and its days of turmoil. Many of you remember its bridge war, when the East Side and the West Side were opposed in deadly conflict; its Glover rescue, when the mob violently opposed the enforcement of the fugitive slave law; its bank riot, when the masses entered forceful protest against 'stub-tail' currency; the Newhall House fire, where so many lost their lives; the Third Ward fire, which drove the Irish out of the Third Ward and refilled it with Italians. You will also recall in the scenes transpiring today the Civil war draft, where men were taken from their families to fight for the Federal Union—the marching of the troops and the weeping of wives and mothers, and the glorious result of sacrifice in the preservation of the Union. You will also remember, in the experiences of the present, the advance in the cost of living during the Civil war, when whisky went up from thirty cents a gallon to $2.50 a gallon, which for many entailed

a great sacrifice. Prices of all commodities rose. It is interesting to recall them, in view of the prices of today. In 1861 the market price of wheat was not higher than 94 cents a bushel; in December of that year it was 68 cents a bushel. In 1863, owing to the greenback inflation, it rose rapidly, and in 1864 was $2.26 a bushel in depreciated greenbacks, then worth about fifty cents on the dollar. Now the farmers are grumbling at $2.50 a bushel payable in currency as good as gold. In 1861 the wholesale price of flour was from $3.70 to $3.85 per barrel. At the end of 1863 it rose to $4.80 and $5.60 per barrel. Potatoes in 1861 were 25 to 30 cents per bushel; in 1863 40 to 45 cents per bushel. Mess pork was $9.50 to $10 per barrel in 1861; $16.75 to $17 per barrel in 1863. Butter in 1861 was 6 to 8 cents per pound; in 1863 16 to 20 cents per pound. Eggs in 1861 were 8 to 10 cents per dozen, and in 1863 20 to 22 cents per dozen. Those of you who are obliged daily to go to market to supply your families may possibly wish that the prices of the Civil war would now obtain. Even in the Civil war time men lived their lives in comparative comfort. The situation had its comic side as well as its serious side—otherwise existence might have been unbearable.

"The city passed safely through all disasters, all the financial panics of the country, and continued upon its upward career with firm, unfaltering step, until today it stands the commercial metropolis of the State, with happy homes, with labor for all, with school facilities unsurpassed, with law and order well sustained—a great, prosperous, orderly and growing city."

CHAPTER XLIV

TRAVELERS' TALES

WHAT INTELLIGENT VISITORS FOUND TO SAY OF EARLY-DAY MILWAUKEE—VARYING POINTS OF VIEW, BUT GENERAL AGREEMENT IN PRAISE—HARRIET MARTINEAU, IN 1836—MARGARET FULLER, IN 1843—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, HORACE GREELEY AND N. P. WILLIS—HENRY VILLARD AND CARL SCHURZ—ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND OTHERS.

It is always interesting to inhabitants of a definite locality to learn what travelers say of it and of them. Uninfluenced by vested interest in the place, what an outsider delivers in the way of opinion is likely to be free from bias. Having moved about in the world, he may be able to make illuminating comparisons. Whether the stranger praises or blames, his verdict usually is entertaining.

One of the earliest descriptions of Milwaukee in the period of its infancy as an abode of Caucasians was written by Harriet Martineau. Miss Martineau was an Englishwoman who had attained a remarkable reputation by essays on politics and economics. In the middle thirties of the last century she made a tour of the United States, for the purpose of studying American social development and forming first-hand conclusions regarding the working of American free institutions. In July, 1836 she was a passenger occupying the cabin of a sailing vessel which for several days rested at anchor in the bay in front of Milwaukee, the captain fearing to make an attempt to enter the harbor on account of the sandbar at the mouth of the river. The following is from "Society in America," a book which she published in London in the following year. Having described her impressions of Chicago, after riding across Michigan from Detroit, followed by an expedition to Joliet, she proceeds:

"While we were at Detroit we were most strongly urged to return thither by the lakes instead of by either of the Michigan roads. From place to place, in my previous traveling, I had been told of the charms of the Lakes, and especially of the island of Mackinaw. As our whole party, however, could not spare time to make so wide a circuit, we had not intended to indulge ourselves with a further variation in our travels than to take the upper road back to Detroit; having left it by the lower. On Sunday, June 27, news arrived at Chicago that this upper road had been rendered impassable by the rains. A sailing vessel, the only one on the Lakes, and now on her first trip, was to leave Chicago for Detroit and Buffalo the next day. The case was clear; the party must divide. Those who were obliged to hasten home must return by the road we came; the rest must proceed by water. On Charley's account, the change of plan was desirable, as the heats were beginning to be so oppressive as to render traveling in open wagons unsafe for a child. It was painful to break up our party at the extreme point of our journey, but it was clearly right. So Mr. and Mrs. L. took their chance by land; and the rest of us went on board the *Milwaukee*, at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th.

"Mrs. F. and I were the only ladies on board, and there was no stewardess. The steward was obliging, and the ladies' cabin was clean and capacious; and we took possession of it with a feeling of comfort. Our pleasant impressions, however, were not of long duration. The vessel was crowded with persons who had come to the land sales at Chicago, and were taking their passage back to Milwaukee, a settlement on the western shore of the lake, about eighty miles from Chicago. Till we should reach Milwaukee, we could have the ladies' cabin only during part of the day. I say part of the day, because some of the gentry did not leave our cabin till nearly 9 in the morning; and others chose to come down and go to bed, as early as 7 in the evening, without troubling themselves to give us five minutes' notice, or to wait till we could put up our needles or wipe our pens. This ship was the only place in America where I saw a prevalence of bad manners. It was the place of all others to select for the study of such; and no reasonable person would look for anything better among land-speculators, and settlers in regions so new as to be almost without women. None of us had ever before seen in America a disregard of women.

The swearing was incessant, and the spitting such as to amaze my American companions as much as myself.

"Supper was announced presently after we had sailed; and when we came to the table it was full, and no one offered to stir, to make room for us. The captain, who was very careful of our comfort, arranged that we should be better served henceforth; and no difficulty afterwards occurred. At dinner the next day we had a specimen of how such personages as we had on board managed in an emergency. The captain gave notice, from the head of the table, that he did not choose our party to be intruded on in the cabin; and that any one who did not behave with civility at table should be turned out. He spoke with decision and good humor, and the effect was remarkable. Everything on the table was handed to us; and no more of the gentry came down into our cabin to smoke, or throw themselves on the cushions to sleep while we sat at work.

"Our fare was what might be expected on Lake Michigan. Salt beef and pork, and sea biscuit; tea without milk, bread and potatoes. Charley throve upon potatoes and bread; and we all had the best results of food—health and strength.

"A little schooner which left Chicago at the same time with ourselves, and reached Milwaukee first, was a pretty object. On the 29th we were only twenty-five miles from the settlement; but the wind was so unfavorable that it was doubtful whether we should reach it that day. Some of the passengers amused themselves by gaming, down in the hold; others by parodying a Methodist sermon, and singing a mock hymn. We did not get rid of them till noon on the 30th when we had the pleasure of seeing our ship disgorge twenty-five into one boat and two into another. The atmosphere was so transparent as to make the whole scene appear as if viewed through an opera glass; the still, green water, the dark boats with their busy oars, the moving passengers, and the struggles of one to recover his hat, which had fallen overboard. We were yet five miles from Milwaukee, but we could see the bright, wooded coast, with a few white dots of houses.

"While Dr. F. went on shore, to see what was to be seen, we had the cabin cleaned out, and took, once more, complete possession of it, for both day and night. As soon as this was done, seven young women came down the companion way, seated themselves

round the cabin, and began to question us. They were the total female population of Milwaukee, which settlement now contains four hundred souls. We were glad to see these ladies; for it was natural enough that the seven women should wish to behold two more, when such a chance offered. A gentleman of the place, who came on board this afternoon told me that a printing press had arrived a few hours before, and that a newspaper would speedily appear. He was kind enough to forward the first number to me a few weeks afterwards, and I was amused to see how pathetic an appeal to the ladies of more thickly-settled districts it contained; imploring them to cast a favorable eye on Milwaukee and its hundreds of bachelors. Milwaukee had been settled since the preceding November. It had good stores; (to judge from the nature and quantity of goods sent ashore from our ship); it had a printing press and a newspaper, before the settlers had time to get wives. I heard these new settlements sometimes called patriarchal, but what would the patriarchs have said to such an order of affairs?

"Doctor F. returned from the town, with apple-pie, cheese and ale, wherewith to vary our ship diet. With him arrived such a number of townspeople that the steward wanted to turn us out of our cabin once more; but we were sturdy, appealed to the captain, and were confirmed in possession. From this time began the delights of our voyage. The moon, with her train of glory, was magnificent tonight, the vast body of waters on which she shone being as calm as if the wind were dead.

"The navigation of these lakes is at present a mystery. They have not yet been properly surveyed. Our captain had gone to and fro on Lake Huron, but had never before been on Lake Michigan; and this was rather an anxious voyage to him. We had got aground on the sandbar before Milwaukee harbor; and on the 1st of July all hands were busy in unshipping the cargo, to lighten the vessel, instead of carrying her up to the town. An elegant little schooner was riding at anchor near us; and we were well amused in admiring her, and in watching the bustle on deck, till some New England youth, or our Milwaukee acquaintance, brought us from the shore two newspapers, some pebbles, flowers, and a pitcher of fine strawberries.

"As soon as we were off the bar, the vessel hove round, and we cast anchor in deeper water. Charley was called to see the sailors work the windlass, and to have a ride thereon. The sailors were very kind to the boy. They dressed up their dog for him in sheepskins and a man's hat; a sight to make older people than Charley laugh. They took him down into the forecastle to show him prints that were pasted up there. They asked him to drink rum and water with them, to which Charley answered that he should be happy to drink water with them, but had rather not have any rum. While we were watching the red sunset over the leaden waters, betokening a change of weather, the steamer *New York* came ploughing the bay, three weeks after her time; such is the uncertainty in the navigation of these stormy lakes. She got aground on the sandbank as we had done; and boats were going from her to the shore and back, as long as we could see.

"The next day there was rain and some wind. The captain and steward went off to make final purchases; but the fresh meat which had been bespoken for us had been bought up by somebody else; and no milk was to be had, only two cows being visible in the place. Ale was the only luxury we could obtain. When the captain returned he brought with him a stout gentleman, one of the proprietors of the vessel, who must have a berth in our cabin as far as Mackinaw; those elsewhere being too small for him. Under the circumstances, we had no right to complain; so we helped the steward to partition off a portion of the cabin with a counterpane, fastened with four forks. This gentleman, Mr. D. [Michael Dousman] was engaged in the fur trade at Mackinaw, and had a farm there, to which he kindly invited us."

Eight years after this glimpse of Milwaukee by Harriet Martineau, Margaret Fuller came to the growing town and made a record of her impressions. This was in 1843, when Miss Fuller was thirty-three years of age. It was after her experience as a resident of Brook Farm and editor of the *Dial*, but before her engagement as literary critic for the *New York Tribune*. While here she boarded on Wisconsin Street, with the daughters of the Rev. Lemuel Hull, in what at that time was the finest residence in the city. Her book, "Summer on the Lakes," published during the same year, contains the following account of her impressions and experiences:

"We came to Milwaukee, where we were to pass a fortnight or more. This place is most beautifully situated. A little river, with romantic banks, passes through the town. The bank of the lake is here a bold bluff eighty feet in height. From its summit you enjoy a noble outlook on the lake. A little narrow path wound along the edge of the lake below. I liked this walk much. Above me this high wall of rich earth, garlanded on its crest with trees, the long ripples of the lake coming up to my feet. Here, standing in the shadow, I could appreciate better its magnificent changes of color, which are the chief beauties of the lake waters; but these are indescribable.

"It was fine to ascend into the lighthouse, above this bluff, and watch from thence the thunder clouds which so frequently rose over the lake, or the great boats coming in. Approaching the Milwaukee pier, they made a bend, and seemed to do obeisance in the heavy style of some dowager duchess entering a circle she wished to treat with especial respect.

"These boats come in and out every day, and still afford a cause for general excitement. The people swarm down to greet them, to receive and send away their packages and letters. To me they seemed such mighty messengers, to give, by their noble motion, such an idea of the power and fullness of life that they were worthy to carry dispatches from king to king. It must be very pleasant for those who have an active share in carrying on the affairs of this great and growing world to see them come in. It must be very pleasant to those who have dearly loved friends at the next station. To those who have neither business nor friends it sometimes gives a desolating sense of insignificance.

"The town promises to be, some time, a fine one, as it is so well situated; and they have good building material, a yellow brick, very pleasing to the eye. It seems to grow before you, and has indeed but just emerged from the thickets of oak and wild roses. A few steps will take you into the thickets, and certainly I never saw so many wild roses, or of so beautiful a red.

"One day, walking along the river's bank in search of a waterfall to be seen from one ravine, we heard strains from a band of music, and saw a gay troop shooting at a mark, on the opposite bank. Between every shot the band played; the effect was very pretty. On this walk we found two of the oldest and most gnarled

hemlocks that ever afforded study for a painter. They were the only ones we saw. They seemed the veterans of a former race.

"At Milwaukee, as at Chicago, are many pleasant people, drawn together from all parts of the world. A resident here would find great piquancy in the associations, those he met having such dissimilar histories and topics. Several persons I saw evidently were transplanted from the most refined circles to be met in this country. There are lures enough in the West for people of all kinds—the enthusiast and the cunning man, the naturalist, and the lover who needs to be rich for the sake of her he loves.

"The torrent of emigration swells very strongly towards this place. During the fine weather, the poor refugees arrive daily, in their national dresses, all travel-soiled and worn. The night they pass in rude shanties in a particular quarter of the town, then walk off into the country—the mothers carrying their infants, the fathers leading the little children by the hand, seeking a home where their hands may maintain them.

"Here on the pier I see disembarking the Germans, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Swiss. Who knows how much of old legendary lore, of modern wonder, they have already planted amid the Wisconsin forests? Soon their tales of the origin of things and the Providence which rules them will be so mingled with those of the Indian that the very oak trees will not know them apart—will not know whether themselves be Runic, Druid, or Winnebago oaks. Some seeds of all growths that have ever been known in this world might, no doubt, already be found in these Western wilds, if we had the power to call them to life. Could one but have the gift of reading the dreams dreamed by men of such various birth, various history, various mind, it would afford much more extensive amusement than did the chambers of one Spanish city. Could I have flown at night through such mental experiences, instead of being shut up in my little bedroom at the Milwaukee boarding house, this chapter would have been worth reading. As it is, let us hasten to a close.

"Had I been rich in money, I might have built a house, or set up in business, during my fortnight's stay at Milwaukee, matters move on there at so rapid a rate. But being rich only in curiosity, I was obliged to walk the streets and pick up what I could in casual intercourse. When I left the street, indeed, and walked

on the bluffs, or sat beside the lake in their shadow, my mind was rich in dreams congenial to the scene, some time to be realized, though not by me. A boat was left, keel up, half on the sand, half in the water, swaying with each swell of the lake. It gave a picturesque grace to that part of the shore, as the only image of inaction—the only object of a pensive character to be seen. Near this I sat, to dream my dreams and watch the colors of the lake, changing hourly, till the sun sank. These hours yielded impulses, wove webs, such as life will not again afford.

"Returning to the boarding house, which was also a boarding school, we were sure to be greeted with gay laughter. This school was conducted by two girls of nineteen and seventeen years; their pupils were nearly as old as themselves; the relation seemed very pleasant between them. The only superiority, that of superior knowledge, was sufficient to maintain all the authority that was needed to keep daily life in good order.

"In the West people are not respected merely because they are old in years; people there have not time to keep up appearances in that way; when they cease to have a real advantage in wisdom, knowledge or enterprise, they must stand back, and let those who are oldest in character go ahead, however few years they may count. There are no banks of established respectability in which to bury the talent there; no napkin of precedent in which to wrap it. What cannot be made to pass current is not esteemed coin of the realm.

"To the windows of this house, where the daughter of a famous 'Indian fighter,' i. e., fighter against the Indians, was learning French and the piano, came wild, tawny figures, offering for sale their baskets of berries. The boys now, instead of brandishing the tomahawk, tame their hands to pick raspberries.

"Here the evenings were much lightened by the gay chat of one of the party, who, with the excellent practical sense of mature experience, and the kindest heart, united a naiveté and innocence such as I never saw in any other who had walked so long life's tangled path. Like a child, she was everywhere at home, and, like a child, received and bestowed entertainment from all places, all persons. I thanked her for making me laugh, as did the sick and poor, whom she was sure to find out in her briefest sojourn

in any place, for more substantial aid. Happy are those who never grieve, and so often aid and enliven their fellow men!"

From Milwaukee, as Miss Martineau had done before her, Miss Fuller proceeded to Mackinaw Island.

Under date of July 10, 1843, a correspondent of the *New York Tribune* who signed himself "Emigrant" wrote to that paper as follows from Milwaukee:

"I arrived here on Saturday in the *Chesapeake*, and presuming that an impartial though hasty sketch of this delightful town would interest your readers, have been induced to write this letter.

"You would be surprised could you see the spirit of industry that is everywhere exhibiting itself in Milwaukee. I have strolled through the length and breadth of the town, and will give you some of my observations. First in order, I must notice the pier, which runs from the foot of Huron Street, projecting into Lake Michigan nearly one thousand feet. This must be characterized as one of the most lucrative enterprises which has characterized the growth of the town. Every upper lake steamer visits it and receives and discharges its freight. Last season there were two small harbor boats which plied regularly to and from the lake steamers anchored out in the bay. This was an inconvenience, as many passengers were anxious to visit the town, and were compelled to pay 25 to 50 cents fare. Immigrants who had paid their passage from Buffalo were imposed upon by an additional charge for lighterage at Milwaukee. The pier now receives the business formerly transacted by the harbor boats, and does all the heavy lake trade. It is the general business depot of Milwaukee.

"The buildings here are mostly frame, and the main street, which I believe is called Water, is very handsomely situated and fronting on the Milwaukee River. The stores are tastefully constructed with arcades and large imposing fronts. There is a peculiar vanity, however, displayed, which, I might say, marks every Western town, I allude to the show and flare of articles outside the shops. Into many of these stores I entered, and the assortments and qualities of articles were equal to those of our retail establishments in the city of New York. The mercantile business here is in a flourishing condition, if one may judge from the number of new stores opened since the first of May. The

public houses, of which there are many, vie in point of excellence with those of older and more populous towns in the East. They are mostly conducted by Eastern landlords, who are competent caterers, place them where you will.

"In churches, Milwaukee is by no means scantily supplied. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Catholics, Congregationalists and Universalists each have a flourishing society. The citizens here are a more church-going people than I had expected to find them. Yesterday was the Sabbath, and the streets and business thoroughfares reminded me of a New England village. The society here is mixed. More than one-third, I should judge, are foreigners. There has been much immigration into this territory this season. The people here predict a great tide in the fall, and are preparing for the rush."

The correspondent concluded with a description of the dam and the water power, which he considered "important to the future prosperity of Milwaukee."

In October, 1843, some one wrote as follows to the *Pittsburg Gazette*:

"In the early part of last month we paid a visit to Southport, Racine, and Milwaukee, in Wisconsin, on Lake Michigan, and were truly surprised at their growth and prosperity. Milwaukee especially astonished us. We had no expectation of seeing a place of even half its size and importance. Buildings are going up in every direction, and many fine ones already built. Its situation is beautiful, much superior, we think, to Chicago, as it has high ground for pleasant private residences, as well as plenty of room on the harbor and river for business houses. At present the harbor cannot be entered, and boats stop at a pier, thrust out into the lake. But the government, we believe, is removing the bar at the mouth of the river, when it will have a splendid harbor, with the town lying between it and the lake. A census has just been taken, showing the number of inhabitants to be 6,000, being an increase of more than 100 per cent. in three years. The *Milwaukee Courier* states 'the crowds of emigrants that overflow the public houses and flock in the streets would appear incredible to any but an eye-witness.' The emigrants are mostly from the New England states and from the northern parts of Europe, making a moral, intelligent, enterprising population."

General Rufus King, who in the fall of 1845 became the editor of the *Sentinel*, functioning in that capacity till the opening of 1861, made a visit to Milwaukee in June of the former year, and wrote as follows to the *Albany Evening Journal*:

"In 1835 the only inhabitant of the quarter-section which now constitutes the principal part of Milwaukee was Mr. Juneau, an Indian trader. Now upon the same ground stands a town of some eight thousand inhabitants, and every steamboat, sailing vessel or propeller which comes up the lakes brings accessions to the population. The city contains ten churches—one Methodist, one Baptist, one Episcopal, one Presbyterian, one Congregational, one Unitarian, one Lutheran, one Catholic, and two others the denominations of which I did not learn. Two more churches, one for the Catholics which is to cost $70,000, and one for the Baptists, have been commenced. Law flourishes here, as, strange to say, it seems to do in most newly-settled towns. I think the profession in Milwaukee numbers forty-two or forty-three members. There are eighteen doctors, but the salubrity of the climate is such that about one-half of them are without patients. A large number of substantial and well-filled stores line the two or three principal streets, and several of the merchants for the last two years have done a retail business to the amount of forty or fifty thousand dollars. There are three first-rate and a score of second-rate hotels. The tide of travel through this place is marvelous to behold. The press is well represented at Milwaukee. Many of the churches, stores and other buildings are of brick, and the bricks used are made here. They are of a light salmon color, and, I should judge, but little if at all inferior to the best of our Albany bricks. The Milwaukee River furnishes an abundant and reliable water power. The river, which is about three hundred feet in width, by from ten to fourteen in depth, is dammed a mile or more above the town, and the water for milling and factory purposes is drawn off through a fine canal. A fall of fourteen feet can be obtained, but ten is all that is needed at present. The factories are all built between the river and the canal. From the latter they derive their supply of water, and the former enables vessels of all sizes to come up and moor immediately alongside. The river runs through the heart of the town, and is spanned by several drawbridges. The warehouses, several of which are of

the largest class and most substantially built, stand close to the water's edge, so that vessels can be loaded and unloaded with dispatch and convenience."

The letter went on to criticize the Federal government's location of the harbor at the natural mouth of the river, "a mile or two from the business center of the town," and to note the fact that private enterprise had built a pier into the lake at a more convenient location, where most of the steamers landed their passengers and cargoes and took on new business. It concluded:

"The number of immigrants and travelers of all sorts who land at Milwaukee well nigh passes belief. During the three days I have been here the average has been two hundred a day, and for the last eight weeks the average, I am assured, has been one thousand a week. The great mass of travel and immigration comes into the Territory through Milwaukee, which is destined to be the chief commercial and manufacturing city of this Western empire."

Milwaukee and Chicago were negligible in 1832, when William Cullen Bryant made his first tour of the West. That excursion took him down the Ohio and Mississippi to St. Louis and beyond. He was greatly impressed with the vastness of the country, and in the final letter of a series which he wrote to his wife, conveying impressions by the way, observed: "What I have thought and felt amid these boundless wastes and awful solitudes I shall reserve for the only form of expression in which it can be properly uttered." In Volume I. of his collected poetical works some of the reflections thus referred to may be discovered in his poem on "The Prairies."

In the spring of 1843 he made a tour of "the old South," which took him to Virginia, South Carolina and Florida. It was in the summer of 1846 that he came to the Northwest, departing from Buffalo by steamboat on the 24th of July. The 1st of August found him coasting the western shore of Lake Michigan. He wrote:

"A high bank presented a long line of forest. This was broken by the little town of Sheboygan, with its lighthouse among the shrubs of the bank, its cluster of houses just built, among which were two hotels, and its single schooner lying at the mouth of the river. You probably never heard of Sheboygan before. It has

just sprung up in the forests of Wisconsin. The leaves have hardly withered on the trees that were felled to make room for its houses; but it will make a noise in the world yet.

"Further on we came to Milwaukee, which is rapidly becoming one of the great cities of the West. It lies within a semicircle of green pastoral declivities sprinkled with scattered trees where the future streets are to be built. We landed at a kind of wharf, formed by a long platform of planks laid on piles, under which the water flows, and extending some distance into the lake, and along which a car, running on a railway, took the passengers and their baggage and a part of the freight of the steamer to shore.

" 'Will you go up to the town, sir?' was the question with which I was saluted by the drivers of a throng of vehicles of all sorts as soon as I reached the land. They were ranged along a firm sandy beach between the lake and the river of Milwaukee.

"On one side, the light green waters of the lake, of crystalline clearness, came rolling in before the wind, and on the other the dark, thick waters of the river lay still and stagnant in the sun.

"We did not go up to the town, but could see that it was compactly built, and in one quarter nobly. A year or two since that quarter had been destroyed by fire, and on the spot several large and lofty warehouses had been erected, with a hotel of the largest class. They were a fine light-brown color, and when I learned that they were of brick I inquired of a bystander if that was the natural color of the material. 'They are of Milwaukee brick,' he answered; 'and neither painted nor stained; and are better brick, besides, than are made at the eastward.'

"Milwaukee is said to contain at present about ten thousand inhabitants. Here the fringe of forest that borders on the lake stretches back for several miles to the prairies of Wisconsin. 'The Germans,' said a passenger, 'are already in the woods, hacking at the trees, and will soon open the country to the prairies.'

"We made a short trip to Racine, prettily situated on the bank among the scattered trees of an oak opening, and another to Southport, a rival town eleven miles farther south. It is surprising how many persons travel as way-passengers from place to place on the shores of these lakes. When we woke up the next morning, our steamer was at Chicago."

In his "Recollections of a Busy Life" Horace Greeley makes brief reference to two occasions which brought him to the vicinity of Milwaukee before the period of the Civil war. The first of these was in the spring of 1847, when he came West to inspect a copper mining enterprise on the shore of Lake Superior. "My earlier trip," he says, "was concluded by a visit per steamboat, via Mackinac, Sheboygan and Milwaukee, to Chicago, then a smart and growing village, where some thousands of us gathered from the East and from the West in a grand River and Harbor Convention, which was organized on the Fourth of July. Milwaukee was then a smart but struggling country village, consisting of some 300 to 400 new houses clustered about a steamboat landing at the mouth of a shallow, crooked creek. Wisconsin had then fewer than 100,000 inhabitants, which twenty subsequent years have increased to nearly or quite a million. Sheboygan was then of relatively far greater consequence than now, but going back thence a dozen miles inland to visit my father's brother Leonard I was traversing the wilderness within two miles, and I traveled under the shadow of the primeval forest for most of the succeeding ten miles; but the soil was generally good and the timber excellent, being largely composed of hickory, elm and other valuable trees, while the clearings, though new and small, were full of promise, not only in their thick-set velvet grass, and in their springing grain, but in the wealth of rugged, active, coarsely clad, but intelligent and vigorous children. Wisconsin has scarcely been surpassed by any State in her subsequent growth in population, production and wealth, and I predict that the close of this century will see her the home of three millions of people, energetic, industrious, worthy and happy as any on earth." Evidently he saw more of Chicago than of Milwaukee on the trip to which he thus refers, and on the other he returned to the East without coming to Milwaukee at all.

Bayard Taylor lectured in Milwaukee in March, 1855. He was at that time thirty years of age, and had gained reputation as a traveler by the publication of his "Views Afoot." Here is his account of how he came from Janesville, where he had risen early after lecturing the night before:

"It was as dazzling a winter picture as I remember to have seen. There was not a cloud in the sky nor a movement in the

air—nothing but silent, intense, sunlit cold. The smoke from houses along the hills on the eastern bank of Rock River rose in straight, silvery columns; the breath of men and horses floated in frosty clouds around their nostrils; the snow under foot was white and crisp as a wedding cake. The sun shone cheerfully on the groups around the depot, on the dumb river below, on the wide sweeps of snowy prairie lying clearly cut against the pale blue sky. The Badgers, who are a remarkably healthy and vigorous race, had that morning the jolliest red on their cheeks, and the keenest sparkle in their eyes. I believe I should enjoy Nova Zembla, if its days were all like this. [At the time of writing, Mr. Taylor was contemplating a visit to the Arctic circle, on which he departed three months later.]

"The locomotive started with frost on its whiskers and icicles hanging to its chin, but as the track was tolerably clear we made good headway. A very amusing accident took place on the road during the snowstorm. A company of Irishmen was employed in shoveling out one of the deep cuts, under the direction of officers of the road. The snow had drifted in behind them, filling up the track again, when a powerful locomotive, with snow-plow attached, was sent under full head of steam to clear it out. On she came, flinging the drifts over her smokestack and walking straight through all obstacles till she rushed upon the company of shovelers. They heard the whistle, but, supposing she would halt, kept on with their labors. The engineer, on the contrary, supposed they would clear the track, and shot down on them so rapidly that the superintendent had barely time to save himself by a powerful jump. The shovelers had no time to jump, and the plow, as it tore through the drifts, turned over a double furrow of live Irishmen. Some were thrown high and dry upon the bank; others were smoothly laid out and covered in; but no one was injured. After the accident, it was averred, most of them believed themselves dead and buried, and it was difficult to convince them to the contrary.

"We reached Milwaukee in due time, and I found the beautiful city as beautiful as ever, only, instead of the river, which last spring by moonlight reminded me of the Canal Grande in Venice, there was now an icy plain, more like a street in Stockholm. Here there are almost daily trotting matches over a half-mile course.

The sleighing is admirable, except in the principal thoroughfares of the city. The harbor is closed up, and broad fields of drifted ice stretch far out into Lake Michigan. No ice, however, can freeze up the hospitable doors of Milwaukee, and the genial social atmosphere, with the yellow Italian-looking houses, makes one fancy himself in a milder latitude.

"I took a sleigh yesterday and drove to Racine, twenty-five miles south of this. The road lay through an undulating country near the lake, but out of sight of it for nearly the whole way. The sleighing was truly superb, and my horse, though lean from over-exercise of that kind, made the distance easily in three hours and a half. The country has a rude, half-settled aspect. Except at a village called Oak Creek one sees no comfortable farm houses. The original log cabins appear at intervals, surrounded by stumpy clearings, and back of them the primitive forest. I saw two steam sawmills, which, from the piles of lumber around them, appear to be doing a thriving business. The railroad between Milwaukee and Racine will probably be opened April 1, nearly all the track having been laid.

"I drove back this morning under a sky which was spotless in its transparency. The mercury stood at twelve above zero, showing that the rigor of the season is beginning to relax. The spring —or, rather, March—opens under favorable auspices, but in these Western lands, what dreary depths of mud, what quagmires and sloughs of despond lie between the disappearance of snow and the season of violets!"

Among visitors to Milwaukee in the 'fifties was the celebrated Dr. Isaac Meyer Wise, at that time officiating as a Jewish rabbi at Cincinnati, where subsequently he established the *American Israelite*, of which he was the editor at the time of his death in 1900. Doctor Wise advocated the modification of certain Jewish customs in deference to usage prevalent in America, arguing that no principle would suffer by the changes he proposed, and that their adoption would tend to relieve adherents to his ancient faith from the inconvenience of being regarded as a class apart. In the course of a journey for the promulgation of his views, he happened to visit Chicago in the summer of 1855. Writing his "Reminiscences," many years thereafter, Doctor Wise observed:

"Since my funds were not yet exhausted and I had nothing of importance to do at home, I went from Chicago to Milwaukee by steamer for the sake of the lake trip. I have seen the prairies of Illinois and Iowa, those endless stretches of grass, at their best. Like Irving and Gersteaecker, I have seen the sun rise on the prairies. I have seen the rays of the king of day kiss the countless bedewed flowers, so that they glittered brilliantly, like myriads of precious stones. I have seen the wind sweep through the waves of grass, and agitate the vast expanse. The rich flora and fauna of the virgin plains amazed me, but did not evoke my imagination. Flat surfaces visible as far as the eye can reach exert no charm upon me. I much preferred the lake on a moonlight night, when a thousand stars looked down upon me and a thousand illusions deceived me. I felt at home, and coquetted with the moon until she disappeared, and I was left alone with the beautiful silvery waves. Every star is reflected in the deep; there is a second firmament there below. Which is the real one? I was vexed when the morning dawned, and we arrived at Milwaukee. I would have been content to dream away several more nights, but, being sleepy, I hied myself to the hotel and retired."

Doctor Wise accepted an invitation to be a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Elias Friend, at that time residing on Van Buren Street, between Wisconsin and Michigan streets. Of this experience, he remarked:

"I enjoyed myself exceedingly at the home of the Friends. It was more than pleasant to be received so heartily and entertained so cordially as a teacher and friend in a beautiful little home near the lake, surrounded with flowers, inhabited by a happy young couple with one child. It was a glimpse of paradise. In addition to all this I heard the Lorelei at night. My bedroom was near the lake shore. Hence I heard at night the most beautiful music in the world—the splashing of the waves as they advanced to the shore and receded. This sound is fascinating, and at the same time restful. I enjoyed my few days' stay in Milwaukee."

That the impression made upon travelers by scenery is sometimes dependent upon the mood if not the character of the traveler, may be inferred from the wide divergence between what Doctor Wise said of Lake Michigan and Anthony Trollope's

sweeping condemnation of all the Great Lakes, from the standpoint of a traveler, which will be noted a few pages later on.

The editor of the *Cleveland Leader* wrote the following in the winter of 1858:

"We had the pleasure of visiting Milwaukee lately, and were surprised at the size of the city and the amount of business doing. It now has a population of 53,000, many fine public buildings and business blocks. Nearly all are built of that beautiful material known as Milwaukee brick. This is made of a peculiar kind of clay that gives the bricks a light yellow color instead of the dull red monotonously inseparable from other brick. It is a relief in one's travels to find a city not built of the monotonous red brick and mortar. Among the buildings that reflect credit on the city is the mammoth Newhall House. This magnificent hotel is perhaps the most elegantly furnished and best kept-up and managed west of New York. In fact, the richness of its furniture and luxuriousness of its table hardly are excelled by the Astor or St. Nicholas. Besides, the Newhall can boast of most worthy hosts and officers."

Rev. C. F. Le Fevre came to Milwaukee in 1844, and was a frequent contributor to publications of his time. "The Rose of Sharon," published in 1855 contained a long poem from his pen entitled "Milwaukee." Here are some of the stanzas:

Deep in the bay, with bold and jutting lands,
And sandy beach, Milwaukee proudly stands,
A "city on a hill," whose summit high,
With steeples crowned, aspires unto the sky,
While down its sides and on its ample breast,
Ten thousand households find their peaceful rest.
Its level base the flashing waters lave—
Milwaukee's stream and Michigan's blue wave.

In sleeping solitude the forest lay.
No keel as yet had plowed the placid bay.
Alone the red man's humble wigwam stood.
His light canoe alone had skimmed the flood.
The white man came, and modest was his claim;
To purchase peltries was his only aim;
Bracelets and beads and baubles gave in pay,
For which he bore the hard-earned furs away.

But greater objects soon his thoughts inspire,
And, Christian-like, to want is to acquire.
Visions of wealth in quick succession rise,
And avarice urges to possess the prize.
Majestic trees like lofty columns stood,
With which to build his "palaces of wood."
Cascades there were to yield the needed power
To shape his timber or to grind his flour.

Still further on he saw the boundless plain,
Already waving with the golden grain,
And only stopped, by fancy led along,
At cities peopled with the busy throng.
Behind him lay the lake. His active mind
In its blue depths could countless treasures find;
Not for its finny tribes, though even there
An interest lay that well deserved his care;
But commerce there could spread her whitened sail,
Transport the freight and court the favoring gale;
Or conquering steam resistless force impart
To bear the produce to the distant mart.

The die is cast, the vision is fulfilled;
Might has prevailed, and weaker right must yield.
Of homes, of graves, of lands now dispossessed,
Lo, the poor Indian seeks a farther West,
A hunting-ground to which he may retire,
Far from the white man's guile and "liquid fire,"
A life, a blanket rescued from his toils,
All else abandoned as "the victor's spoils."

To happier scenes my willing muse invites.
To make amends for violated rights,
Though, in strict truth, the justice is but small
That takes from Peter what it pays to Paul;
That banishes the red man from his home,
And then invites the foreigner to come;
That boasts of liberty and equal laws,
And gains the meed, at least, of self-applause.

Say, who are they of fresh and ruddy cheek?
Whence come they, what language do they speak?
These are the dwellers from old Father Rhine,
The land of castles, libraries and wine;
They come in hope to own "the right of soil,"
And bravely yield their sinews to the toil.
Patient and frugal, hopeful still the while,
Ere many years a home for them may smile.

Men in short jerkins, with unfailing pipe;
Women, short waists, and kirtles with a stripe.
Trilling some native air, they pass along,
Alike contented, resolute and strong.
Huge chests they bring, with clamps securely bound,
Beneath whose lids their chattels all are found.
Clothes, Bibles, bottles, here together band,
With fond memorials from their Fatherland.
Success attend them, and success they'll find—
But on these terms: the bottles leave behind!

Norway and Sweden and the Alpine hills
Where snows dissolving form cascading rills,
Where the bold Swiss pursues the chamois light,
Scales the steep crag and dares the dizzy height—
Their sons oppressed with poverty send forth,
The hardy tenants of the sterile North.
These too shall triumph if their arms they wield
Not in the battle, but the harvest-field.

Ye sons of Erin, a promiscuous throng,
The muse shall not neglect you in her song.
To you the honest dues she willing pays,
Whose pick and shovel smooth the rugged ways,
Whose brawny shoulders heavy burdens bear,
To build the mansion, or the temple rear;
Yourselves contented with the humble shed,
With wife, with children, and with daily bread.

A higher destiny your sons shall find,
Where public schools instruct the public mind.
By nature formed of quick, impulsive parts,
A ready wit, with warm and generous hearts,
'Tis theirs in future days to take their stand
Among the first and noblest of the land,
And some already on the page of fame
In glowing characters have stamped their name.
. . . . . .
Farewell, Milwaukee! May some worthier lays
In coming years rehearse thy well-earned praise.
May other towns from thee a pattern take,
And own thee model city of the lake;
Wisconsin glory in thy honest fame,
And hand to history thy deathless name.

Henry Villard was a visitor to Milwaukee in 1856—Villard, newspaper reporter, war correspondent, Napoleon of finance, the genius of Northern Pacific Railroad and Oregon Transportation celebrity, the keen, far-sighted investment advisor for two continents, who told people that the great secret of making money with money is not to put all your eggs into one basket, but to have a multiplicity of interests, so that if one thing goes wrong you "stand a chance to make" on another—the wizard who devised a corporation concerned with light and power plants as well as with railroad and steamship companies, and who in one of the great crashes in the financial world went down only to come up smiling, with new plans suited to changed conditions, which put him and his friends again on Easy Street. He came to America as a German boy, with his way to make—and he made it. His name to begin with wasn't Henry Villard. He "made a name" in two senses of the phrase, for he created the designation "Henry Villard" and took it for himself, and then he caused it to become famous. When he landed on the shores of the republic his name was Gustavus Hilgard. After he had married the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, and achieved wealth and position, and was approaching the end of a varied and romantic career, he wrote the story of his life, entitled "Memoirs of Henry Villard." One of the early chapters of that work contains an account of his experiences in Milwaukee, prefixed by the confession that, as a young fellow with his way to make, he had tired of living with the family of his uncle, a well-to-do Western farmer, and was ambitious to earn money, which he thought he could do by canvassing for a subscription book. His arrangement was effected with the head of a firm of booksellers in Chicago, representing an Eastern publishing house. Villard says:

"He," the bookseller, "would assign me to an unexplored and promising field, the City of Milwaukee. I was to be allowed a commission of 33 per cent on all subscriptions obtained. Being provided with a full equipment of subscription books and circulars, I lost no time in starting for the scene of my future operations.

"Milwaukee has always been an almost German city. In 1856 the preponderance of the German element was even greater than at present. In fact, its Americanization, which has in the meantime progressed very rapidly, had hardly then begun. It was known among German-Americans as 'Deutsch-Athen,' and, comparatively speaking, deserved the name. There was a large number of educated and accomplished men among my countrymen, and in them the love of music and histrionic art was very marked. Under the leadership of Hans Balatka, who still wields the baton in Chicago, good orchestral and vocal music was more liberally provided for than in any other city in the West. There was also a very good German theater. Another attraction was the Hotel Weltstein [misprint for Wettstein,] the best German inn in the United States. It was named after the proprietor, who had belonged to a learned profession in the fatherland, and was a most intelligent, well-informed and entertaining host, though too fond of a glass of good wine. He was killed twenty-five years afterward by a fall from a window. He kept his house very neat and clean, furnished an excellent table, and his charges were reasonable.

"I obtained quarters there and quickly became acquainted with a number of the leading Germans, who were either regular guests, or who had the habit of enjoying a social glass there. I felt at first encouraged by the fact that my work would be mostly among our own countrymen. But I soon found out that this was, on the contrary, a disadvantage, for most of those I approached knew nothing of American literature and did not care much for it. They had not been in the country long enough for that, and moreover their purely German surroundings naturally kept their interest in American affairs at a low point. I was made to feel before long that they had not become sufficiently emancipated from the feelings of caste not to look down upon me, more or less, as a book-peddler. I strove very hard to obtain subscribers,

and regularly set out every morning, and devoted all the day to going about from store to store and office to office. I have a lively recollection of a very heavy snowstorm, that raged for days and was followed by a cold spell that made canvassing very irksome physically. By degrees the meager fruits of my efforts caused my sanguine hopes to vanish and made me uneasy as to the final outcome. At the end of three weeks I had sold only thirty-five copies in all—twenty-seven to Americans, and eight to Germans. I believe I am correct in saying that only one out of every twelve attempts to sell was successful. I need not mention that meant all sorts of experiences for me, mostly of a disagreeable character. I had as a rule to drink continually of the cup of humiliation. I had the satisfaction of having tried my best, and enjoyed, upon the whole, a good time socially. Of course this did not suffice, as I had failed in my real object, which was to make money. The net pecuniary result was that I spent, all in all, five more dollars than I received during the three weeks, though I really had exhausted the field from which I had expected so much. I returned to Chicago much disheartened."

Another and a still more famous name associated with Milwaukee is that of Carl Schurz, who, writing to his wife, under date of October 9, 1854, supplied the following intimate report of his first impressions of the city:

"My last letter I wrote from St. Louis shortly before my departure for Chicago. I rode through the night, and finding at Chicago letters from my Uncle Jacob, who urged me in a most pressing manner to pay him a visit, I took the night steamer, which brought me across Lake Michigan to Milwaukee. This voyage, crossing the lake on an indescribably lovely moonlight night, was one of the most beautiful of my journey, and in this riotous enjoyment of nature nothing was lacking save that I should have had you by my side. * * * The trip from Chicago to Milwaukee by boat takes eight hours, and when I awoke in my stateroom this morning I found the chief city of Wisconsin before me. The town is quite pretty, but for some time it has not been progressing very well. The immigration into Wisconsin has been somewhat too forced. The state has to some extent overshot its future, and when the formidable competition of Chicago arose it could not quite keep up. Still, things will undoubtedly go better

as soon as the territories west of Wisconsin become states, so as to give the trade of Milwaukee a new market. In Milwaukee, you can see in the morning, while passing through the street, the German house father standing in his door in dressing gown and slippers, with his long pipe in his mouth."

This first glimpse of Milwaukee was gained by Mr. Schurz on his way to Watertown, where his uncle lived. In another letter to his wife, dated at Milwaukee, August 15, 1855, he observed:

"The reason for my journey to Milwaukee is principally that before definitely closing with Jackson I want to see once more what opportunities there are here for favorable investments. In addition, I shall try to make some acquaintances, business and other. Today is Wednesday, and I expect to return to Watertown by the end of the week. Last night, immediately after my arrival, according to my old custom, I took a solitary walk through the city, particularly through those portions which contain the better dwellings. No American city, not even Cleveland, has made upon me such a pleasing impression. Most of the houses still combine in a highly delightful manner the urban with the rural character. The surrounding gardens are mostly full of dense foliage, and the almost universal and tastefully decorated veranda makes the whole very homelike and livable. Just as darkness fell, I came to the height above the lake where stands the white lighthouse tower which can be seen from afar, and suddenly I stood upon the steep declivity of the hill, which revealed, outspread before me, the light green, sail-covered water plane. The impression of the lake at this point is not very different from that of the sea, only the colors are not so darkly somber. The wish to live here arose strongly in me, particularly when I saw through a lighted window into a family room, and involuntarily imagined you and our child in it."

In the following September, after attending a concert at Watertown by three of the artists of the Milwaukee Musical Society, he wrote to Mrs. Schurz:

"The Milwaukeeans this time selected 'Norma,' which had already been given a number of times in Milwaukee. You can imagine that a presentation without scenery, without orchestra, with a bare piano accompaniment, upon a bare concert stage, looked pretty bad. But so far as the musical performances them-

selves were concerned, they surpassed my expectations, and would in part have forced even an art critic to give a favorable judgment. I now understand very well how they put on more ambitious performances in Milwaukee with the best success. I do not believe they can perform any better in most of the small capitals of Germany. The small traveling company will perform their operatic concert in most of the larger cities of Wisconsin, and it is hoped that the praiseworthy efforts of Milwaukee will thus secure a wider support."

In the winter of 1858 Carl Schurz became a resident of Milwaukee. October 18, 1858, he had written the particulars to his wife: "This winter I shall live with Margarethe in Milwaukee" —"Margarethe" being Mrs. Schurz herself. "Some time ago, in consequence of an invitation from the Republican State Central Committee of Illinois, I spoke before a great assembly in Chicago with such success that I was asked by a number of citizens of that place to settle there as a lawyer. They went so far as formally to guarantee me a respectable income, so that I was not disinclined to consider it. When this matter became known, some of the most prominent American merchants, bankers and property-holders in Milwaukee met for the purpose of making me the same offer for Milwaukee which had been made by Chicago, if I would remain in the State of Wisconsin. I embraced the latter proposition all the more willingly since I already have a pretty wide reputation in this state, and because my pecuniary interests are concentered here. For the future, our affairs will be so shaped that we shall live in Milwaukee in the winter, and in the summer in Watertown, an arrangement which the railway arrangements will make convenient for my practice."

Mr. Schurz' agreement to practice law in partnership with Halbert E. Paine was dated January 1, 1859; but in 1860 he had returned to Watertown, from which place he was elected as delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention, and which remained his home address while he was campaigning for the election of Lincoln and for some time thereafter. In his "Reminiscences" he makes the following summary of his impressions regarding subjects touched upon in the letters quoted above:

"Chicago was then a city of about 65,000 inhabitants. * * * The city had on the whole what might be called an unhandsome

look. * * * From Chicago I went to Wisconsin, and there I found an atmosphere extremely congenial. Milwaukee, with a population much smaller than that of Chicago, had received rather more than its proportional share of the German immigration of 1848. The city had possessed a strong German element before—good-natured, quiet, order-loving, law-abiding and industrious citizens, with persons of marked ability among them, who contributed much to the growth of the community and enjoyed themselves in their simple and cheery way. But the 'Forty-eighters' brought something like a wave of spring sunshine into that life. They were mostly high-spirited young people, inspired by fresh ideals which they had failed to realize in the old world, but hoped to realize here; ready to enter upon any activity they might be capable of; and eager not only to make that activity profitable, but also to render life merry and beautiful; and, withal full of enthusiasm for the great American Republic which was to be their home and the home of their children. Some had brought money with them; others had not. Some had been educated at German universities for learned professions, some were artists, some literary men, some merchants. Others had grown up in more humble walks of life, but, a very few drones excepted, all went to work with a cheerful purpose to make the best of everything."

At the same place in his "Reminiscences" Mr. Schurz draws the following picture of the contribution which the German "Forty-eighters" made to the cultural and social sides of life in Milwaukee:

"They at once proceeded to enliven society with artistic enterprises. One of their first and most important achievements was the organization of the 'Musical Society' of Milwaukee, which, in an amazingly short time was able to produce oratorios and light operas in a really creditable manner. The 'German Turn Verein' not only cultivated the gymnastic arts for the benefit of its own members, but it produced 'living pictures' and similar exhibitions of high artistic value. The Forty-eighters thus awakened interests which a majority of the old population had hardly known, but which now attracted general favor and very largely bridged over the distance between the American and the newcomer. The establishment of a German theater was a matter of course, and

its performances, which, indeed, deserved much praise, proved so attractive that it became a sort of social center. It is true, similar things were done in other cities where the Forty-eighters had congregated; but, so far as I know, nowhere did their influence so quickly impress itself upon the whole social atmosphere as in 'the German Athens of America,' as Milwaukee was called at the time. It is also true that in a few instances the vivacity of this spirit ran into attempts to realize questionable or extravagant theories. But, on the whole, the inspiration proved itself exhilaratingly healthy, not only in a social, but also in a political sense."

The speed with which the grandfathers of the present generation redeemed Wisconsin from a wilderness was a constant source of amazement to Eastern visitors. One of the best known writers of his day was Nathaniel P. Willis. In 1860 Willis visited Wisconsin and was surprised to find conveniences of civilization in a land which had been virgin wilderness only a few years before. Recording his impressions, he wrote: "I had expected the houses to wigwamify, and the dresses or ornaments to wampumize, a trifle by the time we should get as far west as Milwaukee—but lo! as smart a little metropolis as you would find anywhere in Massachusetts! No sign of 'the wilderness,' as yet! Possibly a stray wolf or a red deer, upon the way, may have been astonished at the express alacrity with which we ran the ninety miles along the lake from Chicago; but, on arriving, we were received into one of the most costly hotels, and lodged as if at the St. Nicholas in Broadway. Even the dining room was a restaurant with small tables. Then excellent horse-railroads traversed the thoroughfares of gay stores and sidewalks; and the river (which can hardly yet have lost the print of the red man's foot in its sedgy border) was spanned by pivot-bridges! Nothing about it looked Western, or frontier, except the wood-girdled expanse of sailless lake. This, I confess, in comparison with our fleet-sprinkled waters, looked lonesomely aboriginal."

Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, who came to this country on a tour of observation shortly after the outbreak of the Civil war, made a tour of the lakes before proceeding southward, and obtained interesting impressions of Milwaukee which he

placed on record in his volume on "North America," published in 1862. Here is what he wrote:

"We had thought of going from Buffalo across Lake Erie to Detroit; but we found that the better class of steamers had been taken off the waters for the winter; and we also found that navigation among these lakes is a mistake whenever the necessary journey can be taken by railway. Their waters are by no means smooth, and then there is nothing to be seen. I do not know whether others may have a feeling, almost instinctive, that lake navigation must be pleasant—that lakes must of necessity be beautiful. I have such a feeling, but not now so strongly as formerly. Such an idea should be kept for use in Europe, and never brought over to America with other traveling gear. The lakes in America are cold, cumbrous, uncouth and uninteresting —intended by nature for the conveyance of cereal produce, but not for the comfort of traveling men and women.

"Milwaukee is a pleasant town, a very pleasant town, containing 45,000 inhabitants. How many of my readers can boast that they know anything of Milwaukee, or even have heard of it? To me its name was unknown until I saw it on huge railway placards stuck up in the smoking rooms and lounging halls of all American hotels. It is the big town of Wisconsin. It stands immediately on the western shore of Lake Michigan, and is very pleasant. Why it should be so, and why Detroit should be the contrary, I can hardly tell; only I think that the same verdict would be given by any English tourist. It must be always borne in mind that 10,000 or 40,000 inhabitants in an American town, and especially in any new Western town, is a number which means much more than would be implied by any similar number as to an old town in Europe. Such a population in America consumes double the amount of beef which it would in England, wears double the amount of clothes, and demands double as much of the comforts of life. If a census could be taken of the watches, it would be found, I take it, that the American population possessed among them nearly double as many as would the English; and I fear also that it would be found that many more of the Americans were readers and writers by habit. In any large town in England it is probable that a higher excellence of education

would be found than in Milwaukee, and also a style of life into which more of refinement and more of luxury had found its way. But the general level of these things, of material and intellectual well-being—of beef, that is, and book-learning—is no doubt infinitely higher in a new American than in an old European town. Such an animal as a beggar is as much unknown as a mastodon. Men out of work and in want of work are almost unknown. I do not say that there are none of the hardships of life, but want is not known as a hardship in these towns, nor is that dense ignorance in which so large a proportion of our town populations is still steeped. And then the town of 40,000 population is spread over a surface which would suffice in England for a city of four times the size.

"Our towns in England, and the towns, indeed, of Europe generally, have been built as they have been wanted. No aspiring ambition as to hundreds of thousands of people warmed the bosoms of their first founders. The founders of cities in America have had the experience of the world before them. They have known of sanitary laws as they began. That sewerage and gas and water and good air would be needed for a thriving community has been to them as much a matter of fact as are the well-understood combinations between timber and nails and bricks and mortar. They have known that water carriage is almost a necessity for commercial success, and have chosen their sites accordingly. Broad streets cost as little, while land by the foot is not as yet of value to be regarded, as those which are narrow; and therefore the sites of towns have been prepared with noble avenues and imposing streets. A city at its commencement is laid out with an intention that it shall be populous. The houses are not all built at once, but there are the places allocated for them. The streets are not made, but there are the spaces. Many an abortive attempt at municipal greatness has so been made and then all but abandoned. There are wretched villages, with huge, straggling parallel ways, which never will grow into towns. They are the failures—failures in which the pioneers of civilization, frontier men as they call themselves, have lost tens of thousands of dollars. But when the success comes, when the happy hit has been made, and the ways of commerce have been truly foreseen with a cunning eye, then a great and prosperous city springs up,

ready made as it were, from the earth. Such a town is Milwaukee, now containing 45,000 inhabitants, but with room apparently for double that number; with room for four times that number, were men packed as closely as they are with us. In the principal business streets of all these towns one sees vast buildings. They are usually called blocks. Such a block may face to two, three or even four streets, and, as I presume, has generally been a matter of one special speculation. It may be divided into separate houses, or kept for a single purpose, as that of a hotel, or grouped into shops below, and into various sets of chambers above. I have had occasion in various towns to mount the stairs within these blocks, and have generally found some portion of them vacant—sometimes have found the greater portion of them vacant. Men build on an enormous scale, three times, ten times as much as is wanted. The only measure of size is an increase on what men have built before.

"Monroe P. Jones, the speculator, is very probably ruined, and then begins the world again, nothing daunted. But Jones' Block remains, and gives to the city in its aggregate a certain amount of wealth. Or the block becomes at once of service and finds tenants, in which case Jones probably sells it, and immediately builds two others twice as big. That Monroe P. Jones will encounter ruin is a matter of course; but then he is none the worse for being ruined. It hardly makes him unhappy. He is greedy of dollars with a terrible covetousness; but he is greedy in order that he may speculate more widely. He would sooner have built Jones' tenth block, with a prospect of completing a twentieth, than settle himself down at rest for life. As for his children, he has no desire of leaving them money. Let the girls marry; and for the boys—for them it will be good to begin as he began. If they cannot build blocks for themselves, let them earn their bread in the blocks of other men. So Monroe P. Jones, with his million of dollars accomplished, advances on to a new frontier, goes to work again on a new city, and loses it all. But Jones is undoubtedly the man for the West. Monroe P. Jones would be a great man to all posterity, if only he had a poet to sing of his valor.

"It may be imagined how large in proportion to its inhabitants will be a town which spreads itself in this way. There are great

houses left untenanted and great gaps left unfilled; but if the place be successful, if it promise success, it will be seen at once that there is life all through it. Omnibuses, or street cars working on rails, run hither and thither. The shops that have been opened are well filled. The great hotels are thronged. The quays are crowded with vessels, and a general feeling of progress pervades the place. It is easy to see whether or no an American town is going ahead. The days of my visit to Milwaukee were days of civil war and national trouble, but in spite of civil war and national trouble Milwaukee looked healthy.

"At Milwaukee I went up to see the Wisconsin volunteers, who were then encamped on open ground in the close vicinity of the town. Wisconsin has 760,000 inhabitants. * * * It seemed to me that Wisconsin was quite alive to its presumed duty. With its three-quarters of a million people, Wisconsin is as large as England. Every acre of it may be made productive, but as yet it is not half cleared. Of such a country, its young men are its heart's blood. Ten thousand men, fit to bear arms, carried away from such land to the horrors of civil war, are a sight as full of sadness as any on which the eye can rest. Ah, me! when will they return, and with what altered hopes! It is, I fear, easier to turn the sickle into the sword than to recast the sword back into the sickle.

"We found a completed regiment at Milwaukee consisting entirely of Germans. A thousand Germans had been collected in Wisconsin and brought together in one regiment, and I was informed by an officer on the ground that there are many Germans in sundry of the other Wisconsin regiments. It may be well to mention here that the number of Germans through all these western states is very great. Their number and well-being were to me astonishing. In Detroit nearly every third shop bore a German name, and the same remark was to be made at Milwaukee. On all hands I heard praises of their morals, of their thrift, and of their new patriotism.

"The view from Milwaukee over Lake Michigan is very pleasing. One looks upon a vast expanse of water to which the eye finds no bounds, and therefore there are none of the common attributes of lake beauty; but the color of the lake is bright, and within a walk of the city the traveler comes to the bluffs or low

round-topped hills from which he can look down upon the shores. These bluffs form the beauty of Wisconsin and Minnesota, and relieve the eye after the flat level of Michigan. * * * From Milwaukee we went across Wisconsin, and reached the Mississippi River at La Crosse."

"Glimpses and Glances at the West," by an Eastern woman, written for the *Boston Commonwealth* in the winter of 1866-7, is the source of the following appreciative paragraph:

"How lovely were the bluffs of Milwaukee as they lifted themselves, all glowing with rosy light, above the dark blue water of the lake, cold and still in the November air. Milwaukee is crossed by two rivers—the Milwaukee and the Menomonee—which form a T in the middle of the town, like the river in Chicago; but Milwaukee stands 250 feet above the lake at its highest point. Its rivers run with rapid, crystal flow, sparkling between piers, and in the moonlight creating an effect which reminds one of Venice as seen in dreams—in dreams, I say, for it is far too great a compliment to the Adriatic city to say that this is like it as viewed in the daylight.

"The gulls are dipping in and out of the lake, the sun is shining bright, and the whole town when I entered it had a fair New England look."

To the issue of *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1872, Constance Fennimore Woolson contributed an article entitled "Round by Propeller," recording the incidents of a summer tour of the Great Lakes in company with a party of excursionists. After describing a night ride on Lake Michigan, the narrative continues:

"Toward morning we fell asleep, and awoke in Milwaukee. The Cream City seemed doubly attractive after our night in the fog. With one accord the passengers sallied forth on *terra firma*, surprised and pleased with the beauty of the buildings (mostly of cream-colored brick) and the bright, clean appearance of the streets.

" 'Since the great Chicago fire Milwaukee has taken her rightful position,' said Major Archer, as we paused to admire the Insurance Building, on Wisconsin Street. 'She has in reality the best harbor on Lake Michigan, and she handles an enormous amount of grain, which increases rapidly with every year. The

climate and natural advantages are wonderful, and people are beginning to find it out. The German element in Milwaukee, always slow and sure, may have tended to keep back showy manifestations of wealth, but the city's growth is built upon solid foundations. She is the outlet for all the produce of the great State of Wisconsin on its way eastward.'

"As we roamed through the city we passed over many bridges crossing the river, which was crowded with shipping. We saw the new courthouse, the Opera House Block, the Plankinton Hotel, and some pleasant residences. Then, after tasting Milwaukee's celebrated lager beer, we took a carriage and drove out to the National Asylum for Disabled Soldiers, an imposing structure, where six hundred helpless men are provided with a home. And a home it is, in real earnest—not a hospital, a prison, or a reform institution presided over by stern and bigoted zealots, but a comfortable home, such as the nation intended. We were agreeably impressed with the cheerful look of the house, which was provided with bath-rooms, smoking-room, billiard-room, card-room, and ten-pin alley, in addition to a concert-hall and a library of over a thousand volumes. As we read on the walls: 'Soldiers are especially informed that this asylum is neither a hospital nor an almshouse; it is not considered a charity. It is a tribute to the brave and deserving, and is their right.'

" 'Of all the lake towns, I like Milwaukee the best,' said Persis, looking back upon the high shores, dotted with picturesque residences, as the *Columbia* steamed out of the harbor. 'I think I should like to live here. It is not windy like Buffalo, nor smoky like Cleveland, nor quiet like Detroit, nor wicked like Chicago. On the whole, I give the palm to the Cream City.'

" 'One would think you had property here, little sister.'

" 'I wish I had,' said Persis."

"Amber" was the pen-name of a bright woman writer on the staff of the *Chicago Record-Herald* during the period, often referred to as "the Gay 'Nineties," which followed the Columbian World's Fair. A favorite diversion of Chicagoans at that time was to spend a few hours in Milwaukee, making the journey on the whaleback passenger steamship *Christopher Columbus*. Whether "Amber" traveled by boat or by train is immaterial. She came; she spent an afternoon and evening here with an

escort whom she describes as "a man with a straw hat and a face like a whortle-berry with tan." Then she returned to Chicago and dashed off some of her impressions as follows:

"We found Milwaukee sitting in holiday attire by the shore of the sapphire lake, like a handsome woman with a feather fan in her hand and a diamond sparkler at her throat to match her eyes. She laughed in the breeze and sang to the rippling water. I never knew how fair she was till that Sunday afternoon.

" 'Is this Milwaukee for true?' I asked of the man with the whortle-berry tan.

" 'What else could it be?' he answered.

" 'But I thought Milwaukee was a stupid old Dutch settlement, with another Chicago River to perfume it, and beer-drinking men, with large, noticeable stomachs, sitting around in dark doorways drinking out of stone mugs and smoking long pipes!' "

After this introduction she goes on to describe what was then Milwaukee's new City Hall:

"While I spoke we drew near to a picture that reminded me of prints I have seen hanging in artists' studios, representative of foreign architecture and Italian skies. Straight into the air there shot a tower the color of a fading rose. It was not a regulation tower, built after a pattern and symmetrical with the symmetry of a candle run into a mold. It was delightfully irregular, as though somebody had fallen asleep and dreamed it out by degrees. A touch of Moorish here, a Byzantine thought there, and after many starts and finishes ending in a fairy-like summit that needed only a white-cowled dervish to proclaim the sunset hour and lead the waiting world to doff its thousand hats and bend the knee in prayer. As a background to the roseate fancy was a sky like a gentian flower, over which white clouds wandered like butterflies. There was never a moment of the long afternoon I tarried in town that my eyes did not turn to that picture, my heart responding to its beauty."

In the early evening she rode out to the high ground, then vacant, which now overlooks the Marquette University football grounds, where she found "a big circus tent, upreared like a mushroom, in the middle of a grassy plain." Instead of witnessing the circus, she seems to have elected to return to town, for her narrative continues:

"A party of us visited the Exposition Music Hall, and listened to a melange of melodies—a sort of heavenly hash of sound, served in brass and on strung chords. Bohemianism sat crowded in the midst of a care-defying multitude. Beflowered little children ran up and down the aisle where fat, good-natured strangers wooed them to closer acquaintance with pretzels dipped in amber foam. Marionettes aped the manners of their betters, character artists strutted, athletes rolled and unrolled themselves like skeins of yarn wound and unwound from flying balls—and all for what? To bring a laugh into a world where groans and tears are forever trying to drown its music.

"Still later we visited one of those unique beer saloons, characteristic of Milwaukee, where artists have left their imprint on the walls in pictures and mottoes that are alive with legendary associations. It is well worth while to sit curled up on a wooden settee back in a corner, where all is peace and contentment, and spell out the stories told by the artist's brush.

" 'Who finds no delight in his wife, his winecup and a song, is a good-for-nothing not worth your while to notice,' wrote one gay student in tints that time has dimmed. Yet people reading it here, in company with companions who like themselves are seeking recreation after toilsome days, clang their glasses in appreciation of the sentiment that wakes an echo in their jovial hearts."

Milwaukee's "Kuenstlerheim" and "Palm Garden" attracted from Chicago for several years after the World's Fair many visitors who delighted in reminders of the vanished beauty of their White City, and who like "Amber" looking over the railing of Grand Avenue bridge at midnight, could fancy that they saw in the river a reflection "glowing like a dropped lily from the bosom of the still lagoon."

Charles Dudley Warner, who made a tour of the West and South in the later '80s, with the express purpose of studying economic and social conditions, was greatly impressed with what he found in Wisconsin, which he pronounced to be "not only one of the most progressive, but one of the most enlightened, States in the Union." After remarking that "physically it is an agreeable and beautiful State, agriculturally it is rich, in the south and central portions at least, and it is overlaid with a perfect network

of railways," he went on: "I wish to speak of certain other things which give it distinction. I mean the prevailing spirit in education and in social-economic problems. In some respects it leads all the other states. There seem to be two elements in the state contending for the mastery, one the New England, but emancipated from tradition; the other the foreign, with ideas of liberty not of New England origin." With Milwaukee, which he described as "a beautiful city, with some characteristics peculiar to itself, having the settled air of being much older than it is, a place accustomed to money and considerable elegance of living," he was evidently delighted. Here are some of the things he said about Milwaukee in his "Studies of the South and West," published by the *Harper's* in 1889:

"The situation on the lake is fine, the high, curving bluffs offering most attractive sites for residences, and the rolling country about having a quiet beauty. Grand Avenue, an extension of the main business thoroughfare of the city, runs out into the country some two miles, broad, with a solid road, a stately avenue, lined with fine dwellings, many of them palaces in size and elegant in design. Fashion seems to hesitate between the East Side and the West Side, but the East or lake side seems to have the advantage in situation, certainly in views, and contains a greater proportion of the American population than the other. Indeed, it is not easy to recall a quarter of any busy city which combines more comfort, evidences of wealth and taste and refinement, and a certain domestic character, than this portion of the town on the bluffs, Prospect Avenue and the adjacent streets. With the many costly and elegant houses there is here and there one rather fantastic, but the whole effect is pleasing, and the traveler feels no hesitation in deciding that this would be a pleasant place to live. From the avenue the lake prospect is wonderfully attractive—the beauty of Lake Michigan in changing color and variety of lights in sun and storm cannot be too much insisted on—and this is especially true of the noble esplanade where stands the bronze statue (a gift of two citizens) of Solomon Juneau, the first settler of Milwaukee in 1818. It is a very satisfactory figure, and, placed where it is, it gives a sort of foreign distinction to the open place which the city has wisely left for public use."

The Layton Art Gallery attracted Mr. Warner's attention. He said: "It is a building greatly to be commended for its excellent proportions, simplicity and chasteness of style, and adaptability to its purpose. It is a style that will last, to please the eye, and be more and more appreciated as the taste of the community becomes more and more refined." In closing, he observed:

"The general impression of Milwaukee is that it is a city of much wealth and a great deal of comfort, with a settled, almost conservative feeling, like an Eastern city, and charming, cultivated social life, with the grace and beauty that are common in American society anywhere. I think the men generally would be called well-looking, robust, of the quiet, assured manner of an old community. The women seen on the street and in the shops are of good physique and good color and average good looks, without anything startling in the way of beauty or elegance. I speak of the general aspect of the town, and I mention the well-to-do physical condition because it contradicts the English prophecy of a physical decadence in the West, owing to the stimulating climate and the restless pursuit of wealth."

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